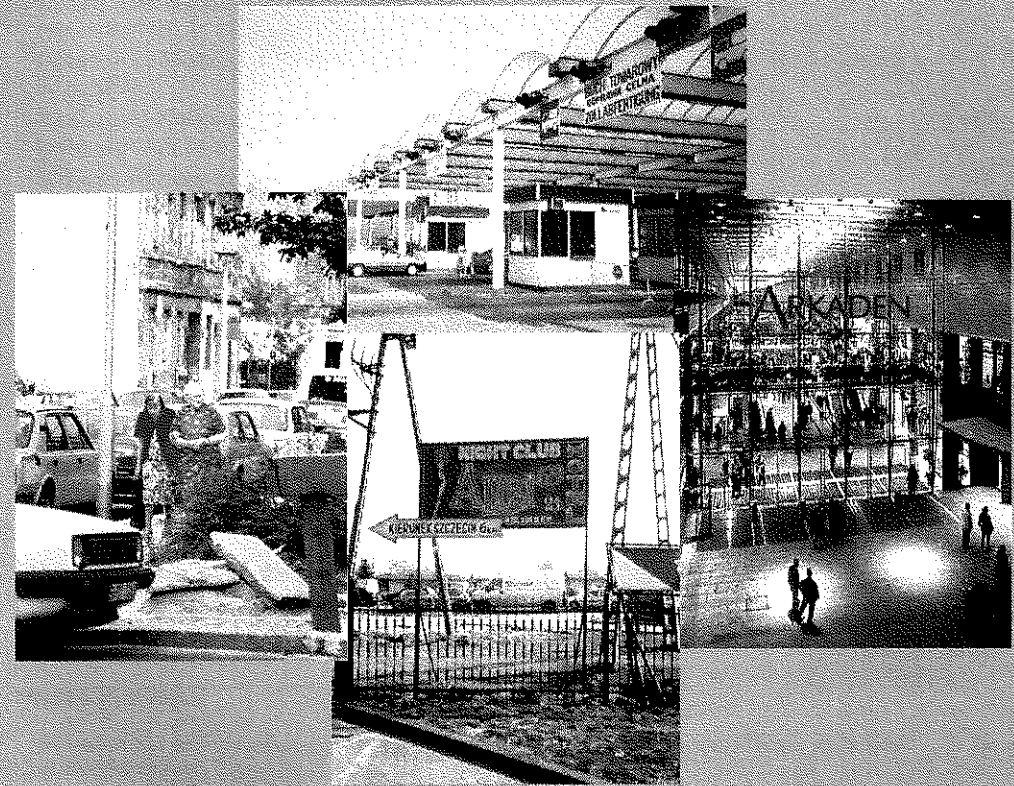


Bulletin # 25
INURA Berlin

Border City



Divided City

**International Network
of Urban Research & Action**

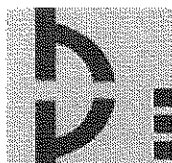
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Urban Research and Action

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INURA-Conference 2003 Berlin - Trebnitz Border City - Divided City

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Dear INURA-Members and Friends,

We are happy and proud to finally present the INURA-Bulletin No. 25 that documents some of the highlights, field trips, workshops and topics of the Berlin/Trebnitz conference 2003. It also includes preannouncement of the conference 2004 in Amsterdam, an article about the Anti-Eviction Campaign, the report about the INURA Ruhr excursion and the first ideas about an INURA research project.

With more than 70 participants from more than 15 countries the 2003 conference was a great and instructive experience for the Berlin organizing team and we would like to thank again all the individuals and institutions that helped us with their time, resources, knowledge and commitment to make it happen.* We learnt a lot about our own city, about different perspectives on urban development in a globalizing world and the strengths and weaknesses of local initiatives and organizing efforts in Berlin.

As our colleagues in Amsterdam are busily preparing the next exciting INURA meeting we spent some time with discussing and reflecting about the achievements and successes, but also about the flaws and disappointments of last year's event. "Border City/Divided City" was the headline of the past conference and divided it left us concerning some general questions related to the major objectives and values of the INURA network: the relationship and balance between the R (Research) and the A (Action), the people and organizations that INURA is and should be representing, and the need for more focused common projects in the future. While all of us as individuals and as a group worked hard to provide you with a genuine picture of Berlin, the German/Polish border area and some of the most interesting progressive initiatives, we did not use the conference for a direct intervention into a local conflict as other organizers had done in the past. There is disagreement within the group about the main reasons for such a lack of action. Was it time pressure, divergent political opinions, the lack of courage and determination? What should a local conflict look like that is worth the attention of the INURA-community?

There was also a debate about who are and who should be the main constituencies of such an international network as INURA. As most of us noticed in Berlin and Trebnitz there were hardly any representatives of community organizations, artists or non-academics present. And what about the idea of enlarging the network by involving more people and organizations from the South or Eastern Europe who usually can not afford to pay the travelling expenses to come to our annual conferences? As Ismael Petersen from the Western Cape Anti-Eviction-Campaign with his inspiring and wonderful contribution to the 2003 conference has shown we all would greatly benefit from a broader base of the INURA membership.

As we move forward to the next 2004 conference in June there is still some time left to discuss these and other issues related to the status quo and the future of the INURA network in our local groups.

See you all in Amsterdam.

Yours, INURA-team Berlin



At the boat trip. Berlin's new government district



Werner Sewing at the boat trip

* We are especially grateful to Regina Weps, our fabulous translator in Trebnitz, to our guest-speakers Werner Sewing, Stefan Krätke, Simone Hain, Peter Marcuse, and Margit Mayer for her support at the public event, the Strausberg project "Horte" and the Democratic Youth Forum e.V. for all their support, and finally for the generous financial help from the following organizations: Netzwerk e.V., Stiftung Umverteilen e.V., Bildungswerk für Demokratie und Umweltschutz e.V., Heinrich-Böll-Stiftung e.V., Helle Panke e.V., Landeszentrale für Politische Bildung Brandenburg e.V., and the Department of Political Science at the John F. Kennedy-Institute, Freie Universität Berlin and all people who guided us through the city.

Introduction
#3

INURA Annual General Meeting

Apologies

Laura Collini, AnnaLisa Peccoriello, Marvi Maggio, Beatriz Garcia, Bob Colenutt, Barbara Rahder, Geraint Ellis, Mark Saunders, Stefan De Corte, Marie Eve Cosemans, Stefan Kipfer, Karen Wirsig, Chris Lüthi, Hansruedi Hitz, Karl Otto Richter, Michael Edwards, Andreas Hofer, Jean Marc Fournier, Claudia dall'Igna, Dragan Zivancevic

Reports from Local Offices

Now 16 Local Offices in 12 countries listed:

AMSTERDAM: Links with the "The Free Space Group" (Jan Dijkstra) - involved in promoting buildings/land for squatters live/work - unregulated.

BERLIN: organising INURA conference 2003 in Berlin + Trebnitz.

BRUSSELS: held conference in Feb 2003 "Glocal Urban Initiatives".

BUFFALO: tried to survive.

CAEN: involved in Algeria - programme and events - conference urban poverty and Algerian cities.

DORTMUND: organizes INURA Rhine/Ruhr, "Space of Exploitation, Privatisation and Urban Experiments", July 2-4, 2003.

DURHAM: "Whose City?" community conference in Newcastle with INURA involvement.

FIRENZE: Edit INURA BOOK II: "Contested Metropolis".

HONG KONG: Research group on Pacific Rim organised conference on "Participatory Community Planning and Public Space".

LONDON: involvement in Single Regeneration Budget in Luton; in Enquiry In Public (EIP) into "The London Plan" (the Mayor's Plan for London to 2016- includes "growth/density/tail buildings").

TORONTO: Worked on INURA book "Contested Metropolis", anti-war and anti-Bush activities, INURA Declaration, participated in WSF Porto Alegre.

ZURICH: running the "INURA Common Office" (see below).

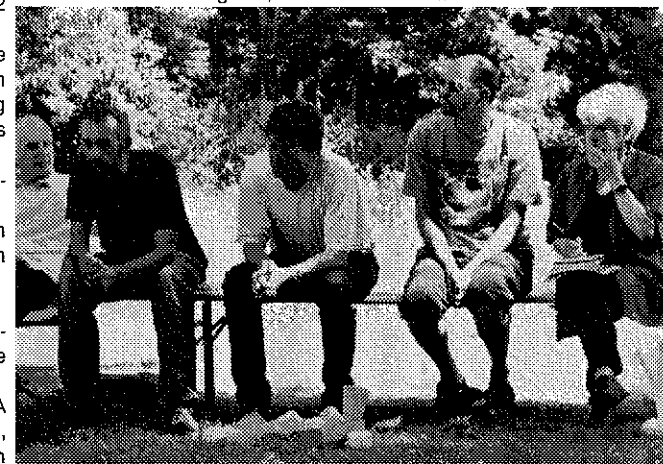
INTERNATIONAL ACTIVITIES:

Word from Dragan - the Prime Minister of Yugoslavia and Montenegro was assassinated. Florence hosted the "European Social Forum".

Some INURA members attended the "World Social Forum" in Porto Allegre, including members from INURA Toronto and South Africa.

Many ANTI-WAR demonstrations in 2003 throughout EU and CA, AUS, US against Bush/Blair invasion Iraq.

AESOP/ACSP Leuven conference July 8-12, 2003: 2 joint workshops by INURA and Planners Network with INURA reps Michael Edwards, Stefan de Corte, Geraint Ellis, Barbara Rahder (also for PN), Richard Milgrom, and Richard Wolff.



Discussion at the retreat in Trebnitz

Common Office (ICO)

- (a) Founded as an "Association" according to Swiss Law (can fundraise)
- (b) Fundraising: ICO produced a brochure of support bids (in German - to be translated). Experiences so far: funders want to support "projects" (defined tasks) not running costs.
- (c) INURA website info kept up to date. Homepage and additions.
- (d) please inform ICO about address changes, INURA Toronto for changes in the listserve.
- (e) membership fee: can be paid by credit card soon.
- (f) INURA as member of the HABITAT International Coalition (HIC).
- (g) INURA Declaration printed - can now be distributed. On www.inura.org to download in English and Italian.

IZI (INURA Zurich Institute)

now founded on a legal basis as private company (directors:

Report
#4

Richard Wolff, Philipp Klaus, Chris Lüthi). IZI works with organisations, local and national government, foundations on urban and social issues, planning matters, development and alleviation of poverty. Discussion on the relationship of IZI to INURA. Agreed that this group is trusted and that their approach is accountable within the INURA Principles. No problem about local work but a forum needs to be identified to assess wider international work.

INURA Book II

"Contested Metropolis - Six Cities at the Beginning of the 21st Century" edited by R.Paloscia: design L.Tripodi Intro (Magnaghi and Sanderock) Preface and Conclusion (Robinson and Paloscia). Cities: Berlin Brussels Florence London Toronto Zurich + INURA Declaration and Spirit of INURA. Local group financial contributions towards proof-reading agreed with Paloscia.

Bulletin

Thanks and congratulations to CAEN team on conference 2002 and excellent Bulletin 23. Bulletin 24 sent out by BERLIN to email list; plus 80 by post to those without email addresses. Bulletin 25 to be posted to all members on paper.

Finance

R.Wolff presented Finance Report for 2002 which was agreed.

Need to address fundraising to cover budget which includes staffing costs with fair terms & conditions contract (eg. minimum wage, paid leave etc).

INURA 2004

Applications from Amsterdam, Beirut, Durham, Los Angeles, Mexico, Zurich.

After a well run discussion it was agreed to hold the INURA 2004 in Amsterdam.

Arie agreed to lead the organising of the conference and the retreat, but there was detailed discussion on how to structure this event. The main concerns were:

- to allow more time for reflection and planning of future work
 - to involve new members and their contributions
 - to share the experience of activists
- More discussion should take place around the questions of "visits", "sessions", and provision for vegetarians.

There was feedback from the whole group on the Berlin conference with reference to the Guidelines that were drawn up by Fred Robinson in 2002.

All congratulated and thanked the organisers for the level of detailed information on this "Divided City".

Minutes by Louanne Tranchell, complemented by Philipp Klaus and Richard Wolff. 26 June 2003 - Berlin - Germany

Spandauer Vorstadt in East Berlin after the Fall of the Wall

by Karin Baumert

The fieldtrip in Spandauer Vorstadt lead us to identify a special problem. After the Wall fell, East Berlin was confronted with the question of how to construct a socially oriented urban renewal policy under conditions of capitalism. Using Spandauer Vorstadt in Berlin as an example, the emphasis of the fieldtrip was on social planning in urban renewal law as applied to East German cities after the fall of the Wall.

The East German Condition of the Area

The name Spandauer Vorstadt (which translates to "Spandauer suburb") dates back to a time when Berlin was so small that this area lay outside Berlin's city wall as a satellite

settlement towards a nearby city called Spandau. Today the area lies in the centre of Berlin but has preserved its character in its street layout and architectural modes that reflect various periods of urban development in Berlin. Spandauer Vorstadt might be described as the old town of Berlin. During the GDR era, the area barely subsisted, a time that might now be parallel to the nap of sleeping beauty while modernity had a romp at the nearby Alexanderplatz and its vicinity. In the GDR, rents remained low, and segregation and gentrification was not known.

Over night, the dreamy area with its old tenements became a place of artists and squatters, and classical gentrification began. Yet, like the Grimm

brothers' race between the hare and the hedgehog the tenants were already there. This was a major difference that singles Spandauer Vorstadt out from other West German or West European urban renewal areas. It was no social hotspot. In West Germany, urban renewal areas were often socially and physically neglected inner-city areas that were "rediscovered" by squatters, students, and artists. Although they were the pioneers of gentrification, in the eyes of the public their presence lead to a further decline of the area. In East Berlin the situation was fundamentally different. Urban renewal areas were also in need of enormous physical renewal, but the influx of artists and squatters caused no further decline.

Facing the massive renewal plans in East Berlin (half of East Berlin was a potential urban renewal area), the Berlin Senate arrived at a model of re-



Redevelopment of old housing

wal that would be financed by private capital and with minimal state subsidy. The task was to construct a socially egalitarian and sustainable urban

renewal policy with private investors. A social diversity of residents – a goal of every urban renewal area – was already present. One had only to try to maintain it.

Various Actors

The history of the Spandauer Vorstadt is also a history of struggles of different actors and negotiations between them. After the fall of the Wall, residents organized immediately. Together, they stopped further demolition (that had been planned by the GDR), and turned the Spandauer Vorstadt into a historic area. Their initiatives also played an eminent role in the process of negotiating towards socially sustainable urban renewal. Were it not for the existing social diversity and the grassroots movement that reflected this social structure, the end product of socially egalitarian revitalization would not have been developed.

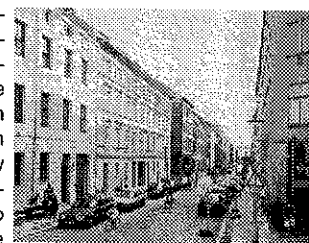
Local politicians at the district level, who by the halt of the demolition had become more sensitive to the residents' demands, displayed great interest in the needs and wants of the area residents. Because of this, West Germany took on a particularly creative approach to urban renewal in East Germany. Owners obtained real estate property through the so-called unification contract – the contract that regulated the incorporation of the GDR to the FRG. The long debated principle was the "Restitution

before Compensation" ("Rückgabe vor Entschädigung"). Since West German society rested on private property as one of its pillars, there was no way around the restitution of property. In the GDR 60% of all real estate was municipally owned – a magnitude at par with Holland or Sweden. The opportunity to make use of this property in favor of a socially just urban policy did exist; however, the lobby was lacking or, rather, did not have access to decision-makers in the political arena.

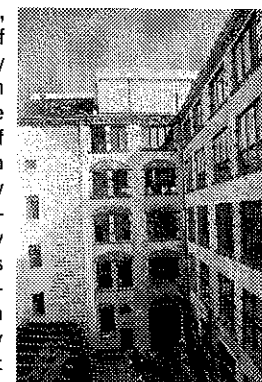
The Citizens' Initiative, the Unification Contract, and the Federal Building and Planning Law

The principle of "Restitution before Compensation" never simply meant that former owners could take back their properties. In Spandauer Vorstadt each building had an average of 2.5 owners. Because the national government enacted excessive tax exemptions together with the unification contract, in practice, large real estate companies bought up the wholesale claims of former owners and renovated the buildings. For the citizens' initiative,

this meant the task of asserting of a socially just system of urban renewal under the specific conditions of capitalist valorization of real estate by developers. As a specific strategy, they held to their rights as they would be in privately financed urban renewal, whereby tenants may reject rent increases caused by renovation if rents exceed 20% of their household income. With the help of experts from the local district government, the senate arrived at the decision to go forward with a socially sustainable urban renewal process that would be applicable to the entire neighbourhood while residents would be assessed individually. The average income of



Spandauer Vorstadt



Sophie-Gips-Höfe: Art galleries and gentrification

#5

#6

residents in the neighbourhood was used as a basis from which upper limits to rent increases could be established. To remain on the safe side, in the event that a property owner went to court, it was instituted that rental increases could not exceed one third of the average income calculated from the area residents. Further, rent limits were to be adjusted every two years to remain in accordance with new income studies.

A Socially Diverse Social Structure – a Socially Shared Value?

This process was met by great criticism. Property owners characterized the upper rent limits as "socialist one-way streets", and there was much discussion about whether or not socially diverse social structure truly represented a shared value at all. Is it not the case that gentrification and segregation are expressions of an urban developmental law of nature? In an urban area where much higher rents can prospectively be realized, is it really suitable to force investors to maintain rents defined by the state even after renovation? Is it not true that this policy valued the residents and their rights over prospective property values?

Socially Sustainable Urban Renewal with Private Investors – a Challenge for All Actors!

Yes, and indeed, the interests of the residents – even after urban renewal – were valued over the pro-

fit interests of the property owners. It was seen that residents have the right to be protected from luxury renovation. This demanded a high level of skill at negotiation from all participants, and especially a high degree of endurance at the district administration whose officers granted the renovation authorizations.

The introduction of rent limits in Spandauer Vorstadt did not eliminate revitalization pressure. Speculation did, however, slow down, and property values fell. However, urban renewal still took place. Today Spandauer Vorstadt is an area that attracts many visitors not only because of its historical ambience, but also because of its livelihood created by the coexistence of residential living, gastronomy, and business. Rent limits alone, however, cannot fully prevent capitalist revitalization in inner-city areas. The future development of the neighbourhood, or more specifically, whether or not tenants will be able to defend their right to remain in the area in the future, crucially depends on the participatory actions of people concerned. It will also depend on whether or not the general growth logic of capitalist society will be kept in check by protest and struggle – for which it is about time. The recent history of the Spandauer Vorstadt has shown how an urban politic oriented towards its residents can create a lively urban neighbourhood.

Translation: Erwin Riedmann, Constance Carr

Potsdamer Platz as a Spatial and Symbolic Manifestation of a New Era in Berlin

by Uta Lehrer

A good two dozen people were participating at the tour of Potsdamer Platz, an area in the geographic center of Berlin that is a spatial, and some people also would argue a symbolic, marker for reunification and Berlin's new role in the global economy. The redevelopment of Potsdamer Platz is the result of speculative building activities of multinational corporations, including DaimlerChrysler, Sony and ABB, at this prime real estate address in the post-wall era. Local building traditions were merged with the aspiration of global corporations to represent themselves in a particular fashion, and therefore breaking with the existing height limitations.

In good INURA tradition, the tour not only visited the main points of contention but also addressed the difference between social

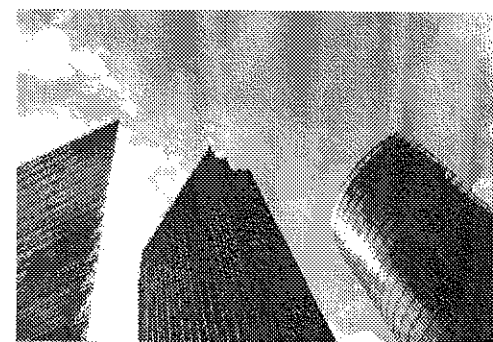
and legal production of public space as well as the relationship between public versus private space. The best example of this approach can be seen at a shopping mall at Potsdamer Platz that was a designated street within the original master plan but as a result of the investors flexing their muscles was turned into an indoor space, controlled by private security.

Questions that resurfaced during the tour were about practices of local planning traditions and the power that global players have in transforming the built environment in a particular city. Comparisons were drawn to other large-scale redevelopment sites that INURA had visited before, including the Docklands in London.

While Potsdamer Platz is a good example of how the global economy articulates itself locally it also draws attention to the role of the planning process

and the relevance of individual actors. The particular political climate in a post-wall era worked to the advantage of speculative building activities and lead to a relaxation of existing planning regulations where lip service was provided to the specificity of the place by applying some characteristics of local building traditions.

As both the Docklands and the Potsdamer Platz demonstrates, the challenge remains on how to deal in creative ways with the spatial and symbolic manifestation of a global economy. Accept it as a fact? Ignore it, as many radical Berliners do by not using the space at Potsdamer Platz? Or fight against it and its increased commercialization of everyday life through subversive practices?



The new "skyline" of Berlin: the Potsdamer Platz

Social(ist) Housing: The Projects

by Karin Baumert, Jens Samsale & Volker Eick

The **P** stand for public housing

The **R**'s for respect that ya get, when ya hold down ya set

The **O**'s for ounces that we flip into ki's

The **J**'s for the judgment handed by the ju-ry

The **E** is for enter, at your own risk

You know the **C**—that's for the cats that's out to get rich

And the **T** ... trust no one

And the **S** is for the snitchers - you know the outcome...

(Wyclef, The PJs)

On June 24th about 20 INURAIans went to the district of Marzahn, home to one of several big housing estates at the fringes of East Berlin. To cover large distances in Marzahn, we went by bike - which due to the sunny weather was fun as well.

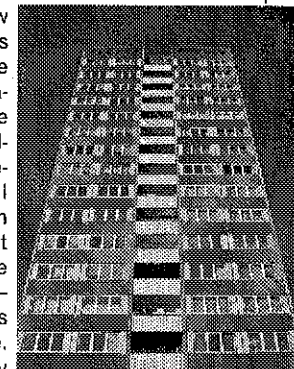
Neighborhood Management

The local neighborhood management office became our first stop, where Cornelia Cremer gave us an introduction to the area. The district management office receives funds from the state of Berlin and offers a broad array of information and support services to the local population. It is housed in what the socialist planners called a "social center". These social centers offered some social services to residents and became a commerce nuclei after reunification.

The district management staff introduced us not only to the area, but also to the people. Residents were present to answer our questions and the discussion shifted quite accidentally away from the built environment and centered on the migration patterns of ethnic Germans from the former USSR, who have been settling in increasing numbers in Marzahn.

The Barnimplatz

Next we went to Barnimplatz which is a prime example how to utilize public funding and competitive planning to neglect local needs. Every architect and urban planner in Berlin knows this square, though only a few ever ventured this far out. The square is a mere ornamental reference to modernist landscaping with different levels, small islands and an open space that looks like a stage craving for users – but nobody wants to be onstage. Socialist ideology was centered on



Prefabricated residential block

and around the people, nowadays urban planners build a stage for the people they will never enter. Even a little money for participatory planning would have changed the square considerably. The day we went there a strawberry festival attracted some people. Even though the place was populated our group stuck us like a sore thumb.

Modernism Shows its Sunny Face

On we went through thorough landscaping in the middle of newly renovated prefabricated housing (Plattenbau). It did not look like a ghetto as the existence of the district

Fieldtrip
#7

Fieldtrip
#8

management indicates. And indeed: During socialism the population was heterogeneous and the huge housing estates had a positive image. This image and the diverse population gradually become a thing of the past as the better-off moved elsewhere, unemployment rose and birth-rates fell. Nevertheless, as we bike on a sunny day through this industrial housing, we can still feel that the architects and planners felt obligated to modernism.

The Viewpoint

Slowly we moved out of the residential area, following a path alongside art objects (subsidized by public funding) until we arrived at an overlook. There we had a fabulous view of the surrounding landscape: the Plattenbau housing now at some distance, the sharp end of the city and a few playgrounds. But where were the residents? No one was sitting on the balcony or playing in/on the playground although the perfect June day was asking for some outdoor activity. As our guide from the district management informed us, residents prefer to stay indoors. But he did not know whether this was due to social control or not.

Locals Youth Greets the Group

We moved deeper into the residential area through the large courtyards between the buildings. Finally we met the locals. While we were admiring a sculpture of feminist and communist Clara Zetkin, local youth tried to steal one of our bikes (which is stupid to begin with, since these bikes are equipped with a GPS system). When we moved on a group of teenagers challenged our presence by shouting: "What are you looking at? Only stupid people live in Marzahn".

The Streets are for Cars!

Biking through an empty side street somehow lost in conversation and not riding in a neat formation, a car behind us honked aggressively. The driver informed us in no uncertain terms, that she has zero tolerance for Dutch conditions in her district. We cleared the street and stopped at a local youth club when the driver came back shouting at us. There was certainly no love lost for foreign bikers.

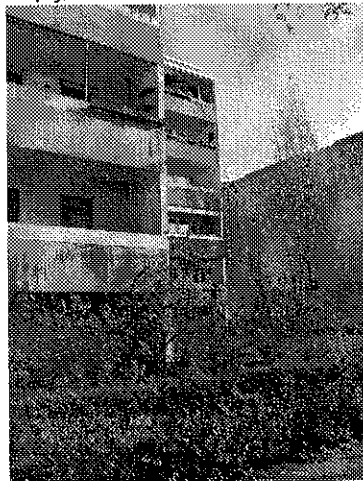
From the Inner City to Marzahn

The spacious local youth club, a former kindergarten, houses a group, which transforms diverse materials into art. This group was started by a resident of the inner city who received public funding to create art with the help of unemployed youth. Everyone was happy to hear about this side of Marzahn and the less-than-

friendly motorist was soon forgotten. As a result of this project, one street in Berlin is equipped with the puppets, frogs, and other beauties the youngsters have created (unfortunately you have to believe us, because currently we do not have a picture available).

Lots of Room for Local Initiatives in Former Schools

We visited a grammar school and a kindergarten, both serving the local neighborhood. Due to the homogenous age structure of areas like Marzahn, they are prone to be hit by demographic waves. Right now, schools and kindergartens are increasingly empty, because there are not many kids left.



Berlin-Marzahn

As a result, local authorities and the housing agencies have started tearing down schools leaving empty lots behind. As we saw, schools and kindergarten can offer needed services to the residents and lure them out of their flats. This creation of social spaces is a change for the huge building estates all over East Germany (or Eastern Europe for that matter). These social spaces may end up playing the same role in the future of the Großsiedlungen that street cafes did in the past for cities like Paris. This would combine the promise of modernism and affordable that the GDR provided, with western-style urbanism.

With this thought we left a build environment that is traditionally resented by urbanists like us. And that resents urbanists like us as the unstructured interaction in the streets demonstrated. We do not live in a built environment like that, but a third of Berlin's inhabitants do. We should not leave these areas to architects.

A Short History of Migration to Berlin

by Erwin Riedmann

Before the 1960s

As in almost every metropolis, urbanization in Berlin was fueled by migration. At the beginning of the 18th century, Huguenots fleeing from Catholic France made up one third of the urban population. Protestant Prussia also granted asylum to Bohemian protestants fleeing from hostile Habsburg Catholicism in 1737. On the eve of industrialization in the 1850s and 60s, the population was swelling due to rural flight from the Prussian countryside, later labor migrants came from Poland and Russia. Russian Jews migrated to Berlin: first the impoverished "Ostjuden" escaping the anti-Semitic Pogroms of the 1880s, then Jewish bourgeoisie fleeing from the Red Army and Jewish proletarians seeking refuge from the White Army during the Russian civil war in the 1920s. Throughout German history, migration flows have also functioned as economic cycle buffers. Migrants were added to the labor force during upswings, and the first to be laid off during economic downturns.

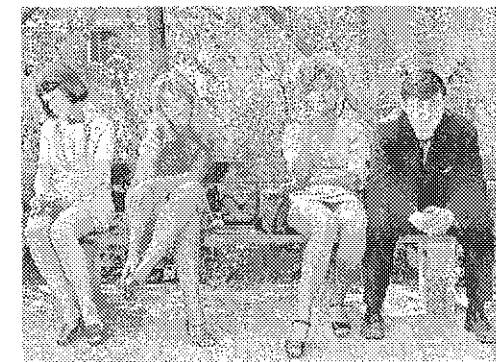
During the Nazi regime Berlin was ethnically cleansed in an unprecedented way. While rising unemployment in the late 1920s already prompted some migrants to abandon the city, almost all of the remaining "foreigners", if free to leave, departed after the Nazis took over. Emigration for Jews became difficult at the beginning of the war and fully illegalized in 1941. At the same time, forced labor convicts were deported to Berlin and made up 20 percent of the total labor force; 30 percent in the defense industry and more than 80 percent in particular companies in 1943. The Jewish community was reduced from 175.000 people in 1925 to 7.000 in 1945. Most of those who did not manage to emigrate or flee in time were killed in Nazi extermination camps. In the year 1943 alone, the Gestapo deported 40.000 Berlin Jews.

After the war, the divided city had lost much of its former economic and cultural significance and for a long time could not regain its former attractiveness for migrants. Due to the destruction of the industrial base in the war and with millions of refugees coming from the East, "displaced persons" liberated from Nazi camps and forced labor looking for a way to secure their living, there was no need for additional migrant labor until the 1960s in West Berlin and the 1970s in East Berlin.

1 The Term "guest worker" was supposed to mark the difference to the less friendly Nazi concept of "foreign worker" (Fremdarbeiter). At the same time it makes clear the precarious status of "guest" which remains always dependent on the host's mood.

West Berlin 1961 – 1989

After the building of the Berlin Wall in 1961, the labor influx from East Germany stopped. The slowly recovering (and highly subsidized) West Berlin economy developed a need for migrant labor—later and slower than in West Germany, where "guest workers" from Southern Europe were recruited since 1955. Only after 1968 did the recruitment of "guest workers" to West Berlin begin on a large scale. By that time Fordist industrialization and economic growth had also arrived in Italy, Spain and Greece, countries where much of the migrant labor inflow to West Germany had originated. Therefore migrants to West Berlin now predominantly came from



Scene from Rainer W. Fassbinders first film about "guest worker": Katzelmacher

Turkey and Yugoslavia. With the economic crisis in 1973 migrant labor recruitment was stopped altogether leading to a moderate decrease in the number of migrants in the city. Yet soon "guest workers" family members moving in especially from Turkey caused numbers to rise again.

While at first "guest workers" were housed in shelters, they soon moved to cheaper apartments especially in run-down inner-city areas already scheduled for wholesale redevelopment. "Foreigners" were seen as adequate temporary residents for dilapidated buildings in emptying quarters marked by disinvestment of public and private landlords. In some neighborhoods, the number of "foreigners" rose well above one third of the residential population within a few years. Therefore, as a dispersal

strategy, the notorious "Zuzugssperre" (ban on moving-in), a policy prohibiting "foreigners" to move into inner-city areas with more than 15 percent of "foreigners", was applied between 1975 and 1990 in the districts Kreuzberg, Wedding and Tiergarten, causing them to move into neighboring areas. A long-term effect in the zones of "concentration" was not to be observed, since many migrants simply evaded the policy, while others challenged it successfully in court. In any case, urban renewal was expected to solve the "problem of ghettoization" more effectively by relocating migrants throughout the city.

In the meantime, however, a strong tenants' and squatters' movement that had developed in opposition to wholesale redevelopment, i.e. the destruction of existing working class tenement housing from the 19th Century and the construction of modern large-scale housing projects. This forced an official reorientation towards "careful urban renewal". Care in urban renewal was translated as renovation instead of destruction and reconstruction, participation of the tenants at every stage of the renewal process, and the preservation of the social composition of the neighborhood. One of the effects of "careful urban renewal" was that ethnic enclaves in inner-city areas remained intact. Although the national government promoted remigration in the 1980s, it had already become obvious (to a liberal public and to "guest workers" themselves), that immigrants were here to stay.

Starting at the end of the 1970s, the number of refugees and asylum seekers coming from Poland, Vietnam, Iran, Lebanon and Palestine increased. Thus, the political and cultural backgrounds of migrants as well as their legal status of residence diversified, while West Germany officially remained a non-immigration country.

East Berlin 1961 – 1989

In East Berlin, the socialist economy, too, needed migrant labor, which was hired, starting in 1973, through bilateral agreements with socialist countries like Poland, Cuba, Angola, Mozambique and Vietnam. "Contract workers" would stay for four or five years plus an optional extension of two years and were assigned, just like in West Berlin, those jobs that everyone else declined to do, such as working with and repairing old machinery. The right of residence of "contract workers" was very precarious, since permits were withdrawn without explanations. Due to their foreseeable inability to work, pregnant women were forced either to have an abortion or to leave the country. "Contract workers" who made up about half of the 1.6 percent of foreigners among the

total East Berlin population were housed in shelters with separate dorms for men and women and isolated from the German population, with whom contact was minimized. As miserable the legal and social status of guest workers in West Berlin was, they were far better off than their socialist brothers and sisters in East Berlin.

Before and especially after the fall of the Berlin Wall, racism and open violence against (perceived) foreigners was (and still is) spread widely. Official policies, geared toward repatriation to their home-countries from Germany contributed to a popular anti-foreigner attitude. Contracts with socialist countries were cancelled and most "contract workers" left for their country of origin, taking with them very low compensation payments. Others stayed sometimes illegally and always with an insecure status of residence.

Berlin after 1989/1990

After the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 and the political union of the two cities in 1990, new migration flows to Berlin developed including ethnic Germans ("Aussiedler") from the former USSR, Kurdish refugees from Iraq or Turkey, and war refugees from Bosnia arrived. Due to spatial proximity, migrants especially from Poland practice new forms of seasonal migration, going back and forth between Berlin and Poland on a regular basis.



Demonstration from migrant workers against not being payed on construction sides

About half of the foreign population in Berlin still consists of "guest workers" and their descendants, many of whom were laid off when after 1989 deindustrialization hit Berlin. This was a result of cuts in subsidies for the "extended workbenches" of West German industrial capital in West Berlin and the sell-out and subsequent closure of non-competitive East Berlin factories. Since "guest workers" were heavily concentrated in manufacturing, they have been disproportionately hit by unemployment, which stands at almost 50 percent among the Turkish population. The average unemployment rate in Berlin is "only" 18 percent.

At the end of 2002, 122.744 Turkish nationals and 30.695 Polish nationals were living in Berlin, making up the two largest groups among 435.117 "foreigners". Compared to cities like Frankfurt, where one third of the population is non-German, Berlin's

share of the 'foreign' population at thirteen percent seems remarkably low. The number of people from a migration background is higher though, since between 1945 and 1989 55.437 and between 1990 and 2001 114.119 Berliners of foreign origin obtained German citizenship.

There is an imbalance in the spatial distribution of "foreigners" between the inner-city and the outer boroughs and, more importantly, between former East and West Berlin. While in 2000 17 percent of

the population in the West was "foreign", a mere 5 percent of the population in the East held non-German passports. This disproportion mirrors not only the historical heritage of different recruitment policies for labor migrants in the two German states, but also the – unfortunately not unfounded – fear of racist violence not only in the "brown belt" of the suburban and rural hinterland but also in many parts of former East Berlin.

De- and Reindustrialization in Berlin: From Osram to New Media Industry

by Ingo Bader & Albert Scharenberg

The History of Berlin's Industrialization

Industrialization in Berlin was not started by early capitalist entrepreneurs, but rather initiated by the Prussian state itself. The state's politics of industrialization started with founding small arms and gunpowder factories in the early 19th century. In addition, the founding of steam-driven textile and machine tool factories was supported.

In the 1840s, industrialization in Berlin experienced its "take-off" period, which was quickened by the heavily subsidized growth of railroad construction. The 1840s also saw the rise of the first trade unions within the city, in particular printers and cigar makers.

It took a few more decades, though, until the area we explored during our field trip, now called "Oberbaum City", was industrialized. Meanwhile, the surrounding areas were developed according to the ideas of city planner James Hobrecht, who proposed the combining of residential and work spaces – the so-called "Hinterhofindustrie", i.e. "courtyard industry", which Berlin is famous for. This kind of "mixed zoning" was actually rediscovered and revived by Kreuzberg's squatter movement of the 1970s and 80s.

While Bismarck was working on his reactionary program of uniting Germany under the auspices of the Prussian state, Berlin grew rapidly. After the French-German War of 1871, the city became the German capital. This "locational factor" caused the leading financial institutions of the country to move their headquarters to Berlin.

In addition, the electric industry grew rapidly, driven by the invention of the electric motor and the light bulb. In fact, this industry had become the city's leading economic sector by the early 20th

century. Simultaneously, the electric industry was increasingly monopolized by the corporations Siemens and AEG. By the same token, industrialization was now so thoroughly developed that the large corporations had to relocate their expanding facilities in what was then the outskirts of the city.

In the early decades of the 20th century, Berlin



Presentation at the RAW Tempel

was the leading industrial city in Europe. During the Nazi era, the city and the surrounding area, Brandenburg, became a centre for producing weaponry, in particular airplanes and cars.

After the Red Army had conquered Berlin the city was eventually divided. With regards to the economy this was as much a watershed as it was for politics. While Berlin used to have more than two thirds of the large German banks, none was left in West-Berlin after 1955. Moreover, almost all large companies left Berlin.

In the era of the Cold War, the isolated city of West-Berlin did not have any regional hinterland to produce for, no space to expand into,



On the opposite riverside of Media Spree

no markets to cater for. Being the "shop window of the West", however, guaranteed strong economic and financial support. But only heavily subsidized industry stayed within the city, creating an artificially upheld industrial economy with very little increase in value. Altogether, more than half of the city's revenues were direct subsidies from the West German government in 1989.

East Berlin became the capital of the GDR. Being the "shop window of the East", of really existing socialism, guaranteed strong financial support, too. The economy was based on its monocentric governmental functions for the GDR. It was the centre of the GDR economy, and it was an important part of the socialist countries' city network. Most of the large industrial combines had their headquarters here. The public sector was heavily centralized in East Berlin, too.

Both parts of the city evaded "normal" capitalist development and dynamics for decades. This contributed to the fact that the modernization of the Fordist industries was postponed until right after reunification, when de-industrialization suddenly hit both parts of the city. Berlin has since lost most of its industrial base. In a sense, reunified Berlin has proven to be a city of world stature, in particular with regard to culture, unable to (re-)develop into a global city. [See Albert Scharenberg (ed.):

Berlin: Global City oder Konkursmasse? Berlin: Karl Dietz Verlag 2000.] This is unlikely to change in the near future, even though Berlin has become the German capital again. The industrial base is now pretty small, and the service economy has been growing too

slowly to provide the city with a modernized economic base.

The Field Trip

During the field trip, we walked through "Oberbaum City" in Friedrichshain near the Spree, discussing several presentations we heard. Albert Scharenberg presented a paper about Berlin's history of industrialization, followed by Jörg Roesler's account of the deindustrialization of East-Germany after reunification. The deindustrialization process is well documented in Oberbaum City. Until the early 1990s, this district was dominated by the large industrial combine NARVA, a light bulb factory. Roesler demonstrated how NARVA was forced out of business by the semi-public privatization agency "Treuhand", although it had been modernized with Japanese technology just a few years earlier.

After NARVA's demise, real estate companies redeveloped this industrial district as a service district. But the crash of the new economy has left them with hardly any tenants. The last companies in this area are low-wage service industries. Among these, there are a few call centres. Gregor Zattler talked about the "Call Center Initiative", a group of activists trying to organize call centre agents. The campaign can be seen as an example to strengthen class consciousness and class struggle in a Post-Fordist era. While the group had some success concerning wages, developing a sustainable organization has proven to be difficult due to high labor turnover and the workers' individualistic strategies.

Although Berlin's visions to develop into a Global City have failed, the city has recently attracted global players from the industry of cultural production – in particular the music industry. The city's most important music industry cluster is a huge waterfront development area called "Media Spree". The new German headquarters of Universal Entertainment Inc., which moved to Berlin in July 2002, is located in a former warehouse. Neighbouring this site, MTV Germany is about to move into a former port office. In this area, port warehouses were turned into lofts for offices and studios; they will soon be combined with an enormous multi-use entertainment arena constructed by the media and entertainment giant "Anschutz Entertainment Group".

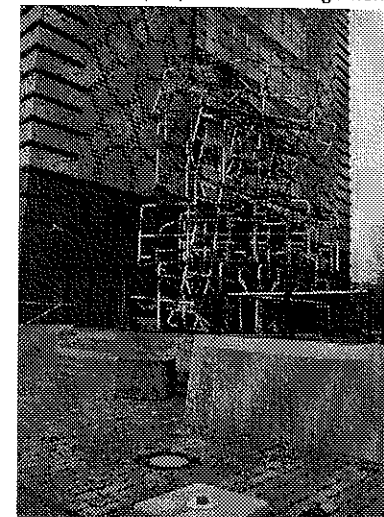
Ingo Bader showed how this area became a main focus of Berlin's techno and club culture after reunification. As in other eastern inner city districts, abandoned industrial and service buildings were used for techno raves as well as for small clubs and bars. Unclear ownership and the transition of government control after the breakdown of the GDR

proved to be perfect conditions for the rise of a unique musical underground. Even though this lively and innovative subculture started with the illegal and temporary use of abandoned space, it was not openly political and therefore comparatively easy to integrate into the global music industry. Berlin's local music production cluster, dominated by the electronic music scene and West Berlin's independents, forms the basis of the city's music economy.

Freke Over, member of the East-German reform-communist "Party of Democratic Socialism" (PDS) and representative on the Berlin state legislature, discussed "Media Spree", i.e. the latest real estate development project. The planning process as well as ownership of this area are mainly privatized (like the Potsdamer Platz). But even though this development project has a size ten times that of the Potsdamer Platz, there is only little critical discussion about it. Freke Over explained that for the PDS there is hardly any alternative to supporting projects like this in view of the city's economic decline. "Media Spree" is situated in a sparsely used area, it does not cause displacement. In addition, there is almost no social mobilization against this project. This is not only due to the PDS' ambivalent political stance, but also documents the demise of Kreuzberg's old Autonomous Left. What is left of this Autonomous Left acts like a specific version of NIMBY (not in my backyard) – they do not care about this development project adjacent to but outside of their own neighbourhood on the other side of the spree.

North of "Media Spree", the "RAW-Temple" is situated in a vacant train repair plant, which was built in the early 20th century. This social centre is

the only group opposing "Media Spree" because it is endangered by the real estate interests dominating it. Founded by artists, this self-managed social and cultural centre is an example for temporary use of abandoned space. Among a wide range of cultural activities and hand-craft as well as artists' workshops, a group called "Ideenwerkstatt" (idea factory) aims at generalizing certain experiences of the RAW Temple, in particular the use of abandoned urban space for short periods of time, and at integrating this concept into a more open planning process based on the people's self-management.



Headquarter of Universal Germany in an former cold-storage house for eggs with a riot-memorial artwork in front of it

Right-Wing Extremism

by Axel Doriuff & Susanne Lang

Berlin, as the former „Reichshauptstadt“, has a special ideological meaning for both varieties of German right-wing extremism, for the parties from the organized spectrum (NPD, Republikaner) as well as for sub cultural groups (nazi-skinheads, comrade-associations). The right-wing extremism scene in Berlin has changed significantly since the fall of the Berlin wall. In 1989/90, both varieties of right-wing extremism got together: the organized one from the West met the sub cultural one from the East. Parties and organizations such as NPD, Republikaner, or FAP moved their headquarters from West Germany to Berlin in order to strategically build up a scene that is oriented toward party politics. The current situation is characterized by an unchanged high potential of right-

wing extremist attitudes with a simultaneous stagnation of the institutional spectrum of right-wing extremism. Meanwhile, the subcultural spectrum remains vital and active - the assaults on people motivated by right-wing extremism are increasing. At the same time, high profile in the public sphere through demonstrations and manifestations plays a major role in the strategy of right-wing extremists in Berlin. Even though many INURA participants had shown a vital interest in the topic of right-wing extremism, the fieldtrip only had a few participants due to the spontaneous offer to visit the former "Palace of the Republic". So we got the opportunity in our workshop to spend more time on intense back-

Fieldtrip
#13

Fieldtrip
#14

ground discussions with the invited activists.

The fieldtrip started at the German-Russian Museum in Berlin-Karlshorst. This museum nowadays documents the World War II, the time of Hitler-Fascism in Germany, as well as the time right after the war. Historically known is the museum as the place where Nazi-Germany signed the unconditional surrender during the night of May 8th to May 9th in 1945. After that, it became Soviet territory, first functioning as head office of the military administration of the Soviet Union. On October 10th 1949, administrative power had been given to Otto Grothwohl, the first prime minister of the newly formed German Democratic Republic (GDR). In 1967, the place was turned into a public museum, the "Museum of the Unconditional Surrender of Fascist Germany in the Great Patriotic War 1941-1945". It was exclusively run under Soviet conduct - even the language of guided tours remained to be only Russian until late in the 1980s. With the "2+4 Treaty" in 1990, the withdrawal of the Soviet troops had been agreed on and therefore a new regulation for the museum had to be found. In 1994, an association was founded by the Russian, Belarus, and German Government as well as different German and Russian museums that agreed on the reopening of the museum with a new concept. On May 10th 1995, it finally reopened as the "German-Russian Museum", showing a permanent exhibition dealing with the time before, during, and after World War II as well as temporary special exhibitions on related topics like "Women in the Red Army", "General Shukow" etc..

We chose this place as the beginning of our fieldtrip in order to provide historical context and an adequate framework for the topic of right-wing extremism. In giving this specific historical context, we argue that one has to analyse right-wing extremism of the 21st century in a political continuity to fascism of the 20th century, and that it can not be explained in terms of a violent subculture nor is it part of an urban youth phenomenon. Additionally, this museum also gives some insight and background views in the presence and history of the Soviet forces in Germany.

After our guided tour through the museum and a common lunch, the second part of the fieldtrip was held - a discussion round with diverse experts that are involved in the fight against right-wing extremism in Berlin and Brandenburg. Our interest during this discussion rounds was twofold. First, we analysed the state of the art of right-wing extremism in Berlin, taking in account the different developments in

East and West since re-unification. Second, various counter strategies from the engagement of youth- and community based initiatives as well as state-funded (quasi) civil society groups as well as anti-fascist work were introduced and discussed. Activists from three different projects had been invited to our discussion: "Bildungsoffensive", "Opferperspektive", and "Anti-Fascist Press Archive and Center for Education". Those activists provided us with a lot of insight into their daily work: Bildungsoffensive is a project of the Democratic Youth Forum Brandenburg (DJB), a Brandenburg-wide youth network that was founded in order to empower and support young people that want to act politically in the state of Brandenburg. A lot of the initiatives organized by this network deal with the fight against racism and neo-fascism but are also involved in other social and political activities in various places of Brandenburg. Bildungsoffensive is a small group of ten people that are explicitly supporting young people in Brandenburg through workshops, training, consultation, and networking. Opferperspektive (Victims' Perspective) is an initiative that supports victims of right-wing violence in Brandenburg in helping them to develop a perspective for their life after the assault. They gather ideas of how victims may be supported as well as methods for depriving right-wing beliefs of their traditional breeding-ground. They are actively seeking contact to the victims in order to do victim counseling/counselling such as legal advice, psychological help etc. They also do networking and local assistance in supporting local initiatives that act in/on??? behalf of victims of right-wing violence. Finally, they provide documentation and public relation in order to strengthen the victims' voices in public discussions. APABIZ (Anti-Fascist Press Archive and Center for Education) assists and networks initiatives against racism, anti-Semitism, and neo-fascism. They offer assistance to anyone who is confronted with right-wing violence, neo-fascist organizations, and racist assaults. They operate the most extensive archive concerning right-wing extremism in the area of Berlin-Brandenburg; they are well connected internationally as well.. The range of courses offered by APABIZ is manifold and diverse. They also publish brochures and newsletters concerning right-wing extremism in Brandenburg and Berlin. The basic idea is to resist right-wing developments with determination, creativity, and knowledge.

After the discussion round, we headed straight towards Trebnitz, where our retreat took place. We enjoyed the fieldtrip very much, since we had so much room for discussion and insight reflections on the topic.

Wagenburgen as an Alternative Way of Life

by Renate Berg, Uli Kerner & Andrea Pfleger

From the outside it looked like a small utopia in the middle of nowhere. Surrounded by a vast fleemarket where Polish people offered cheap vodka and Turkish people tried to sell all kinds of things, there it was the "Rollheimer Dorf" ("moving people's village"). To some it looked like a circus, others thought that it was one of the garden colonies. People more familiar with subculture thought that they had come across a tribe of neohippies, who for some odd reason had chosen the wall strip of the frontier city as their home.

The "Rollheimer Dorf" was founded in 1981 and indeed it was the oldest Wagenburg ("Wagon fortress") of Germany. The "Rollheimer" had built a small village with circus wagons, trucks and old trailers they had renovated in all kinds of styles and made them their home.

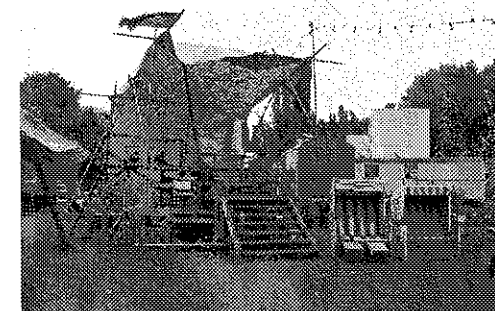
Today the site is known as Potsdamer Platz, modelled to attract prosperous multinationals. The battle had been unfair from the beginning on, a village of wagon dwellers against the intention of turning Berlin into a famous global city.

Similar to the "Rollheimer Dorf", other sites emerged on formerly invaluable space and after a couple of years found themselves on expensive strips of land in the reunified city. At the former sites of Wagenburgen you will find today a hotel, an office building or the headquarters of the German union "Verdi".

Resistance against Progress and Modernity

Similar to the squatters of the 70s and 80s Wagon dwellers also tried to resist capitalist lifestyles and orders. In the late 80s and early 90s all throughout Germany but also in Switzerland and in Holland, Wagon sites developed and started to organize themselves. Regular meetings were initiated in different towns and took place every three months, a newspaper termed "Vogelfrei" ("outlawed"), was published and Wagon dwellers travelled Germany. There were more than 120 wagon sites in Germany in the mid-90s. Wagon dwellers with their often wooden and colourful circuswagons and their unusual live-style were something new and did not have quite the image of being radicals. Germany as being famous in the world for its richness and order was stumbled by people who decided to live with a minimum of comfort and luxury and therefore challenged the concept of progress and modernity. Hence many people regarded "Wagenburgen" as slums and signs of new poverty, chaos and disorder.

At the peak of the 'zero tolerance hype' in Berlin, public discussion and the mainstream media had painted an image of degenerated criminals of Wagon dwellers. Politicians of the Christian Democrats mentioned "Wagenburgen" in a context of "garbage, rats and mob" (Klaus Landowsky) and the "Eastside Gallery" being the largest "Wagenburg" with about 130 inhabitants was evicted in 1995 officially because of "threat of pesti-



Wagenburg "Laster & Hänger"

lence". In the eviction everyone was forcefully x-rayed, but no contagious disease was detected.

Struggle against Evictions

Currently there are about 100 wagon sites in Germany and 12 in Berlin. In the last years, politicians as well as neighbour initiatives and property owners have often retreated to court decisions and laws - some of them even had been implemented by the Nazis against the "Sinti and Roma". In many cities they have tried to expel the wagon places from the inner city and to give them pieces of land on the outskirts of the city, many of them polluted or beneath industrial areas and highways or railway tracks. They are also trying to create areas where they shove all kinds of people together (Sinti and Roma, circuses in the winter, homeless people and wagon dwellers).

In November 2002 the Wagenburg "Bambule" was forcefully evicted by the conservative/right wing-populist senate that had gained elections with the promise to "clear up the city". The resistance against the eviction grew into a largely supported ongoing struggle for the demission of the right wing populist. In Berlin the situation has come to a deadlock, because the building and planning law is

the easiest excuse for political unwillingness to legalize Wagenburgen and give unused sites to wagon dwellers. The PDS (successor of the former East German socialist party) and the local green party representatives are talking about a partly renewal of these laws.

Why Living in a Trailer?

The motivation to leave the comfort of a house and to devote time and energy to renovate a trailer and to maintain a site in winter, is quite diverse. Whereas on the countryside people want to break away from the routine and separate themselves from capitalist live-styles, in the cities Wagon sites are an alternative to squatting and are also used by people not able or willing to pay rent. The majority of the more than 120 wagon sites in Germany in the mid-90s at the height of the movement were people aged between 20 and 30, many of them students. The freedom to create your own living space, to shape the community you choose to live in and the ability to move your home travelling around and maybe leave the North for the South in wintertime are highly valued.



During the field trip

Besides, due successful networking among wagon people, there is always a welcoming place for you and your trailer.

As it became obvious on our fieldtrip, this life-style is something unknown and strange to people outside Europe though they share the ideas of resistance and the necessity of alternative city politics. Some people perceive this life-style maybe as pitiful and not understandable, other people, used to a struggle for housing and supply with the most needed goods, might see it as pure fashion and youth culture seeking adventure. Wagon dwelling out of no necessity but on a free will basis is clearly a phenomenon of a saturated society. But one reason of the movement's strength can be seen in Germany's concept of order and organization of everyday's life and authoritarian tradition. Wagon sites break with

these principles.

Wagenburgen and Construction Law

No matter how different the 12 Wagenburgen in Berlin might be, they all have one thing in common: Being in opposition to building and planning law.

In 1998 the Supreme Administrative Court of Berlin (Oberverwaltungsgericht) had to sentence about the Wagenburg Schillingbrücke, which moved from the district Mitte to Friedrichshain due to a hotel construction on its old site in June 1997. An estate agency which intended to construct and sell condominiums in the direct neighbourhood of the Wagenburg sued the inner city district of Friedrichshain for leasing land to the habitants of the Wagenburg. The court decided that according to federal building law, the estate agency was infringed in its interest under consideration. The Wagenburg was declared an enclave from construction law and therefore considered highly illegal. The district had to withdraw from the contract and he Wagenburg was forced to move.

The OVG came to the same ruling in January 2003, when several members of the German Architecture Centre (DAZ) sued a construction company for giving substitute land to the Wagenburg Schwarzer Kanal. Because of a procedural mistake on the part of DAZ, the eviction was ordered for only half of the site. The other part of Schwarzer Kanal was allowed to remain and it still continues to reside.

Facing this problem, an action group within the Berlin Wagenburg community is presently working towards new law-making similar to the changing of Hamburg's "Trailer law" ("Wohnwagengesetz") from 1959 which illegalized living in trailers. In May 1999 some members of the social democrats as well as the green party renewed this law intending to legalize several of Hamburg's Wagenburgen. Though the conservative Senate used the "Wohnwagengesetz" to resign all contracts and evict most of the sites recently. So it is still unclarified if a specific law would give the Berlins' Wagenburgen a better juridical position than the one that they have now. The legal status is not a central issue for Wagenburgen to obtain inner city sites. No matter whether they are illegal or in accordance to construction law, their existence depends on political sympathy or, if this is not given, in the ability to organise public campaigns influencing the political climate.

For further information (unfortunately only in German language) see www.wagenburg.de www.wagendorf.de or www.wagenleben.de.

Social Movements and the Present Challenges of Global Competitive Cities

by Karin Baumert

What are the existing possibilities – aside from doorbell cleaning, civil disobedience, and street fighting – to influence politics and shape the city without simply being bound further into new state strategies of poverty administration and neoliberal deregulation? What new alliances have emerged? What can participatory democracy, justice, and solidarity look like at the beginning of the 21st century?

Over the last 13 years, a neoliberal local politics has established itself within the city that has enabled and encouraged the parallel growth of Berlin's financial sector and poverty.



Demonstration against urban restructuring

After the fall of the Wall and the East-West political conflict began to dissolve, West German economics, social norms and value systems tried to acquire all areas the city. In East Berlin – and in the remaining New German States (Neue Bundesländer) that belonged to the former GDR – capitalism found a unique opportunity to reproduce itself. Through special tax write-offs and simplified planning procedures, the West German government broke down all that participatory movements had fought for in spatial planning as well as in building and planning law. While the East had made the mistake (among others) of not recognising the historical value of its civil democracy and too quickly discrediting the idea of a socialist alternative to the almost feudalistic new government, capitalism showed no fear – in view of unbridled growth potentials – in cutting back democratic structures, particularly in the field of spatial planning. The landmark opportunity to combine the advantages of socialism

(such as the role of the women and children in society, the relative equal distribution of wealth by low level consumption, and minimal levels of segregation and urban sprawl) with the advantages of the West German society (such as the tradition of participatory urban movements and forms of democracy) saw neither intellectual nor political support. As a result, the city now sits down wind of the federal German agenda with expansion into the surrounding countryside and an inner city that is redeveloping from the finance of private capital.

Local civic action groups were organized but were quickly discredited because of their East German identity. They were neither offered a voice over the development plans of their urban space, nor was there political or intellectual support for their interests. Even the cautious West Berliner redevelopment agencies, that emerged as a result of street fights in Kreuzberg, considered the eastern expansion of the city as primarily an expansion of the labour market. Morally, this process was driven through by the slogan, "Restitution before Compensation" (Rückgabe vor Entschädigung), and in reality, it was the many and newly emerged real estate companies and developers who permanently influenced and altered the image of the city.

Local and Regional Politics Followed the Logic of the Financial Sector Politics

The Berliner bank scandal consolidated the disadvantages of merging the East into the West, and the danger of unrestrained pursuits of profit by real estate speculation and its closed power structures. Today, Berlin hosts a "Red-Red" coalition government of the Social Democratic Party (SPD) and the Democratic Socialist Party (PDS). Yet, this government submits itself to the logic of the bank scandal and continues to drain all spheres of the city, from education to culture to public space. Growth in the city, however, has reached its limit. Mega-projects like the Schönefeld Airport are failing. Suburban housing areas are not profitable. Their vacancy rate remains high and their infrastructures remain poorly connected to the rest of the city. Despite financial incentives to homebuyers, growth in this sector is ecologically and socially at its end. After development at the city's periphery met its economic limit, although the city had supported and financed this growth through

small minority that they are fighting, but for the turning around of boundless growth towards a socially just distribution, whereby a material living standard is one precondition, but equally important is the precondition of "living together". A return to the system of growth and distribution is necessary. An enormous wealth exists that depends on growth in particular sectors (only) and the simultaneously cutback of social programs that is causing impoverishment of entire populations. This turning point



*Demonstration for alternative used spaces
in front of the privatized city*

These processes took place simultaneously and will continue to repeat themselves as the EU expands. The end of growth in urban spaces is becoming more and more visible, and the uneven development across central and rural areas and between small and middle-sized cities is more and more evident, as is the unequal development of different areas inside the city itself. Revitalisation, service sector growth, and urban sprawl, all, in the end, further the devaluation of entire city regions and the shrinking of small and mid-sized towns in the rural regions.

The unimpeded economic development also reveals its contradictions in smaller local contexts. The neoliberal idea of multilateral negotiations fails in practice because those who are most affected by it usually lack access to decision-making bodies and are denied the opportunity to assert their interests. Unemployment, the ubiquity of large credits among small enterprises, and poverty (especially poverty of elderly and children), have reached a dimension now that cannot simply be addressed as social exclusion. Even in its official report on poverty, the federal government admits that children are at risk.

will not take place in the production process, however, but in the reproduction process, and above all, in big cities.

The squandering of public money for the benefit of a finance system that is itself in a crisis situation calls for a new form of resistance because existing members of the local government are not in the position to break out of and away from the rationale of the growth machine.

It does not make sense to save money if debts continue to rise. Access to affordable housing will not be easier despite high vacancy. Access to education and recreational facilities will become more difficult because the prices will continue to rise and because of the decline in material living standards connected with further stigmatisation. The Berlin public swimming pools, for example, have been partly privatised (the city still owns parts and provides subsidies). The city could retain control and a right of co-determination. However, prices increase, the pools close, and it is increasingly more difficult for entire social segments to gain access. Just as they were when the wall fell, the problems and contradictions have reached a point where the realities cannot further be denied.

What is required is a resistance that can attack the growth machine at its roots, and it is namely this, that is possible in Berlin. It is not just about students protesting against cutbacks or about residents in Kreuzberg fighting for improved housing, but about the fundamental rights of every citizen to have access to urban space – for better living conditions, for access to education, for access to public services, and the redistribution of wealth from the banks and to the people.

Many initiatives fight for singular interests. By "cleaning doorbells," a weakening of solidarity takes place. However, the city provides a context where solidarity and forms of civil disobedience might intervene. Whether it is a local agenda or a civic action group, all make a particular and single contribution. However, a network is required in order to gain weight and power, and to become a partner at the negotiating table.

Critical intellectuals might serve as the ideal agents of this development because they retain the skills to forge the transparency of the process. However, they must first ascribe to the idea that local initiatives are progressive and competent mechanisms towards societal change, and they must understand themselves as representatives of a new and changed community that fights for city

resources under the precedent of a different system of distribution.

What is required is a radical change in local politics. It is about power, and about the ability to access and influence decisions. This will not result from mere negotiation because only pressure from the masses can force fair negotiations. In this context, the term "think globally, act locally" has (again) a new meaning. Those who can succeed in his personal sphere and realise his/her personal dreams and values can achieve the competency required to re-create in the global context. This is why access to education, culture, recreation, and to public spaces must remain a topic at the negotiating table, and why the issue of how to deal with poverty must not remain a mere individual and personal problem.

Necessary is a network of and a solidarity between initiatives and social movements to politicise the need to enforce emancipation and to democratise power. To realise this, individual local objectives must be put into the context of the greater society as a whole. The city belongs to its people. The increase in the number of mass protests against the cutbacks in the social system has created hope. Solidarity between and among these individual fights, however, must be forged towards the realization of a just and liveable urban world for all. Translation: Maik Lindemann, Constance Carr

The Suckerfish

by Ernest Savage, Savage City Production

The privatization of public social services, already underway throughout the United States, intensified after the passage of the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act (PRWORA) in 1996. Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) was changed to Temporary Assistants for Needy Families (TANF). This act authorized the privatization of a wider range of welfare services than ever before, devolved the administration and implementation of TANF to the state level, and gave states a federal block grant that they could decide how to use. Some states like California further devolved the responsibility of caring for poor children to city or county governments. This combination of devolution, privatization, and non-earmarked block grants became an economic windfall for several corporations. Maximus Inc. has been the largest beneficiary of welfare privatization nationwide, and was ranked by *Forbes* magazine as one of the ten best small companies in America for 1999. So we shall focus on this upstart corporate care-giver. What's the

secret to Maximus' success? The Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors, the elected agency charged with implementing welfare in Los Angeles County, had several hearings on privatization. Russ Beleveaux, a seniorexecutive at Maximus, pitched his magic potion for corporate welfare to the eager-five-member board. As I listened, I was reminded of the Sucker Fish. This naturalwonder somehow symbiotically extracts nutrients from mold and decaying matter at the bottom of America's rivers. Nature gets cleaner streams, and the Sucker-Fish gets food. All I could gather from Beleveaux's vague platitudes and constant references to other "successful" privatization efforts was that Maximus could wave a Weberian wand that would extract bureaucratic largess from decaying welfare structures, provide better services to the poor, retain a "modest" profit, and save the government money. When Pacifica Network News correspondent Robyn Urivech pressed Maximus' CEO David Mastram for details on

Necessary is a Paradigm Shift from Growth and Accumulation to Equal Distribution

Unions continue to fight at their traditional and historical fronts. However, it is not for the protection of living standards for a

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Maximus' administrative miracles, he simply repeated the mantra, "we just have less red tape and bureaucracy to go through." Mantras may help buddhists find peace, and help Maximus win contracts, but only those with blind faith can believe that this mini-Enron has ever or could ever do anything but steal. Maximus has been caught red-handed breaking the law, they rarely fulfill their contracts, and they almost never act in the spirit of their pledge to "help government serve the people." So how does this corporate care-giver continue to win contracts from coast to coast? Aside from the ever-problematic fact that Americans have the political and historical memory of an Amoeba, there are four key strategies that this slimy creature uses to swim through the decomposing American safety net, and extract profit:

1. Hire government administrators, pay them much more than the government can, and use them to win contracts.
2. More obvious but still effective: Contribute to campaign coffers.
3. Commit fraud, and retain some the best lawyers in your field.
4. Hire less experienced "social workers," pay them less than their union counterparts, give them less benefits, and base as much of their pay as possible on commissions.

I know it seems alarming and impossible that a company can operate like this and continue to win contracts. Maximus has the advantage of being a bottom feeder. The murky waters of government devolution make it hard enough for a zealous activist like myself to keep track of this fishy business. If you are just some hack working for the Los Angeles Times, there just isn't time to call all those overworked and hard to reach local non-profit agencies, activists, and legal aide types to get the full report on this small thieving corporation. Besides, few editors feature welfareprivatization mishaps. Occasionally a member of the working press gets something through, but rarely on a national level, and never for a sustained period of time. Under the cover of journalistic apathy and ignorance, Maximus swims from city to city never fearful that it's action will ever reach a national audience. More importantly, local politicians are immune to the political fallout from privatization scandals. It's the perfect match. I've said some pretty nasty things about Maximus. Let's substantiate my claims.

Traveling around Maximus' website is like a moonlit tour through a spooky graveyard of the living-dead-retired social service bureaucrats thirsting for buck. Mr. Beveaux himself used to run the Medicaid program in Massa-

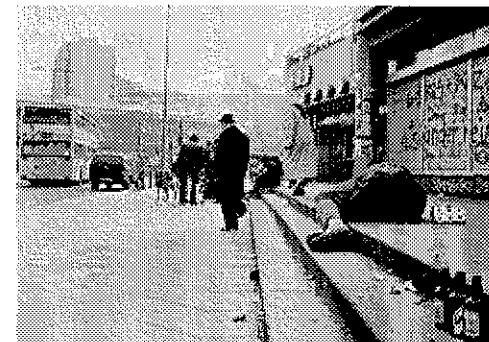


Urban poverty

chusetts. Why hire former government bureaucrats, if the whole idea is to inject private sector know-how into government services? As Dr. Rowland Zullo, a Professor of Industrial Relations at the University of Wisconsin put it, "It's not as if Maximus has a plan when they come into an area. They just sap the talent of the government agency performing the service [that's being privatized]." Former social service agents write the contract proposal that Maximus submits to win the contract, and lobby their former comrades and public officials to give poor mothers over to their new boss. Lena Settegren was a high level Manager in the Los Angeles Department of Public Social Services, while Los Angeles was drafting its welfare-to-work (TANF) implementation plan. Soon after LA County passed its plan, Settegren was hired by Maximus. With a little help from Settegren, and after donating between \$8,000 and \$25,000 dollars to the five LA County Board of Supervisors, Maximus won the LA Contract. If all Maximus was doing was attracting local talent to learn the lay of the land, and greasing a few public sphincters, that wouldn't be so bad. Another contract bid reveals a little more. In 1995 Kenneth Roberts, formerly an official of West Virginia's child welfare agency, pleaded guilty to fraud charges, and received four months in jail. For \$5,000 a month he was providing Maximus with inside information during the contract bidding pro-

cess. Poor sap was supposed to get a \$100,000 a year job. But if you can't hire social service administrators, or bribe them, try hiring their relatives. In 2000, the New York Times reported that Maximus, "hired the father-in-law and a family friend of New York City's welfare commissioner just as the company prepared to bid on more than \$100 million dollars in city welfare contracts..." This is where the sharks help the suckerfish. Since Maximus has the best lawyers that money can corrupt, even though there was a lengthy court case in both instances, Maximus was not fined or penalized in anyway. Ok, so competition for lucrative contracts can make scum suckers out of anyone. But Maximus can still be efficient at guiding welfare mothers down the tumultuous path to self-sufficiency once they win the contract, right? Well if the path is to homelessness, Maximus has built 8-lane express-ways for women forced off of welfare. Wisconsin could be considered ground zero for the detonation of welfare reform. The welfare population dropped from 98,000 to 16,000 from 1995-2000, and was sinking fast the last time I looked. Although Maximus isn't completely to blame for Wisconsin's woes, there were several other private contractors, they had the largest share of the action. In an interview with Pat Delacio of Legal Aide of Wisconsin, the privatization process brought about the "light touch" policy. The whole idea of welfare reform was to end dependency. Give them tough love by throwing them into the workforce with as few crutches as possible. So welfare contractors didn't want to tell welfare mothers about all the services that were legally available to them through state law, like childcare and transportation. One women's case was handled so badly she and a non-profit law group called Legal Action, sued Maximus for her files. Maximus claimed the files were private property. At the same time that the "light touch" policy was filling the homeless shelters, Maximus and other welfare contractors, arranged to receive all of their welfare block grant funding for their contracts up front. Anything that the welfare contractors didn't spend they got to keep. This meant millions of dollars in profit for Maximus and other contractors. But why settle for legally stealing millions? According to Wisconsin's non-partisan Legislative Audit Bureau Maximus' spent more than \$400,000 in questionable or improper expenses, including charges for work on projects in other states. It also found that the company did not properly document \$1.6 million in expenses. Instead of political fallout, Tommy Thompson, Wisconsin's Governor at the time became the U.S. Secretary of Health and Human Services. But hey all this can still be explained by the world's best lawyers. So lets go into the belly of the beast. Since the goal of welfare reform is to place welfare recipients in jobs, private contractors get evaluated by how many reci-

ipients they place in employment. Most contracts have a step system that pays a contractor more if it reaches a certain placement goal. To increase job placements, Maximus rewards its case managers with a commission for every job placement. Professor Ellen Reese was commissioned by the University of California Institute for Labor and Employment to interview former Orange and Los Angeles County Maximus employees. Five out of six



Homeless

former Maximus employees, some of whom worked in different offices and time periods, reported fraudulent practices in regards to placements. This suggests that dishonest reporting was relatively common within Maximus. To protect the employees from Maximus reprisals, their names are withheld from the report. The interviews were audio taped. One case manager manipulated the hours of employment so that she could count a single job placement twice, once as a part-time placement and another time as a full-time placement. Another employee claimed that, in his office, case managers simply reported a single placement twice so that they would get a bigger bonus. According to this person, supervisors tolerated "double-counting" and even engaged in it themselves in order to keep their job placement rates high and keep Maximus competitive for future contracts. Case managers also described workers who reported temporary jobs as full-time job placements. LA County requires that a single parent GAIN participant work at least 32 hours per week and a two-parent participant to work at least 35 hours per week to count as a full-time job placement. Nevertheless, case managers were falsely reporting temporary jobs lasting two days or less as full-time job placements. Los Angeles County's Contract Management and Monitoring Division caught Maximus making "multiple entries of employment record on the same job." Between October 2000 and June 2001 Maximus was faulted for this in 3 out of 9 monthly reviews.

Maximus was faulted 7 out of 9 monthly reviews for providing incorrect or insufficient employment information, making it difficult to verify claims about employment hours, start dates, and wages. There are dozens of more dirty deeds to catalog, but I am already running out of space. I haven't even talked about the quality of service that Maximus squeezes in during spare moments between criminal activities. You can probably guess it's not the level of care that historically disempowered people deserve. Maybe Maximus will go international as America drops neo-liberal bombs on the European

social system. In which case I would like to leave prospective Maximus employees with this thought. The most common way that Maximus and other welfare privatizers magically synthesize bureaucratic largess into profit, is by scraping the scales of their junior fish. Social workers at Maximus make about \$23,000-\$26,000 a year with limited benefits, much lower than their unionized, public sector counterparts who enjoy substantial benefits including in some cases life insurance. Lets hope that your safety nets don't become clogged with this vile species.

Freeing Nelson Mandela was not Enough

by Andrea Ploger

The movement to "Free Nelson Mandela" was worldwide during the 80s. No other movement gained such broad popularity and sympathy. When the ANC finally succeeded in overthrowing the apartheid state, the left seemed to have won, one of the rare and highly valued victories in the 90s.



Community action against evictions in Cape Town

About ten years later (2002), just before Christmas, 130 South Africans, many of them former ANC activists, received a summons to appear in the High Court, to defend themselves against an eviction application lodged by Unicity. Defense papers had to be submitted by the end of the week, which was clearly not possible in the Christmas period. If not, the army would be called in "to assist."

Ismael Peterson, one of the founders of the "Western Cape Anti-Eviction Campaign" (AEC), explains: "Even though we are situated with a new leadership, the ruling party of the people that was empowered is the black elite. These people are more than just capitalists,

because they are promoting the agendas of multinational corporations. They are pushing agendas like privatisation. According to my knowledge of this process, it is the globalisation of your life, of your people and your country and it is not acceptable. So basically what I am trying to say is that the so-called liberators of our country have turned into the capitalist oppressors of the people." Accordingly, 11% of the population still own the land and calls for a land distribution program have not been accepted. As Peterson claims, "even though the world wants to believe that we have the most progressive constitution, it is based on private property growth. The land is managed in the interest of capitalist accumulation and not in the interest of the people."

Local Struggles in the Western Cape and INURA Berlin

AEC activists like Ismael Peterson see their struggle as part of a larger struggle against global neoliberal adjustment for the profit of ever accelerated capitalist accumulation. Since the new ruling class has implemented the first structural adjustment programs, people have become more politically aware and active again. The AEC could draw on peoples' political consciousness that developed during their struggles against the apartheid state. Since the beginning of the capitalist restructuring of the country, political debates have been reopened. Ismael states in an interview by Ingo Bader and Albert Scharenberg at the INURA meeting in Berlin, that "if you go into a community in the Western Cape or across South Africa, you will discover that the people are speaking about privatization. People are speaking about multinational corporations. People are asking, 'who are these people, who is our government serving, and whose interests are they protecting?' ...People start to realize

more and more that the government does not govern the country, but that the country is being ruled, and so is the government itself." The AEC recently discovered that the new minister of finance had formerly been a chairman of the WTO. Just as he implemented cost recovery and tech management policies for the WTO, he is now implementing the same policies for the South African government. AEC activists' consciousness was also raised by the suppression of an AEC delegation to the world summit of sustainable development in South Africa. Police forces attacked activists when they came to present their issues. Ismael says, "We have come to the conclusion that we are struggling against a global monster....They finance our government to oppress us. The situation is basically worse than it was before. We used to have a huge social network, but when the government came into power everything collapsed, and they are refusing to address social issues." As he stated in an e-mail interview in October, the "World Bank, I.M.F., the E.U., and W.T.O. are still very determined to have these policies and programs implemented. But global resistance will continue.... We will take our struggles to their very door steps."



Anti-Eviction Campaign

Measures to reshape the economy of South Africa in the name of global capital had originated from a deal between the ANC and the white elites. For Ismael Peterson the basic mistakes "at the eve of the revolution" were to subvert the country to global capitalist structures, equal to a sell-out from which only a small elite could profit. While this elite used to be white, today it is black and defines liberation and black empowerment in terms of their own benefit. "Unfortunately what happened is that, at the eve of the revolution a sell-out took place. There had to be some agreement, political and economic agreement. I think the agreement was basically that 'we protect your estates as long as you give our people political freedom.' I think that this was totally wrong."

It was not until November 2000 that the AEC was

formed in Cape Town. It aimed to fight against evictions, water cut-offs, poor health services, and police brutality, and to promote free electricity. The AEC is currently an umbrella organization for over 15 community groups, crisis committees, and movements of concerned residents who have come together to organize and demand their rights to basic services. The AEC is fighting evictions and water and electricity cut-offs on many different levels. Its current activities range from direct action demonstrations against evictions and cut-offs, to legal actions that challenge the constitutionality of the evictions, to mass mobilization and popular education initiatives, to creative organization and capacity building programs. Current campaigns and actions range from impending court cases and pressure on the government to release a commission's report on the illegality of evictions to mass mobilization against the governments' macro economic strategy and privatisation policies. The AEC thus tries to make links between government policies and peoples' concrete experiences with evictions and cut-offs. The AEC also conducts research through the University Centre of Durban to gain empirical data on the socio-economic effects of evictions and water and electricity cut-offs, create alternatives to such policies, and improve the skills of their Legal Aid Team. For further actual information take a look at www.antieviction.org.za!!

The AEC movement and its various branches are actually growing stronger in the face of persistent struggles against the neoliberal policies implemented by the ANC government. Just recently, an interdict against the City of Cape Town was obtained, preventing them from evicting more than 200 families. The next step the AEC is proposing is to go to the Constitutional Court to challenge national policy and sanction illegal state actions.

So, when Ismael Peterson heard of INURA he decided to join this network, because "where ever in the world, processes of privatisation and urban renewal are currently on their way, in countries like China, even in Berlin," he explains. At this year's INURA conference in Berlin, he was one of the featured speakers. He gave the audience an overview of how neoliberal politics was affecting South Africa and Cape Town. His presence at the conference gave a voice to perspectives of the Global South. He urged the first world (academic) audience to rethink the dominant political agendas in their own countries and to connect them with struggles in Africa. It also gave us the opportunity to value how academic work could be used to improve policies and give people the tools they need for their struggles. This may bring

science back to its purpose, "Aufklärung" (enlightenment), so that we seek "not only to analyse the world but to change it", as a well-known scientist once claimed. (See also coordinated INURA research project article)

Asked about his impression of the INURA conference and network, Ismael answered that he and other AEC members viewed it as an opportunity to link up with an international network and conduct research for new and alternative (planning) policies, research that serves the people. He says, "a network like INURA should and can be this vehicle and international voice for the global poor. I think INURA is one of the most effective and amazing networks I've ever come across in my political career. For the future, I envision setting up an INURA Africa. I want to help build this network in order for us as members to really serve as the vehicle that will bring about positive and sustainable human development for all people globally."

AEC Activists Run for Elections and Loose their Office (and They Need Support!!!)

To fight these programs and policies, Ismael says, "we realize it won't be easy, but at least we believe [that] our cause is just and worthwhile."

A party, named the Universal Party, was founded to participate in the forthcoming elections. Most of the social movements in the country support this party. Hopes are high that it could create an alternative "to the corrupt capitalist government and its allies." One of the problems that the AEC faces is the closure of their office, which had been hosted by the South African Municipal Workers Union (SAMWU). The ANC and National Congress mem-

bers urged them to throw the AEC out and even intimidated them. This is not an isolated case. Ismael claims that, "political intimidation, state violence, harsh bail conditions, and apartheid style, unjust court hearings, etc." continue in post-apartheid South Africa. Even though attempts to participate in the elections and to engage in national and local government have been made, the ruling class does not want to "address the issues of concern." On the contrary, military and paramilitary forces frequently crush social movements and people who try to defend themselves against unconstitutional measures, while state officials continue to encourage multinationals to take a share of the country. They also continue their politics of structural adjustment and transnational trade agreements. The ANC Government is also intensifying its efforts to implement NEPAD (New Partnership for Africa's Development), which will mean structural adjustment all throughout Africa. It will result in pushing African governments to sign GATTs agreements and open their markets to the multinationals. This will mean also that movements like the AEC will have to continue and even intensify their efforts. It also means that they need support from other INURIANS for a new office and for their election campaign!!!

Our campaign needs you and anyone who stand against human rights abuse to support us in raising 10 000 euros for our goal.

Our bank details is the following :
South Africa, Cape Town, Belville
First National Bank Branch code 200310
Account No. 62049162663

Governance of Privatization

Three Days of an INURA Ruhr-Excursion, July 2003

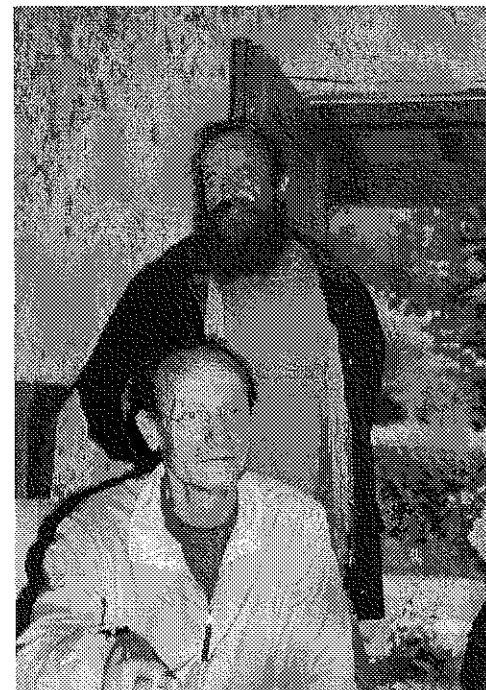
by INURA Dortmund

Shortly after the INURA-conference in Berlin and Trebnitz in June 2003, the local INURA-Dortmund group organised a three-day excursion through the region of the Ruhr (Ruhrgebiet) focussing on "De-regulation, Liberalization and Privatisation of Public Infrastructure and Public Administration". The program included academic presentations, discussions, meetings with urban activists and sightseeing tours of the Ruhr Area and Duesseldorf. The perspective of this action was to make participants of this visit sensible for neo-Liberal changes in urban governance of public infrastructures, and to

guaranty a tangible inspection of a diversity of urban resistance and micro-politics along with this new trend of urban administration and politics. As we look back and reflect upon these three days, we conclude that the excursion was to repeat. We would like to invite you for a similar trip between 20th and 22nd May 2004.

Riwetho eG - a New Co-operative Housing Project

Thursday began with a travel to Oberhausen, where we had to find "Riwetho". The site was a former working class settlement, where Riwetho was founded as a new urban co-operative housing pro-



During the field trip

ject to preserve the settlement. The old working class dwellings in Oberhausen have, since the 70s, been threatened by demolition. However, the inhabitants have never given up the fight for their houses and their community. It was a long struggle characterised by squatting and political actions. Even after it was clear that the buildings would be saved, the residents were threatened with evictions from the city, as it became clear that the city wanted to reserve the property for an "exchanged" social milieu. The idea to form a co-operative first emerged in 1995. Between 1998 and 2001 intense negotiations took place, and in June of 2001, the buy has been contracted. The fight for their community was won. To-day, the problems are not over. Many houses are in bad condition and must be renovated - an expensive endeavour. Raising this money is a bone of contention within the community. While some do not want to invest further as they are satisfied with having the houses at all, others want to continue improving the property. Hopefully, their internal struggle will not destroy all that they have achieved from so many years of fighting. However, Riwetho is an example success story, showing that when people fight together, there is a chance to win. But this winning was possible only by a community kind of "privatisation".

Bilderflut - The Flood of Pictures

We visited "Flood of Pictures" coming back home to Dortmund. This artwork in public space is meant to be an attempt to improve the bad image of the Dortmunder Nordstadt through mural painting with the help of school children. The artist sought to attract curiosity and attention to the area by introducing "visual comfort" in public space. The post-modern society experiences an era of overall stimulation by acoustic and visual means - advertising is everywhere. Acknowledging this reduction of perception and education, "Flood of Pictures" aimed to promote some creative altercation. Initiated in 1999 by the association "Planerladen", it was supposed to run for 7 years. It has financial support from the City of Dortmund and from the European Union.

Public Petition Preserving a Department of Public Works - Successful Fight against Privatisation

That's what we learned next morning visiting the city's department of public works of Duesseldorf. The capitol city of North-Rhine Westphalia (NRW) holds its own department of works, a performing modern enterprise, with more than 400.000 energy-customers, 3.000 employees and 800 millions of turnover per year. As the majority in the city council of Duesseldorf changed from a Red-Green to a Christian Democratic-Liberal coalition at the end of 1999 the public service soon was up for sale.

But this was not the way that the citizens of Duesseldorf wanted. Our visiting group was happy to meet one of the most engaged people fighting for preserving the local energy, gas and water service as a public service, Wolfgang Scheffler. He was one of the initiators of a public petition in Duesseldorf, voting for the preservation of the existing 51% majority from the city in the city's department of works. The activities for the public petition started in 2001. The conditions are severe: you need a minimum of 3 % of the citizens who give their personal signature within a deadline of 12 weeks. Because of strong support from the unions, IG Metall and Verdi, and other groups 40.000 signatures could be collected. These were votes enough. In May 2001 an other 98.000 citizens, more than the 20%, gave their votes against the total selling of the city's department of works. The city council had to follow this vote of the citizens and to stop privatising "Stadtwerke Düsseldorf".

Other Urban Interventions - Librarium, Worringer Platz, AntiFa

For lunch, the excursion visited a traffic junction, called "Worringer Platz". Main traffic roads to the

Activities
#25

Activities
#26



Bilderflut - Art in public space

eventually someone did care about the Worringer Platz. The artists group A&O managed to install a lighted and heated glass pavilion (green house) with the help of interested town planners in the city administration. Their first action there has been "Librarium", a special library in the small green house. Residents and passers-by were asked the question: Is there an important book in your life?, and were invited to name this book. The artists then borrowed the book from the public library or bought it in a book shop to fill up their library. A lot of people responded, some of them even brought their important book as a gift for the Librarium. Since then other activities took place in the small green house: In the early autumn the history of Worringer Platz concerning migration and World Wars could be experienced in a tour. This was so successful that the offer had to be renewed three times.

The group "Kaiserswerther Straße" impressively and underlined by a video tape reported about their activities against cleaning-up inner-city public space by public and private cops. Many every day occurrences - not always pleasant ones - like begging, loitering or drinking alcohol publicly suddenly became liable to prosecution. Of course these politics are directed against the usual suspects, e.g. punks, homeless people and drug addicts but in practice not against the male drunk beer garden guest. Out of tiredness of traditional political activities Duesseldorf's Antifa (Anti-Fascist-Movement) tried to show the growing gap in society between rich and poor and the repressive reactions from the department of home affairs by using activities which are inspired by art and ironically break off this political development. With a "Bonzenparade" (= a parade in which everybody was dressed up to appear very very rich) luxus was demonstratively displayed and cuts in social services were openly and ironically demanded. This activity referred to the fact that the Königsallee in Dusseldorf is one of the most expensive shopping miles in Europe. The presentation by the Antifa was a lot of fun and provided many ideas how to be active on getting public space for everybody.

INURA-Dortmund are Anna Musinski, Daniela Wullers, Marcus Voelker, Sebastian Müller and Tino Buchholz

Urbanization and Privatization: A Transnational Research

by Roger Keil

Project Workshop of the International Network for Urban Research and Action Workshop in Toronto, March 19-21, 2004

Project Description: INURA Toronto is hosting a workshop to be held at York University in Toronto in March 2004. As described in more detail below, this workshop is meant to bring together members of the International Network for Urban Research and Action (INURA) from Europe, the Americas, Africa, Asia and Australia to begin conversations about a long term, transnational research project. This research project operates on two levels: 1. a theoretical re-definition of global urbanism; 2. an empirical study on the relationships of privatization and urbanization.

It is our hope that the transnational research project can eventually be housed at York University. The project is immediately connected to a teaching and activist strategy: pedagogical modules will be developed in international collaboration to enable students on five continents to work on similar subject matter with similar methods and substance. It will also

assist urban communities to make better connections between research on urbanization and civic action as well as policies. Although much work has recently been done on urbanization under conditions of neoliberal globalization, no single project has attempted to approach its consequences in as broadly transnational a manner and on the scale proposed here.

Origins of the Project: At its annual meeting in Germany in June 2003, INURA members decided to put together a common project that would connect research and action across five continents. Members are currently communicating about the concrete outlines of such a project. At its next meeting in Amsterdam in the summer of 2004, INURA will work out the details. At this point, it has been agreed to work on two related themes with a theoretical umbrella project and related and parallel empirical case studies in the following member cities: Amsterdam, Beirut, Berlin, Brussels, Cape Town, Dortmund, Florence, Hong Kong, London,

Los Angeles, Melbourne, Mexico City, Paris, Porto Alegre, Toronto, and Zurich. The theoretical and conceptual part of the project will explore the conditions of today's urbanization in both the global South and the North. This work will look at the multi-scale constitution of urban everyday life in the age of globalization. Based predominantly on the theoretical work of Henri

Lefebvre, INURA research will examine the ways in which urban dwellers around the world define the perceived, conceptual and lived spaces of the contemporary city. The empirical part of the project will look concretely at the continuing threat of privatization of urban everyday life in general and municipal services in particular during this period of neoliberal hegemony.

The INURA project receives its strengths from the unprecedented breadth of its design on one hand and the unparalleled depth of its research reach: It assembles some of the most well known scholars in relevant academic institutions around the world and connects them systematically on the basis of INURAs long collaboration and experience with communities in some of the most exciting cities of today's world urban system.

The Event: We will hold a two-day intensive workshop-style conference on March 19 to 21, 2004 at York University. It will consist of organized working sessions on a selected array of topics relevant to the progress of the research proposal and project. We will work in a plenary but eventually split into groups to work on specific practical, theoretical issues. Participants will be asked, beforehand, to come prepared with modules of the future research project. We envision having drafts of the core proposal by the end of the workshop that will spell out the topic, direction, theoretical approach, conceptual framework and methodologies.

Exploring future funding possibilities in all participant cities/countries is a big part of the strategy. We envision holding a public event with local groups (such as Planning Action) to project the work INURA is doing into the academic and activist communities in Toronto.