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PROCEEDINGS OF THE ANNUAL MEETING

CONTENTS

EDITORIAL	3
THE ROSTOCK EVENTS	
COMMENT	4
CALL FOR PAPERS	6
DOCUMENT: DRAFT DISCUSSION PAPER FROM THE ROSTOCK CITIZENS' ROUND TABLE	7
INURA TRACK RECORD	10
ANNUAL MEETING 1992 in Prerow, Germany CITIES IN TRANSFORMATION IN TRANSFORMING SOCIETIES	
SUMMARIES OF PRESENTATIONS	11-34
WHAT ARE THE PERSPECTIVES OF INURA FOR THE FUTURE ? THINKING ABOUT AN INURA FOUNDATION	35
ADVANCE NOTICE: 1993 INURA Conference at Beamish Hall, Durham, England	36
PINBOARD	37
ADDRESSES OF CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS BULLETIN	39
INURA ADDRESSES	40

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EDITORIAL

How happy we would have been to introduce this Bulletin with an editorial summing up the warm May days and the friendly, stimulating atmosphere during our conference in Prerow. But reality overtook us again and brought the frightening days of Rostock-Lichtenhagen. This kind of nightmare continues now in other German towns and villages.

Shocking already that the name of this Northwestern quarter of Rostock can be used without further explanation in a Bulletin which goes round a greater part of the world. However, the fact that refugees were attacked and almost killed during a week which many of us here will remember as an apocalyptic vision coming into reality, seems not to be enough yet. What is as shocking is that the *mainstream* of political reactions can be described in terms of instrumentalizing what happened - in the interests of tightening up asylum law.

Rostock is definitely not a hotbed of German Nazis and it is also true that youngsters were paid by foreign TV people to bawl "Heil Hitler" into the open eye of a camera. But the fact remains that there were others bawling "Heil Hitler" without being paid, that there were people in fear of their lives, that there were local people as well as visitors applauding the militant mob, and that all those who were ashamed and deeply concerned about this explosion of hate and violence did not find a common and powerful public voice.

So we decided to reserve part of the Bulletin for statements about the Rostock events. We asked Ian Harknett, our friend and English colleague, to write a comment from the perspective of a foreigner who has been living in Rostock for several years. And we are including the draft of a thesis-paper which the Citizens' Round Table of Rostock, a body where parties, organizations and initiatives are represented outside the local council, discusses recently. In the end of October it shall be published in Rostock to stimulate further public discussion. Finally we have added a call for papers in the hope of getting enough significant responses to allow the publication of a joint report, bringing the experiences of Rostock into a greater framework.

Nevertheless, the greatest part of the Bulletin deals with INURA affairs. *Fortunately* we got summaries of most of the conference presentations, *unfortunately* the set is not complete. But time had come to finish work on the manuscript and finally to produce it.

Bulletin No.5 will be published by INURA London, the headquarters role passes to our British friends. They have already been busy preparing an outline programme for the next meeting in England, which we are happy to present you here.

INURA goes ahead, no doubt. And also in view of our Rostock experiences we want to add: it is good so....

Karl-Otto Richter
INURA Rostock

THE ROSTOCK EVENTS

ROSTOCK? ROSTOCK!

Comment by Ian Harknett (Rostock)

Most members and friends of INURA probably knew very little about Rostock two years ago, if indeed they'd heard of the place at all. Although important within the GDR economy, as an international port and shipbuilding centre, little happened in Rostock that was worthy of notice in the wider world. Nor did Rostock play a major role in the upheavals of 1989.

After German unification Rostock occasionally made the news, most often in connection with the near-collapse of the port and shipyards and mass unemployment. But on the whole the city lived down to the image of Mecklenburg, traditionally seen as Germany's sleepest and most economically backward region.

The founding of INURA meant that those involved came into contact with the city during the first meeting in Salecina and through the moving of the 1992 office to Rostock. A few members came here in 1991; visitors to the Prerow conference this May spent a (rushed) day in Rostock and saw something of the city, the port and one of the housing estates. A chance to observe some of the city's problems, but by no means in depth. Even if the discussion on the situation continued in Prerow, time remained short to grasp its whole complexity.

And then, in August, Rostock was on the front page of every newspaper; the burning hostel in Lichtenhagen on every TV. Is there a literate person left, anywhere, who can't say which country Rostock is in and what happened here? Friends from all over Europe were in touch; people returning from as far away as Madagascar and Kazakhstan wanted to know what was happening, if it was "as bad as the papers say". Yes, it was that bad. A wonder that, at the time of writing, no refugee has yet been killed in the wave of racist attacks that has now spread throughout the country, concentrated in the East.

Here is not the place to give a detailed account of events, to analyse causes or to seek explanations. All I'd like to do is mention a couple of points that especially concern me about German politics in the context of the response to the attacks.

Most of the response from media and politicians has centred on the problems, real and alleged, of the local residents who in large numbers encouraged or condoned the attacks. Another line popular with politicians is to see the rule of law, the *Rechtsstaat*, as the object of attack - which neatly justifies massive police action against anti-Nazi activists. Most of the response ignores or diverts attention from the fact that the actual victims are the asylum-seekers who are psychologically terrified or physically injured. Instead of facing the inhumanity of the attacks, there's been an awful lot of understanding for the perpetrators - and a speeding-up of moves by the main political parties to "tighten up" asylum law and "stem the flood". Compare this with politicians' traditional refusal to "give in to terrorism".

A major concern of politicians, in particular, is to try to rescue the image of the city and the country - perceived as somehow being possible without countering the racism and its causes. Concern about the *pictures* going out to the world from Rostock has for some been greater than concern for the victims.

And all this is taking place alongside a general swing to the right by the established political parties, with the leadership of the opposition SPD likely not only to support the government on changes to asylum law, but also on such issues as allowing German military action outside NATO and, internally, introducing new crack police units (as if Germany were short of them!) and increasing surveillance. The SPD's lurch to the right in turn allows the Bavarian partner in the governing coalition, the CSU, to urge the government to move yet further right to distinguish itself from the SPD. The programmes of the extreme right-wing *Republikaner* and DVU (German *Volks* Union) become more respectable every day. (Whilst mentioning the extreme right it must be added that they are better organized and capable of more sophisticated planning than most of us had suspected, true both of right-wing parties operating inside the law and of neo-Nazi groups.)

And where are the real opposition voices? With very few exceptions, in the margins. Either unorganized individuals, or members of parties that have trouble - for different reasons - getting a hearing. Consistent opposition has come from the PDS, which is the successor to the former ruling communist party in the GDR and for various reasons has serious credibility problems, and from various citizens' initiatives and wings of the Green movement, all however somewhat in disarray at the moment. The churches have in places been active, but even here leading figures have chosen the present time to announce their acceptance of a need to review asylum law. The most frightening thing for me is a general absence of shock or outrage amongst the population: the scale of the horror is something most people cannot - or will not - grasp.

To reflect the mood here I should no doubt have written a few lines in defence of Rostock, stressed that Rostock isn't full of racists and that many people *are* deeply upset and genuinely concerned. True, of course - but at the moment that seems a lot less important than the fact that the racist attacks happened here, that they weren't the last, that they were the start of a wave of racist violence that has now lasted for four weeks, and that most of the upset and concerned have still not found a way of combatting the problem. And in that group I have to count myself. We should also have realised more clearly just what was brewing here - especially after the UCEF report at the beginning of the year - and tried more actively to counter the danger. Contrary to the wishful thinking of far too many people, "Rostock" isn't something that has happened, that can be consigned to the past and now dealt with by repairing an image: it's a problem whose roots have barely been scratched at, and which could take on yet more horrendous proportions.

Rostock, 20 September 1992.

CALL FOR PAPERS

INURA Rostock

In February 1992 an explorative survey on the acceptance of refugees in Rostock was carried out by the Independent Centre for Empirical Research in Social Sciences, Politics and Communication (UCEF), INURA's Rostock representative. A first report was published in April (c.f. Karl-Otto Richter's contribution to the Prerow conference).

From the very beginning we intended to go further with the research. We feel that recent developments make this plan more urgent than ever and that our perspective has to be broadened. What we plan now is an international publication. The specific experiences we have got here shall be brought together *first* with reflections from abroad about the Rostock events, and *second* with particular experiences of racism and hostility against refugees, foreigners or ethnic groups in other parts of the world.

Please consider participating, or inform potentially interested colleagues and friends. (We will also try to interest respective ISA- and IPSA-RCs.) If you want to support the project, contact INURA Rostock - see the address on the cover of the Bulletin. As a first step (before 31 Nov.) we would appreciate a note expressing interest and outlining the topic of the paper you could contribute. We will answer immediately. We hope to get sufficient responses to enable us to prepare a convincing conceptualisation and proposal and find an editor. Naturally you would receive a copy of this proposal so that you would have an opportunity to influence it and to decide definitely if you wish to participate.

Our call for papers is not to be misunderstood as attempt to prove that refugee hostels don't burn in Germany alone but worldwide - just to ease the Germans' public or individual pain about what happened and what goes happening day after day in Germany. What we have in mind is, rather, to put the Rostock analysis into a context which allows a better understanding of particular experiences of political, social, economic and cultural responses to racial hostility - be it latent or militant.

What we *propose* is to take the draft discussion paper of the Rostock *Bürgertisch* (documented in this Bulletin), formulated and discussed with UCEF participation, as a point of reference. But this is no more than a suggestion.

In summary: the joint project we are proposing is not a purely academic publication. We want experiences, knowledge and opinions, resulting from particular contexts, in order to intervene in a public debate which seems to be leading towards political measures sealing Germany and Europe off from the rest of a (poor) world - at least if it goes on as it has recently in Germany.

DOCUMENTATION

Draft discussion paper from the *Rostocker Bürgertisch* - 24 September 1992

The call for papers (above) refers to a paper from the Rostock Citizens' Round Table, the *Bürgertisch*. The paper is too long to reproduce in full, because of the time available for translation and the space it would fill - the original is over six A4 pages. It is in any case just a draft, which will certainly undergo changes before publication, probably in November 1992. What follows is therefore a partial, unofficial (and somewhat hurried) translation. The aim is to include the main points and to summarise other sections. The following conventions have been adopted: direct translations are in *italics*, summaries of other parts in normal type. Omissions are indicated by dots in parentheses (...) and translator's notes are in square brackets, [thus].

Violence against foreigners and the state: Rostock after Lichtenhagen
DRAFT of a public discussion paper

Immediate causes for the explosion of hate and violence in Lichtenhagen

Specific immediate causes promoted the explosion of hate and violence, and made it easier for a section of the local population to identify with the aims and even with the militant attacks of violent extreme right-wingers. These immediate causes can, however, at best help to explain the violence and the support that was expressed for those carrying it out - they cannot excuse it.

The ZAST [central reception point for asylum-seekers] for the Land [Mecklenburg-Vorpommern] in Lichtenhagen was, from the beginning, seen by the responsible politicians and authorities as provisional. At least a year and a half passed by, during which an acceptable solution could have been found and active measures taken to counter foreseeable problems.

In the following paragraph the inadequate support (funding and personnel) given to the council officer responsible for foreigners is criticized, as is the decision to place the 'foreigners officer' at Land level within the interior ministry. The paper goes on to point out that the worsening of problems in the ZAST since spring 1992 brought no political reaction.

The articulation of justified anger on the part of Lichtenhagen residents was de facto ignored by the politicians. The causes of this anger cannot be attributed (...) to an "uncontrolled flow of asylum seekers". The decisive causes for the justified displeasure of residents lie rather

- *in political ignorance in the face of problems inevitably caused by an inflow of asylum-seekers,*
- *in asylum-seekers being forced to camp out of doors without basic sanitary facilities,*
- *in the refusal of the council's Senator for internal affairs to combat the unacceptable conditions, using the means which without doubt were available to him.*

Even the fact that local media reported the planned actions in the week before the escalation of violence prompted neither a political response nor adequate preparation on the part of the police - who initially, if no more serious accusation is to be levelled, behaved as if surprised by the outbreak of violence.

The following section criticizes the "incompetence" of the police commanders, the

police fixation on left-wing violence and police provocation of non-violent demonstrators. The paper criticizes the official political reactions as taking advantage of the violence in the interests of promoting a restrictive asylum policy and of equating right-wing violence with left-wing counter-demonstrators, creating a fear of a "left-extremist danger".

Underlying causes

For different reasons an organised extreme right-wing potential developed both in the GDR and in the FRG. This potential is currently growing, making use of the topic asylum. German politicians' prolonged asylum debate, and what amounts to a "deterrence policy" towards asylum-seekers, have promoted negative attitudes in the population towards foreigners as a threatening "problem group". In this process the ruling parties allow themselves to be pushed by the extreme right in a direction that they themselves, with a demagogic and trivialised asylum discussion, have marked out. In end effect, a threat to the democratic fundamentals of the state has grown out of the state itself.

A kind of immune-system deficiency in the face of right-radical violence is growing, not only in the new federal Länder. A major cause is the narrow connection between political disappointments and social insecurity, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, multiple wounds to the psyche resulting from the way in which the difficult process of German unification is taking place. (...) The process of German unification itself thus gives an impulse for hostility towards asylum-seekers and other foreigners.

The contrast between a mass of serious economic and social problems, on the one hand, and the combination of an unbelievable political stick-it-out optimism, with irresponsible promises and party power-politics, on the other, has led especially in the new Länder to a widespread turning away from politics. Trust in the 'official' political system (...) is in a deep crisis. (...) This is the fertile soil on which (...) the simple answers of extreme right demagogues can - and do - gain influence.

The growing acceptance of (...) violent behaviour is not a phenomenon which can be (...) reduced to specific "problem groups", (...) it is also not specifically a youth problem. The origins of this acceptance lie rather in way that general social relations - including world relations - and everyday life and culture are experienced as essentially violent. Broad public discussion of this is lacking, as is a dialogue about the growing migration and movements of refugees from regions afflicted by hunger and violence. (...)

The readiness of young people to turn to violence is promoted by public opinion when "youth violence" is given a special status, is separated from violence in everyday life and culture, when, in other words, "youth violence" is set against a mythical "non-violent adult world". It is to be expected that young people either see themselves as unfairly judged or stress precisely this apparent difference to demonstrate their distance to "adult society".

A large part of the media must stand accused of having played a major role in covering the asylum discussion in a populist way, as determined by party interests. Facts about the actual costs involved in accepting asylum-seekers and the relation of these costs to the tax income from foreign workers were, for example, hard to find. No comparison of the costs of running the ZAST with the costs of the police detachments in Lichtenhagen was made. All too seldom is there a challenge to the

(...) assumption that asylum-seekers are competitors for (...) housing and work.

Violence (...) in the media lowers inhibitions (...). Much of the media was far more interested in dramatic pictures and reports of violence than in less dramatic (...) opposition to the violence.

The deliberate failure to take steps to solve or partially solve problems related to the ZAST, in order to achieve short-term political aims or to put pressure on political "enemies", played a part in provoking the outbreaks of violence. The politicians' expressions of horror at the Lichtenhagen events are therefore (...) in many cases not credible and must be seen as cynical.

Consequences and political proposals

[The final pages of the paper contain a number of proposals for regional and national politics. What follows is a very brief selection.]

The population does not need to be "protected" from foreigners by means of a harsher asylum policy, rather to be won over to a qualitatively new policy which could very quickly be formulated through 'Round Tables' which include all ideas and initiatives.

Asylum-seekers should not be isolated from the population in central camps; instead contacts should be promoted, above all where these can help prevent hostility towards foreigners and right-wing extremism. This approach includes not simply having a discussion about asylum-seekers but creating access to the public for the voice of the asylum-seekers themselves.

Speeding up the processing of asylum applications will not suffice. The legal framework for a regulated immigration to Germany also need to be created.

The willingness of foreigners (...) to make cultural compromises must also be addressed. (...) In particular representatives of the Romanies living in Germany should be called upon (...) to join in creating a (...) basis for their life together with Germans and other foreigners.

A new special police department is unnecessary. Germany has ample police and security forces.

Youth work should be promoted in such a way that it is not limited to "actionism", and cannot be interpreted as the creation of alibis for the failure of policy.

Problems of the German unification process must be more openly discussed in East and West.

The media must be firmly called upon to exercise self-restraint in regard to the presentation of violence, or they must be restricted through appropriate legislation.

The position of the council officer responsible for foreigners must be strengthened.

Foreigners, including asylum-seekers, should be more involved in the making of decisions which affect them.

Such town planning policy should be supported as includes an active settlement policy for foreigners. The creation of an atmosphere where foreigners are seen as enriching our existence would not only encourage foreigners to come to and stay in our city, but would also give a genuine, not merely verbal, counterbalance to the worldwide damage that Rostock's reputation has suffered.

INURA TRACK RECORD INURA Zurich

When INURA was started, we did not have a clear picture of what a network could be all about. Among initial participants there must have been a wide array of wishes, ideas, expectations, hopes and fears. A year later, 2000 metres lower, in the sand dunes of the Darß in eastern - formerly 'East' - Germany it is time to take a look back at what has happened since the snowy foundation of INURA in Salecina, Switzerland.

Salecina 1991 and Rostock 1992 were very successful one-week INURA conferences. Both included the presentation and discussion of the participants' work, debates on global economic/political/social developments, visions for INURA, and a lot of fun. Both times the open-minded atmosphere of the conference gave space for fierce disputes as well as the establishment of strong personal ties.

So far, four INURA Bulletins have been produced. The first two by the Zurich group, the second two in Rostock. There are always at least two Bulletins a year, one with the announcement of the next conference and one containing the proceedings. Bulletins also carry information about members' activities for potentially interested colleagues. Everybody can have his/her announcement published in the 'Pinboard'. The INURA 'Pinboard' offers ample opportunities for announcements, invitations for cooperation, head hunting ... you name it.

As far as the relatively uninstitutionalized flow of information allows one to judge, we can say that the network has been helpful in many different ways, e.g. in placing newspaper articles abroad, getting in touch with local initiative groups as well as arranging competent city guides, in public 'academic' support for local groups and their arguments, and so on.

INURA has nurtured professional (and personal) contacts which have led to an extended co-operation: Thanks to Karl-Otto Richter of INURA Rostock several INURA members were invited to Rostock for a cultural exchange called 'British week', where they informed people about the Docklands development. Video workshops by Spectacle, London, helped in the foundation phase of the Medienwerkstatt in Rostock and has led to an extended collaboration between London and Rostock.

Networking between INURA members in Frankfurt, Zurich and Los Angeles resulted in a successful panel at the ISA RC21 (International Sociological Association, Research Committee 21) conference in Los Angeles, "New Urban and Regional Hierarchies". This panel was chaired by Ed Soja and John Friedmann of Los Angeles.

INURA Joint Projects: INURA members from Frankfurt and Zurich have found a publisher for their book on two of Europe's major financial centres. Another bilateral project involving comparisons between Geneva and Zurich (*La régulation en Suisse*) is in a phase of intense discussions. Interesting enough, these intra-Swiss relations were established on international grounds, i.e. congresses in Paris and Moscow.

And, finally, we have stepped across the Atlantic. Two newly-opened regional INURA

offices are our contribution towards the 500-year festivities: INURA Toronto and INURA Los Angeles. Looking forward to successful intercontinental relations, we would like to express our best wishes for the future of these new footholds.

In order to be able to render all these services, it is necessary for INURA to have a solid stock of members. At present there are roughly 80 members from 17 countries in 5 continents. (We would be very grateful to have some more institutional members on our list.) Looking at the diverse social and professional backgrounds of members there seems to be a large potential for creative relations. One of INURA's aims is to bring together people with the wide range of experiences that might be expected from professors, artists, squatters or administrators. This should prove to be spicy, sparkling, explosive and invigorating for participants as well as for the future development of the cities and urban areas we are involved with.

ANNUAL MEETING 1992 IN PREROW, GERMANY CITIES IN TRANSFORMATION IN TRANSFORMING SOCIETIES SUMMARIES OF PRESENTATIONS¹

THE COLLAPSE OF CANARY WHARF Bob Colenutt (London)

Canary Wharf, the symbol of Thatcherite economics and inner city policy, has gone into receivership. Olympia and York, the Canadian developers behind the project are under protective administration, while receivers for the £1.4 Billion, 460,000 square metre office development are looking for a buyer. Why did it happen and what are the implications for Docklands and urban policy?

Very simply it happened because of deregulation of financial services in the City of London, coupled with deregulation of the planning system and heavy tax subsidies to developers in Docklands.

The scheme was too big, came onto the market at the wrong time, was poorly served by public transport, and was driven more by tax subsidies and speculative fiscal policies than by real demand. Faced with vacancy rates in the City of London of 20% and in Docklands of 58%, there was no way Canary Wharf could attract tenants. The very method it chose to get tenants, by buying out their leases in the City of London, added to the financial burden of the developers.

With debts of over £600m and needing a further £500m to complete the project, it collapsed on May 22nd 1992 (while we were talking about it in Prerow!).

¹ Unfortunately a small number of summaries did not arrive in time. Hopefully the editors of the next bulletin will find a way to inform on the respective contributions.

The demise of Canary Wharf has wide implications for the future of the Government's property-led inner city regeneration policy. A collapse of the service sectors in London and the South-East has shattered the property market, and without a healthy market, few property investors want to venture into the inner cities.

But there is also a policy vacuum and some confusion on the centre and left of the political spectrum. After initial opposition to the property led approach, local government has come to terms with it, wants to save Canary Wharf, and has little to offer in its place.

Docklands communities are themselves divided on the issue. Local people close to Canary Wharf were heavily courted by Olympia and York with grants and some jobs for local people. They feel very bitter about the collapse of the project and blame the Government for not rescuing it and the media and the Docklands action groups for attacking it.

On the other hand, communities directly affected by the construction of the Docklands Highways serving Canary Wharf are very angry and are demanding compensation. There are now moves to call together community groups and activists to set a new agenda for Docklands based upon meeting needs, on peoples plans, and on democratic planning.

CROSS-NATIONAL COMPARISON OF LARGE SCALE ENTREPRENEURIAL CITY RENEWAL: BUILDING A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK Annemarie Dekker (Amsterdam)

In my presentation I have distinguished three perspectives from which similarities and differences in large scale entrepreneurial city renewal, such as waterfront redevelopment, may be explained.

From a structural-functional perspective we may expect cities to respond similarly to a similar structural point of departure. The vacant, in economic terms, under-utilized areas represent an investment potential which, almost as a matter of logic, attracts capital (see Marxist theorists on "the needs of capital" or "accumulation for accumulation's sake").

Second, a diffusion perspective appears from the metaphor of a "travelling exhibition," but also from the terminology which is generally being used in projects aimed at city renewal and which reflects a dominant discourse. However unfounded terms such as "development potential," "masterplan," and "public-private-partnerships" may be, they represent a vision or a fashion. The fact that certain concepts need no further explanation or foundation in order to be desired is of course the main feature of a dominant discourse.

There seems to be much support for this diffusion hypothesis. Brunt et al. (1990) make mention of a "waterfrontmovement," caused by dispersal of a "waterfrontfever." According to Tunbridge (1988) there is a "global diffusion of waterfront development

concepts." He states "... the fashion-led investment momentum of the private market may continue to produce carbon copies of waterfront development."

From these two perspectives, which provide answers to the question "why do cities want to learn from each other at all?" we may expect similarities to occur. However, from a political-institutional perspective, which is related to the question "can cities learn from each other at all?" we assume that the context that cities are embedded in may prevent the adoption of certain plans, while facilitating others. I have used the Boston, London, and Amsterdam waterfront redevelopment plans to show examples of an interaction between planning and context: the creation of tax incentives/free enterprise zones, the establishment of private or "quasi-public" government, and "zoning for sale" practices.

The purpose of my research is threefold. First, at an academic level, I want to oppose the idea that planning takes place within a given social, political, economic, and cultural context. Second, relating to the question of transferability of experience, ideas, instruments, and institutions from one country to another (a question being raised both in academia and in planning practice), I want to pay attention to the relation between specific parts of political-institutional contexts and specific aspects of planning. Third, I want to show consequences for political decision-making due to copying of plans. Decisions on plans may imply far-reaching changes in a country's political-institutional context. Establishment of tax incentives, private government and zoning for sale raise major questions about democracy and political legitimacy.

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS ON TORONTO'S WATERFRONT Gene Desfor (Toronto)

Recent changes on Toronto's waterfront were examined as a process occurring over time and space. Although Toronto's current wave of waterfront redevelopment has been stalled by a serious economic recession and inquiries by the national and provincial state, one section, the Port Industrial District, is in the midst of preparations for major change. The paper focused on examining changes to this area beginning with the early twentieth century and finishing with the present time. Spatial processes of creating land by lakefilling and of establishing economic and political relationships were discussed.

Change in the port area was discussed as it relates to broader economic and political forces, environmental concerns and institutional needs. Redevelopment is best understood as a part of the political economy of the city and global economic restructuring. The local political system and institutional interests of large state agencies are a major influence on the extent and rate of change. Fundamental to any significant change is a resolution of environmental concerns of soil contamination and air and water pollution.

**PRECONSCIOUS POPULAR OPPOSITION TO GLOBAL POST-FUDDISM:
COUNTER-ACCUMULATIVE TENDENCIES IN LOS ANGELES' T.V. DINNER SOCIETY**
Correspondence by Steven Flusty and Don Parson (Los Angeles)

There is a specter haunting Los Angeles, hovering omnipresent above the hypertribalized territories of the region, continuously sucking up yummy capital from the pay-points and work places of each race and class partitioned community like a hyperactive couch potato ravenously inhaling his T.V. dinner.

What better analogy describes the current socio-spatial condition of the supranational appropriation of resource from the segregated stomping grounds of the underpaid and unpaid labor of the wannabe nonworking class, who cry out from the inner cities of L.A., Hollywood and the San Fernando Valley, "We want stuff, not work!"

The couch potato is none other than a complacent, flatulent and globalized Elmer Fudd, who gags on his McMulticultural L.A. Tossed Salad Lite as he sits in his high-rise chrome, glass and pseudo-marble living room on Bunker Hill, in Century City, in Beverly Hills, Warner Center and Simi Valley, and flips in terror from channel to channel, unable to evade the panicky aerial images of millions of Bugs Bunnies pilfering the precious commodified carrots rooted in the pwiwate pwopewty of chain wetail outlets spread throughout the low wage/tax exempt Fwee Entwepwise Zones constituting Elmer's back garden. Porky, invested with black riot gear and an LAPD badge so as to relieve Elmer of the dirty job of rabbit hunting, cowers behind a barricade of otherwise useless RTD busses as Bugs sullenly cracks, "Be vewy vewy quiet, I'm hunting Elmers."

What are the implications for critical urban theory? That, we assume, is what our research is intended to determine. In the meanwhile, we find some small satisfaction in having begun to recognize the emergence of nascent Bugsist tendencies in popular opposition to the monolithic flaccid-accumulative forces of global post-Fuddism. As Bugs himself has said, "Don't think it hasn't been fun, because it hasn't."

(Elmer Fudd: person from the Bugs Bunny comics;
LAPD: Los Angeles Police Department)

URBANIZATION IN ZURICH: HEADQUARTER ECONOMY AND CITY BELT
Hansruedi Hitz, Christian Schmid & Richard Wolff (Zurich)

The presentation outlined the spatial implications of the fundamental refurbishing of the capitalist world-system under the regime of flexible accumulation for the Swiss case. The economic restructuring of the last twenty years has changed both the production process and the organization of the labour process. As a result industrial production in Switzerland has partly lost its international competitiveness, whereas the financial sector as well as highly qualified activities of multinational enterprises (management, R + D, marketing, etc.) are experiencing a tremendous increase in their relative and absolute importance. Today, expanding headquarters of multinational corporations and banks are a contrast to the reduction or relocation of industrial jobs: the Swiss economy is developing towards a virtual "headquarters economy". It is specialized in

controlling and organizing multinational production as well as in commanding international circuits of capital.

Economic restructuring corresponds with spatial development. While peripheral regions suffer most from the crisis of the industrial sector, the "headquarters economy" causes massive revaluation of central locations. The consequence of this process is a marked spatial hierarchy and a growing concentration of economic power.

In the last two decades, Zurich has become the very centre of the Swiss "headquarters economy" profiting from a wide range of economic activities. As a result of this development, Zurich's economic structure has changed fundamentally. 50 years ago, Zurich was still an industrial city. Today, the last industrial plants are leaving the city to open space for headquarters and banks.

The modified economic structure of Zurich is reflected in a new spatial structure. Until the seventies, most of the leading economic activities were concentrated within a small central business district (CBD) along the Bahnhofstrasse. During the eighties, it became impossible to meet the increasing demand for offices within this CBD. For several reasons the possibilities to expand the CBD into neighbouring residential districts were limited. Headquarters and financial services were thus forced to relocate parts of their activities to new territories in the urban periphery of Zurich, especially in the north, near the international airport. In this area a new urban phenomenon is emerging, a so-called city-belt.

The suburban district north of Zurich offers sufficient space for the creation of around 70,000 extra jobs, on top of the 90,000 jobs already existing in this area. The new urban development is leading to a complex patchwork composed of business districts, shopping areas, old industrial zones, derelict land, fashionable residential areas, working-class neighbourhoods, and recreation facilities. The fordist model of a city based on concentric zones is replaced by a new model of urbanization with a much more flexible use of urban space.

Considerable political, planning and environmental problems are countering the new urban development. The whole area is composed of different autonomous communities, a fact that is causing a planning disaster which is difficult to resolve. At the same time, the area is insufficiently integrated in the system of public transport. The radial structure of the newly opened metropolitan railway-system makes it almost impossible to connect all the dispersed elements of the city-belt in a viable and convenient way. As a consequence private transport is increasing and producing serious air pollution which is affecting not only the surrounding residential areas but the whole region. For this reason local people as well as environmental organizations are opposing the new schemes and are trying to stop the further development of the city-belt.

Taking this development as an example for the present model of urbanization, the challenge is not only to solve local problems but to find a more sophisticated model of urbanization based on the needs of local people.

PRESENTATION OF THE KONZEPTGRUPPE STÄDTEBAU Andreas Hofer (Zurich)

The "Konzeptgruppe Städtebau" (Group for [alternative] town planning concepts) was founded in 1989. Its interest focusses on a sector of central Zurich, that begins at the very centre of the town, at the railway station and stretches, delimited by the railway lanes and the river Limmat, about five kilometers radially out.

This part of the city grew out of the swamps hundreds of years. It was one of the main development areas of the industrialization process in Switzerland. Nowadays it is divided into two zones: the first one is a mixed area of services and craftshops at ground floor level with flats in the upper floors, and the second one is an area which is mainly used by huge industrial complexes.

The problems in the first zone (gentrification, conversion of flats into offices, drug problems, traffic jams due to a growing number of commuters, air pollution) led to widespread protests, focussed on housing problems, in 1989. These protests initiated our investigations. We realized that most of these problems were linked with the development in the second zone P the industrial area, as well as the plans to construct a huge office complex over the railway lines as one part of a new central railway station. The huge expansion of the service sector in a medium sized city like Zurich (350,000 inhabitants), which tries to compete with the most important financial headquarters of the world, is not compatible with the needs of the inhabitants and causes severe problems for the development of the city itself and for big parts of the surrounding region.

Building upon an analysis of the processes which are taking place we try to propose an alternative way of handling city development. We realize that some aspects caused by inflationary growth of one specific sector of a city are comparable to the problems which cities in decline are suffering. In both cases the people are deprived of any influence on the future development of their neighbourhoods.

The 3 points of our critique and - briefly - our concepts are:

Big

The new office blocks are large scale and they emerge like mushrooms in rain, destroying existing structures.

- A widespread discussion on this part of the city must be established in order to find principles of a "step by step procedure of transformation", which allows a development that is sustainable and related to the needs of the inhabitants and the working people in the city.

Quick

The processes are taking place out of a short-term speculative view of the investors, rapidly overwhelming existing structures and hindering a discussion on more elaborate schemes.

- We propose to rely on the forces that normally regulate and rule the process of adopting a new part of the city. In this special case we should take the transitional and experimental uses which spread out in this area seriously. We propose to classify

different activities in their appropriateness in face of the existing structures. This could be:

1. Ad hoc activities with low needs and low rent.
 2. Experimental housing and living projects, entering the place as pioneers to open it for a more widespread discussion.
 3. The linking of the different activities and spaces with streets and squares.
 4. A normal building activity, as we can see it in all other parts of the city.
- This development would be regulated by the spatial and social grid the first three phases created.

Definite

The typology of the buildings is an optimization of specific office-work needs. A future change into more appropriate schemes is almost impossible.

- The technical potential of modern western societies needs some regulative mechanisms. There is a need for democratic participatory schemes, which regulate the complex development processes of our cities. The people must be enabled to take their part in the process of decision making.

If you are working on comparable questions or if you would like to get more information on our project, please contact us.

THE BOULEVARD THE STUDENTS' STRIKE AT ROSTOCK UNIVERSITY Video Screenings by JAKO e.V. (Rostock)

With "The Boulevard" we presented the very first production of JAKO, a video-making group founded a year ago. The title indicates what the video is about: it deals with the main shopping zone in Rostock, Kröpeliner Straße.

The shots were made in October 1991 and January 1992 with two intentions. First of all we wanted to have images of the boulevard in its old shape, although we were already a little too late to do so, since building and reconstruction began soon after the political changes, especially in the centre of the town, and we did not have access to video equipment earlier.

Despite this we got enough interesting images to have some kind of historical document about the "Eastern look" of the boulevard which is already and will be connected with nostalgic elements, for instance shops with old advertisements on their facades.

The second intention of making these shots was learning, since for us it was the first time that we were shooting with a video camera.

But we not only made the film in order to have a visual documentary of what the boulevard used to look like, we also wanted to uncover the problems shopholders have under the conditions of a newly-introduced market economy as well as the feelings they and the citizens have towards it.

A lot of shops have no chance to exist any longer because shop rents have been pushed to heights which only established Western enterprises can pay. Another problem which is mentioned in the film is that investments cannot be made because of unclear ownership in the case of many properties.

Although we are concerned about these problems we did not want to take things too seriously, but tried to observe them from a humorous point of view.

The video we presented on the Students' Strike at Rostock University was only a rough cut of current material, since at the time of the INURA conference the actions were still taking place. Filming took place in May and continued in June 1992. Our intention with this video was to give an impression of the students' mood during their protest campaign.

The Rostock students organized a strike in order to protest against the ridiculous policy of the government in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern. The intention of the government was to withdraw so much money from the University budget that not even the lowest level of education could be guaranteed. A lot of students, especially in the philological department, must fear for their degrees. Many are forced to study in the West of Germany, which does not make things very much easier.

We followed the actions of the students with the camera and were able to see the powerplay of the government and its ignorant handling of the students' problems. After a week of protest the parliament of Mecklenburg/Vorpommern decided not to meet any of the students' demands, which in the end did not make working on this project very enjoyable for us.

GOING UP THE COUNTRY: INTERNATIONALIZATION AND URBANIZATION OF FRANKFURT'S NORTHERN FRINGE

Roger Keil (Toronto) and Klaus Ronneberger (Frankfurt)
(Presenter: Roger Keil)

Frankfurt presently faces two kinds of growth and two discourses on growth. First, the vertical expansion of the citadel of world city Frankfurt symbolized by continuous high rise construction. Secondly, the horizontal expansion of the city: the world city is "going up the country." We will provide examples of such peripheral urbanization, emphasizing the specific role of the airport as a new node of development. Central and peripheral growth are linked in an oscillating movement of mutually reinforcing dynamics. Centralization and decentralization in this view are not antagonistic poles, but aspects of one growth process. While the core continues to prosper, the periphery increasingly becomes an important site of a post-fordist, flexibilized economy. Instead of being expressed in a form of colonization emanating from the core, modernization currently tends to be more of a process of diffusion from several centers; the continuum of modernization is replaced by the paradigm of synchronicity.

Our paper explores the articulation of these growth dynamics with the local political space of the northern fringe of the municipality of Frankfurt, where rapid restructuring of the urban landscape is under way. The analysis draws from the concepts developed

by world city theory, regulation theory and from the discourse on space, urbanity and urban development in Frankfurt in the 1980s. A resulting matrix of power and spatiality is presented as part of the city's emerging local mode of regulation in order to define the social agents involved in conflicts that have erupted over growth in the North of Frankfurt.

We will argue that the new dynamic of growth which affects the urban periphery in an unprecedented way calls for a new regional mode of regulation. Growing polarization and fragmentation of the city's polity and civil society seem to suggest that a strategy of regional consensus, community democracy and territorial solidarity (Lipietz) has, so far, fallen on hard ground.

CENTER AND PERIPHERIES - THE ROLE OF TELECOMMUNICATIONS Philipp Klaus (Zurich)

The possibilities of location-independent data exchange raised the hopes for economic deconcentration and decentralisation. By using worldwide computer- and databank networks it should be possible to create new workplaces in the peripheries and activate their regional markets. With the substitution of traffic by electronic data transfer (Telehomework, possibility of getting any information from anywhere) the development of settlement should also get more decentralised, housing and working spatially brought back together.

The "global village" seemed and still seems a reasonable and practicable utopia. Visions and possibilities of telecommunication technologies appear boundless. Let's have a look at the present! What is going on in 1992, after about ten years of widespread introduction and development of telematics (=telecommunication + informatics)?¹ The hope to get teleworkplaces in the peripheries hasn't been fulfilled yet. Even though the number of teleworkers is slowly rising, it is at best some pars pro mille of the total employees. The number of teleworkers in the peripheries then is negligible. The policy of activating regional economies by introducing telematic infrastructure has had little or no success.

Substantial EC research should give an answer as to how to use telematics in peripheral regions. A research programme of 14 Million ECU² aims to find out the

- 1 At the end of the 80's there were about 40 satellites aloft, with the capacity to transmit 35 billion bits per second: about 700 color TV channels or 1 billion simultaneous telephone conversations (Forester, 1989, p.107). Personal Computers and fiber optics spread enormously. Fiber optics 1980: 3,700 miles, 1990: 100,000 miles (estimate by Forester, 1989, p.100). Some indications for Switzerland: Telefax 1981: 1,100, 1990: 100,000; amount of rented lines 1980: 2,200, 1989: 10,400; Videotex participants 1982: 190, 1990: 60,400 (Swiss PTT: "facts & figures" 1990).
- 2 EC Commission, Directorate General XIII Magazine: Chancen für den ländlichen Raum; das ORA - Programm: Forschung und Entwicklung von Telematiksystemen, Mai 1992, No 6, S. 14f.

telematics contribution in the tourist sector, in regional and local administration and the potential of telework. In the research field of telework the aim is to find out what impact the transfer of certain functions to smaller organisational units in the rural area has on large enterprises. Therefore we cannot say that there is a lack of good intention. But it is surprising that even today, twenty years after the jubilation of the coming decentralisation-era, large scale research - of which only a small part is implementation - is done to find out what telematics can contribute to peripheries.

Some reasons may be shown by the following example. Some years ago, in mountainous regions of Switzerland, public videoconference studios were set up with the intention of developing the regional economies. The use of these studios is negligible. The question is who should use them. Big enterprises are not attracted only by telematic infrastructure. Small and medium-sized enterprises, on the other hand, have no need for videoconferences³: We know that the videoconference is a medium which is suitable for routine contacts (discussion of technical problems, finances and so on). It is not suitable for planning contacts. Videoconferences are therefore a medium which can be used efficiently by multinationals who show a complex organisation and communication structure. Videoconferences, like many other telecommunication applications, do not replace previous forms of communication. They rather extend new and additional communication facilities⁴. Structurally weak regions simply cannot use them.

Let's follow the question of who is using telematics and where the enterprises who use telematics intensively locate. As indicators for intensive use of telematics we can take broadband connections (lines with transmission capacities of about 2 - 500 Mbit/s). A look at the branch structure of headquarters with broadband connection in the agglomeration of Zurich results in the following picture⁵.

Broadband Banks, financial institutes	31%
Administration, Hospitals, Universities, Research	17%
Industries (Main administration)	15%
Telematics (EDP & telecom)	14%
Other commercial services	8%
Media (Press, Edition, Print, TV)	7%
Insurances	6%
Trade, Transportation	3%

For Switzerland this means a strong concentration of telecommunications use in the economical metropolis of Zurich. We can state that newly-founded enterprises in the agglomeration of Zurich, who use telematics intensively, tend to settle down in the north of Zurich between the airport and the city⁶. This region has been attracting headquarters for some years⁷.

3 cf. Maggi/Walo, 1991.

4 cf. Ollmann, 1989.

5 cf. von Stokar, 1992, p.161.

6 cf. von Stokar, 1992, p.169.

7 cf. Hitz/Schmid/Wolff in the paper "Urbanization in Zurich: Headquarter Economy

Conclusions

Telematics aren't a factor in the logic of location. Previous location factors (face-to-face contacts, proximity to the airport etc.) remain key factors.

The headquarters and decision centers can extend their lead position with the help of telematics. Telematics support the process of concentration. Telematics do not support the development of the peripheries.

Although infrastructure and the applications of telematics spread very much (spatially & economically) they have not yet had positive effects on the peripheries. If telecommunication is going in a more decentralising direction, we can suppose that big enterprises will start first with spatial division of labour with the facilities of telematics. Self-reliant or endogenous development will not be supported by this process, dependence on the big centres will continue: The "global village" is a vision which, if it becomes reality, gives the headquarters more control and increases dependence thanks to cable.

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IMAGES OF THE PERIPHERY: THE ARCHITECTURE OF FLEXSPACE Ute Lehrer (Zurich)

After the "bedroom city" the "work city" has developed as a typical socio-spatial form in the periphery. The newly urbanized periphery redefines the way in which workplace and home will have to be conceptualized in the future and raises the possibility of labor giving way to a more flexible clustering of workspaces and living spaces which I call "FlexSpace".

Particularly along the major traffic arteries, the peripheries of Swiss cities are currently being restructured at an unprecedented pace. New commercial and office developments are mushrooming. The new urban form comes with a specific aesthetic program: the container architecture and the planning design of the industrial and office centers in the periphery seem to defy the mass-produced built environment of earlier suburbanization. Rather, "individualized" architectural designs lend themselves to custom-made commercialization of the new urban landscape. Buildings increasingly

and City-belt" talking about this area. (Paper distributed at the annual INURA-meeting in Prerow). We can see that this Headquarter Economy is supported by the facilities of telematics.

become billboards which are strategically placed along freeways and rail lines. A consequence of the new ex-urban form is a phenomenon new to the Swiss urban landscape: abandoned peripheral office cities at nightfall. Finally, in what seems a marked difference to automobile-based peripheral centralization in other parts of Europe and North America, the Swiss example rests heavily on a state-managed expansion of the railroads and light rail systems (S-Bahn Zürich, Bahn 2000, NEAT).

This topic is going to be part of the book on "Frankfurt-Zürich", by H. Hinz, et.al., 1993; see also the contributions by Roger Keil and Christian Schmid in this bulletin.

If you are working on comparable questions or if you would like to get more information on our project, please contact us.

COMMUNITY VIDEO

Frank Müller (London)

Unfortunately I couldn't introduce the video on the day, as I was delayed waiting half an hour for my salad, and the video had to start without me. What you could see on the tape was a no-budget production about a local community group called SPLASH which stands for 'South Poplar and Limehouse Action for Secure Housing'. This is the community in the middle of the LDDC's enterprise zone north of Canary Wharf.

The video shows the history of SPLASH, how they formed and what brought them together. At the same time it gives you a feel of what it's like to live on the other end of the tower. DTV was approached by Penny Bernstock, a worker at Docklands Forum, in April last year to see if we would be interested in helping produce a tape about the Limehouse link road. As I live near this area and have been filming there for quite some time, my interest in the project was a natural one.

Shooting started in early May and editing took place between August and September whereby the last two weeks of onlining took place at DTV's new premises. I've got to say that while working on the tape my sympathy for the people grew, as it was unveiled step by step what this community had gone through in the last ten years of living in the Docklands. For most of them it has been a constant bombardment of noise and dust pollution. Children and especially elderly people suffer from bad coughs and asthma attacks. Some of them can clearly trace back their health problems till the day when the diggers moved in. The worst however is the break-up of the community through the road building plans that mainly go through council housing estates.

One of these road plans is the Limehouse link road which turns out to be a 6-lane dual carriageway and the most expensive road building project ever in Britain. The construction of this road cut a big gap in the community. Most of the tenants had to be relocated, which is particularly problematic: neighbourhood care is part of day-to-day living and many people find themselves isolated now. In desperation, and after numerous rejections from the LDDC and the local council, 5 housing associations formed the umbrella group SPLASH. Through various actions and protests they slowly attracted some media coverage and got the LDDC and the local council to the table. Consultants got involved to work out alternative plans of how to develop the area and

through Penny's persistence in approaching solicitors, the case was finally picked up by Leigh, Day & Co.

As most people in the Limehouse area applied for legal aid, these cases were announced in a press conference and found quite some media attention. Suddenly Docklands was on the national agenda in a fairly different light than that which was projected until then. Not only are 1,200 parties now seeking compensation for living in Europe's biggest building site, they would also like to have back proper TV reception and want communal facilities to be built. The facilities that were there previously are now demolished or privatised.

SPLASH's story is ongoing and no-one knows who is going to be left to compensate when the tenants' claims get through. The BBC have already stated that viewers around Canary Wharf will never receive a proper picture unless they run cable. So I think our video was worth the effort of producing as it focuses on the community and describes their problems in their own voices. That it was used by ITV as a programme idea I have to generously overlook as it helped SPLASH to make their problems heard on a much broader scale and that's essential.

THE ACCEPTANCE OF REFUGEES IN ROSTOCK

Karl-Otto Richter (Rostock)

In February 1992 the Independent Centre for Empirical Research in Social Sciences, Politics and Communication carried out an explorative survey on the acceptance of asylum-seekers among the adult population of Rostock¹. The number of respondents was relatively small, but the sample reflected the city's population structure as regards age and gender. Some of the results are summarized here.

Firstly, there was a not-so-small minority (36%) in favour of a stop or at least definite restrictions on the admission of refugees. This means, on the other hand, that a majority of 64% opposed such limitations. About 15% of the respondents demonstrated particularly great distance toward refugees: they favoured a very restrictive asylum law *and* they felt not too much or not at all affected by media reports about acts of violence against refugees *and* they thought that refugees were a threat to their own interests.

Secondly, it could be shown that a particularly great distance toward refugees was not confined to a certain group with particular social structural characteristics. There were some trends however: workers were over-represented compared to people with university degrees; younger people *and* older people over 60 were over-represented compared to middle-aged people - but, in general, acceptance problems were not strictly related to specific, well defined "problem groups".

1 cf. K.O. Richter, B. Hermann, B. Schmidtbauer: Akzeptanz von Asylbewerbern in Rostock-Stadt. Ergebnisse einer empirischen Studie, UCEF-Report 1/1992, Reihe A, Unabhängiges Centrum für empirische Sozial-, Politik- und Kommunikationsforschung e.V., Rostock 1992.

Thirdly, it became clear - to an unexpected extent - that attitudes towards the admission of refugees differed tremendously between different groups of respondents. Those who had no problems accepting refugees perceived "asylum" as an important *issue*. For those who perceived "asylum" as an (individual) *problem*, it wasn't an issue any more - the protracted populist discussion about whether or not to "tighten-up" asylum law had already "tightened" their answer to the 'problem': stop admitting asylum-seekers.

Effects of this discussion were also, fourthly, to be found in respondents' opinions as to the reasons for hostility against refugees. At the top of the rank order came fears that refugees were rivals on the labour and the housing markets. Almost 50% saw further reasons in the politicians's discussion of asylum, in the behaviour of some refugees, and in the lack of knowledge about the life of refugees in their home countries. Of particular interest are the correlations, positive and negative respectively, between the distance the respondents showed toward refugees and the items "behaviour of some refugees" or "lack of knowledge about them". Other items, used to explore whether the GDR-past was a particular source of hostility towards refugees, found surprisingly little resonance. It's especially worth noting that only a minority of respondents reported that they had never had contacts to foreigners in GDR times. (We decided that other items should be used in future.)

The survey allowed for some policy proposals, including: more *reliable information* on the "asylum problem" instead of disinformation, led by party interests and the market interests of the media; identification of particular "target groups" for such information, namely with prophylactic intentions (schools for instance); inclusion of refugees in the discussions on asylum, letting refugees have their own voice in the concert of voices instead of permanently talking *about* them; continuation of research work in the interests of the refugees; promotion of exchange between Germans and foreigners, including the East and the South.

THE UNDERCLASS: A CLASS APART?

Fred Robinson (Durham)

In my contribution I discussed the concept of an 'underclass'. This term is now being widely used in the U.S. and in Britain. Some see it as dangerous concept. It has been used by the New Right to label and marginalise the poor and to justify cuts in welfare. On the other hand, there seem to be signs of an emerging new 'class', 'below' and outside of the 'working class'.

Discussion centred on class and class structure, as well as on questions of terminology and politics. There seems to be some evidence that a permanently excluded and ghettoised - but very heterogeneous - 'class' is developing. It may take different forms - or be perceived in different ways; in Britain and, recently, in L.A., the underclass label has been given to those involved in urban riots. In Zurich, perhaps it is the addicts; in Rostock, the refugees.

This year the discussion was possibly a little too conceptual. Next year, maybe we can share more of our experiences of this from our own cultures, countries and cities..

PROSPECTS FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF DEMOCRATIC AND CIVIL SOCIETY IN (EASTERN) GERMANY: THE CASE OF NEW FORUM

Bernhard Schmidtbauer (Rostock)

The movement *New Forum* served as a mediator between the people and the old state institutions to institute democratic political changes (intended as part of a reform of socialism, however, not its destruction) in the former GDR. As such, it taught its adherents valuable lessons in direct democracy, which proved useful until the West German political steamroller (particularly the CDU) completely transformed East German political life. The lessons learned have not been forgotten; New Forum still plays a mediating role between people and government, but its political days are numbered unless it broadens its appeal beyond minority and disadvantaged groups, increases its political and financial power, and becomes more institutionalized and more skilled in the new, formal German politics in the near future.

The people's movement New Forum in the former GDR may be studied as an expression of the growth of a new Eastern German political culture (as, for example, in Rostock). The civil rights movement made possible (through their activities in the different phases of the democratization of political and social life) the formation of a plural and democratic public as well as the democratic and non-violent reorganization of the GDR's major institutional systems.

The following phases in the development of a new political culture within the New Forum and other people's movements occurred in 1989/90 in Rostock:

1. The first phase after the people's movement coincided with initiation of political activity in all social spheres, breaking the political monopoly of the Socialist Unity Party, and restoring a popular democratic and pluralistic public opinion (from the end of September to early December 1989).
2. The second phase led to the use of newly-gained political power for the further democratization of political and social life (early December 1989 to March 26, 1990).
3. The third phase (i.e. joint political responsibility and power sharing and the democratic reconstruction of Rostock's institutional system) was important in Rostock's democratic development (from March 26, 1990 until early June 1990).
4. The fourth phase came as a result of democratic elections in Rostock for the town council and senate (after early June 1990).

The citizens' action groups and civil rights movements perform well in the local arena, the cities, and the villages. These are the best fields for such activities and grass-roots movements. An analysis of their activities in the past two years indicates that local politics provides a possibility for more citizens' participation, personal interest in social and political life, and a way for people to become political actors and citizens.

I think that the "Round Table" (initiation through the people's movements in December 1989 in villages, cities, districts and provinces) is an applicable model for mediation between people and politicians in the German party democracy.

The Round Table must learn to survive in other than crisis situations, before they totally dissolve, not only in times of political catastrophe. The Round Table needs financial support to survive, as well as continuing involvement in decision making and the ability to occasionally exercise the power of political veto. All of these are clear needs for the exceptional situation in which we shall find ourselves in the "special area" of Eastern Germany over the next several years. In my opinion separate Round Tables must work in the fields of unemployment, housing construction, health, youth violence, education and so on.

TRANSFORMATION AT LOCAL LEVEL

Louanne Tranchell (London)

I introduced the London project which is run by Coin Street Community Builders, all of whom are local residents. This is a significant community victory which won 13 acres of land in central London for rented housing, workspace and a new 2 acre park by the river. Both the Neighbourhood Councils that were involved in the campaign to oppose the commercial development of over a million square feet of office space on these sites are celebrating their 20th anniversary in 1992. Seven Housing Co-operatives are planned for this project. One is built and occupied and provides 52 new homes with gardens, including two which are adapted for wheelchair access; two more co-operatives are designed and are due to start this year, adding another 104 dwellings. Festival events are held on the park and in the temporary market at Gabriels Wharf, throughout the summer. There is also a permanent exhibition and information centre where local people and visitors can find out more about the project and discuss this neighbourhood approach in the future development of cities.

My next topic was a campaign in the area where I live in West London, Hammersmith. This concerns the redevelopment of the Town Centre, with a major traffic interchange, where the site is in ownership of LONDON Transport, the agency responsible for public transport. The local planning group, Hammersmith Community Trust, also runs an exhibition and information centre, and they convene public meetings to discuss the future of their area. After a lengthy campaign which opposed a very large office scheme, and drew up an alternative which was strongly supported, the Secretary of State overturned his Inspector's recommendation, and gave permission to London Transport. The recession has now "interrupted" the project, and only half of the scheme is built. The local residents and businesses are now trying to draw up a plan to improve the Town Centre, around this half-built hulk, with the voluntary help of an Urban Design Assistance Team (UDAT).

There are a number of ways in which local people in London can become involved to some degree, and take part in the "transformation at a local level":

1. A start is made in the schools which take part in Urban Studies, and introduce the approach through field studies.
2. Tenants' and Residents' associations often ask a member to monitor and report back on "planning issues". Also Trades Councils and Parish Councils take an interest.

3. Planning campaigns are concerned with certain "change-of-use" like the loss of a hospital or school, or roads associated with accidents, or parking problems.

4. The Government has asked the public to join in the process of drawing up new Unitary Development Plans (UDP) and some Local Authorities have used this opportunity to run more consultation sessions.

5. "Estate Action" is a new initiative launched by the Government which asks the Local Authorities to work with tenants on estates which are in need of repair and maintenance. (Unfortunately they do not finance all those "in need", only a given number who "win" each year.)

6. "City Challenge" is a larger scale Government initiative which includes economic development. This also insists on maximum "local involvement" (and also makes Local Authorities "compete", and a small number "win").

7. The "Public Inquiry" system is still taking place, but much of the local participation has been "streamlined" (you could say discouraged) and written statements are more common than oral and cross-examination recently.

8. The Government has issued a white paper on the Environment called "This Common Inheritance". The EC has issued a "green paper" on the Urban Environment. Both of these were accompanied by "public consultation", and it is possible to comment through Members of Parliament and the European Parliament.

HOUSING PERSPECTIVES IN EASTERN EUROPE

Arie van Wijngaarden (Amsterdam)

In recent years life has changed very much in Eastern Europe. This is a small overview to establish to what extent the recent political changes have affected the housing situation. At first I give a description of the housing situation under the old system, then a global view of the changes that came with the "Wende" and finally some perspectives for the future. My remarks cover the whole of Eastern Europe, although in the various countries the situation may differ, e.g. the land ownership or the degree of state intervention.

The old system

After the takeover of power by the communist and affiliated parties (in the Soviet Union after 1917 and in the rest of Eastern Europe after the Second World War) the reforms also affected the housing sector. According to classical marxist theory, the redistribution of the housing stock could solve a great part of the housing question. So the property of the bigger housing owners was nationalized, people owning a large house or flat were forced to rent out rooms to homeless families and the larger rented flats were occupied by more than one family. For example in this way in the Soviet Union the "komunalka's" were born: large nineteenth century flats with one family or a single person in every room, sharing the kitchen and bathroom.

Of course redistribution of the stock did not solve the housing problem. A lot of new

dwellings had to be built. A further complication was the huge destruction during the Second World War. In cities like Warsaw or Dresden there was not so much to redistribute.

Dwelling production

New housing was produced by the state institutions, by housing cooperatives and by private persons. In the state sector the main investors were the municipal councils ("local soviets", "people's councils") and the big state enterprises. This type of housing was found mainly in towns. State enterprises, especially those in the primary sector, had access to funds to build dwellings. They used housing as a secondary benefit to attract workers from the countryside.

Municipalities owned building enterprises and factories for prefabricated concrete elements. At first they had to build for key employees of enterprises and state institutions, later most dwellings were for low income families and families living in houses that had to be destroyed.

The second type of investors were the housing cooperatives. The state wanted to attract more private funds for housing purposes, so in countries like Poland and Hungary it created housing cooperatives or housing unions in the sixties and seventies. They were working under strict state control. After many (in some cities up to 20) years, a member could occupy a new flat, provided that a deposit of 10-25% of the building costs of the flat had been paid. Several forms of saving schemes existed for this purpose.

The third type was private house building. In the countryside this was the usual way of housing, although in most cases the building plot was on a long lease from the state. In Poland the land was not nationalised, so in the countryside private plots existed. In towns finding a building plot (to lease) was the major problem, in the countryside it was the shortage of building materials and the prohibition on building houses with a floor area beyond a certain maximum (e.g. in Poland 110 m²).

The "Umwertung aller Werte"

In 1988-89-90-91 successively in Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Romania, Bulgaria and the Soviet Union the power of the traditional Communist Parties and their affiliated state institutions vanished. Values that had been very important in the official ideology were replaced by their opposites: private property, private enterprise and a market economy were not considered any more to be a path towards speculation and social inequality, but became conditions for a proper economic development of the country. The state had to retreat.

The new social and economic conditions were reflected in the new housing policies of the Eastern European countries after 88-89-90-91. The huge state contributions for the housing sector were reduced. In the GDR and to some extent Czechoslovakia expropriated land and buildings could be given back to the former owners. The rents were not any more subject to strict state control.

In the state sector the rents increased very quickly; quadruplication of the rent in one

year, as in East Germany in 1991, was not uncommon. Subsidies for heating, hot water and electricity were abolished. In some countries flats were sold to the tenants. This did not affect the expenses of the households very much, as the expenses for maintenance and repair, central heating, etc. were much higher than the capital costs of the building. Access to new flats was limited to households with low incomes. Result: an increasing segregation of the population. Earlier a doctor would live in a new suburb with high-rise buildings in a flat next door to a factory worker. Now the families with a relatively high income move away, leaving the jobless in an ever more dilapidated environment. Funds for repairs by the local councils are absent, new construction has come to a standstill.

The housing cooperatives that existed in some countries were split up into smaller units to improve the influence of the tenants; state control was lifted and party influence disappeared. Many flats were sold to the tenants. Deposits for new flats were directly connected to the level of inflation and rise of the building costs. With the wage increase staying behind inflation it became more difficult to rent a flat in a housing cooperative. In this sector the volume of dwelling production also decreased sharply.

The private sector flourished. The shortage of building materials was over, as the import of materials was not restricted any more. People who had been able to accumulate a lot of money (especially through speculative trade transactions) could have a nice villa built. West German firms served the market in East Germany, the new Polish millionaires could order from the catalogue of Swedish, American or the new Polish building firms.

The future

For the people who depend in some way on state aid or state control for their housing there are important measures to be taken to avoid a deterioration of the housing condition:

1. Some sort of protection for people living in flats that are given back to the former owners. These new owners often try to increase the rents with modernization measures or try to evict the tenants.
2. Continuation of state support for both repair and maintenance of the existing stock. Funds with local councils or housing cooperatives are short and increasing the rents is socially not acceptable for tenants who mostly have had a decrease in real salary in the last years.
3. Continuation and reinforcement of tenants' organisations and block committees. Although much under party influence, these committees functioned well in the old era. A real danger exists, that with the birth of more commercially-oriented housing associations these forms of self organisation will vanish.

THE AMSTERDAM WATERFRONT

Arie van Wijngaarden (Amsterdam)

History

Access to the water has always been very important to Amsterdam. Over the Zuiderzee and the IJ-estuary ships could arrive in the city with their profitable cargo, giving a financial basis for the building of posh houses along the canals. Until the beginning of this century the town of Amsterdam occupied only the area south of the estuary. Only after 1910 were housing estates built on the northern bank. Ferries connected (and still connect) both sides. The construction of a new railway line along the southern shore cut off the inhabited parts of the city from the sea. The railway banks and the Central Station became barriers. Only docks and warehouses were built north of the railway, no housing.

Changing functions

Between 1950 and 1970 many of the port activities were transferred from the Eastern and Central port areas to the new Western Port, where refineries, coal terminals, etc. were built. Altogether the development was not as spectacular as in Rotterdam, where the port is ten times as big as in Amsterdam. The handicap of Amsterdam are the more complicated connections to both the German hinterland and the North Sea (canals and locks).

Nowadays, after the transfer of the activities to the new sites, the function of the old port areas is changing. The new functions are very different. On the site of the ADM shipyard a huge complex with social housing is built. Some old warehouses are transferred to offices and workshops for small high- and low-tech enterprises. The former can afford complete renovations of the old warehouses, the latter and some artists' collectives use the buildings as they are.

The Amsterdam Waterfront

In the past ten years the city of Amsterdam has presented new proposals for the Amsterdam Waterfront, i.e. the development of the area along mostly the southern part of the IJ-estuary. These proposals have been determined by the following factors:

1. **Offices.** The absence of a large central business district. Traditionally banks, insurance companies, lawyers, etc. had their offices along the canals in the historic centre. In the sixties and seventies most of them were transferred to the southern and southeastern suburbs. Rent levels here are among the lowest of the European capitals. Financially speaking there is room for a new "class A" business area with office rents on a European level. All this to be initiated with the philosophy "we must link up with the other European financial centres. If we don't, other cities will develop and we'll become a backward area".
2. **Urbanism.** Amsterdam has a rather uniform urban structure with very few high rise buildings. Nearly all buildings are 4, 5 or 6 storeys, until recently only the National Bank and the Okura Hotel were higher. This urban policy has been changed. In order to seem less provincial, high rise buildings must be built along the waterfront.
3. **Housing.** Amsterdam has a long tradition in the building of flats by housing

associations. They own about 60% of all dwellings in Amsterdam. The production of new and renovated houses in the social sector reached a very high level in the late seventies and early eighties: up to 10.000 dwellings a year. Then the government policy changed: fewer subsidies, less social housing, more private housing (for sale or to let). The first initiatives in the old harbour areas were focussed on low rent housing (about US\$ 400 a month for a four-room flat). Nowadays this sector has been replaced by initiatives to build luxury flats at US\$ 200.000 each, in this way levelling with the new offices in the same area.

4. **Influence of the local state.** The Amsterdam Waterfront Company is a public-private company, with a 50/50 division of the capital between the city of Amsterdam and some major (for the time being Dutch) investors. However, the private investors have a decisive vote in the process. Furthermore they organize the key activities: selection of architects for the urban and architectural design, attracting investors etc. This situation is new in the Dutch situation. Formerly the local state was very powerful in organizing new urban areas. It did the urban design, selected the investors, gave out the plots only on long lease, brought in housing associations as important investors etc. That is history now.

Resistance ?

The proposals have met some resistance, although a fierce public debate has not (yet) occurred. Conservationists said that the high-rise buildings will destroy the delicate urban tissue that exists in Amsterdam. Furthermore some monuments of industrial archeological value could be the victim of the developers' zeal. More serious objections come from people fearing that the financial risks are too big - especially for the city, which is responsible for the huge investments in the infrastructure: reclamation of land, public transport, roads and services. If private investment is slack because of some sort of international crisis, the city of Amsterdam is saddled with huge debts.

Last, but not least, there is the protest of the people who are now working or living in the former harbour areas. Artists have created workshops in derelict warehouses, some buildings were squatted, old boats were moored alongside the quays. All these people pay little or no rent, allowing the rise of a new cultural scene "on the fringe". In the future they will have to move to more expensive space or disappear from the waterfront area.

WORKSHOP: WATERFRONT REDEVELOPMENT, MAY 30TH, 1992

Bob Colenutt, Gene Desfor, Arie van Wijngaarden and Annemarie Dekker
(Report: Annemarie Dekker)

During this workshop we discussed why there was such a negative reaction to presentations on waterfront redevelopment. In our opinion waterfront redevelopment is an interesting subject for both research and action for various reasons. Waterfront redevelopment shows in extreme what happens to our cities and how the system operates. Therefore, waterfront redevelopment should be looked at in terms of wider forces, not as a development in itself.

First, there is the relation with the local and global economy. Waterfronts are treated

as areas of major strategic significance, the redevelopment of which is considered to be of supra-local interest (e.g. it is to serve the purpose of maintaining and enhancing the international position of a city or country). As a result, the role of the local state is limited.

There is a general belief in "trickle-down effects," meaning that local citizens will indirectly benefit from these large scale redevelopment projects. Some researchers have tried to assess the benefits of these projects for local people, e.g. creation of jobs (Church) and the provision of social/public housing. Yet, the question "who benefits?" remains a burning one. Social/public housing gets an image of being a waste of land. Thinking in terms of land value, it is said that certain plots are "not appropriate" for social housing. Though not only economic motives play a role, networking (who knows whom) is also of importance.

Second, there is the relation with institutional arrangements and the way in which decision-making takes place. Due to insulation from public decision-making (e.g. through establishment of quasi-public agencies such as the LDDC), such projects become highly undemocratic and it is very hard to get involved. The strategy of the Docklands Consultative Committee in London has been to put questions to parliament. In Toronto, in response to doubts about the deals that had been made and dissatisfaction with the physical/visual outcome, a huge (four year long) inquiry has recently been concluded.

Third, there is the relation with history. Waterfront redevelopment is not a new phenomenon; waterfronts have always been renewed. Yet at present renewal processes are larger and more extreme, since states have designated waterfronts as strategic areas.

Many researchers are occupied with the waterfront redevelopment. In this circuit INURA(-members) can play a critical role by:

1. facilitating political/community exchanges and thus sending a warning from the London Docklands;
2. initiating a comparative study on "who benefits?" (social benefits, linkages between prosperity and poverty);
3. intervening in conventional conferences by raising questions that nobody raises.

**BOOK PROJECT: THE RESTRUCTURING OF FINANCIAL CENTERS.
ZURICH AND FRANKFURT EN ROUTE TO POSTFORDISM
(Report: Roger Keil)**

As a result of discussions INURA-members from Frankfurt and Zurich had in Salecina in 1991, Hansruedi Hitz, Roger Keil, Ute Lehrer, Klaus Ronneberger, Christian Schmid, Petra Unterwerner and Richard Wolff met several times over the past year to develop a common project on their respective cities. The first result of these endeavours is a series of publications and conference participations as a group.

The centerpiece of the project is currently a book, scheduled to be published by

rotpunkt publishers in Zurich in spring 1993. The working title of the book is: Finanzmetropolen im Umbruch: Zurich und Frankfurt auf dem Weg in den Postfordismus.

The book has two major objectives:

1. It will attempt to assess the role of Zurich and Frankfurt as global or world cities of a second order, financial centers of European proportions; it will try to link the dynamics of these cities' internationalization to their internal restructuring and political struggles and assess the specific character of the emerging regional regimes of accumulation.
2. It will explore new forms of urbanization by which the distinctions of center and periphery are increasingly blurred or redefined. Both cities are experiencing significant new "central" development (linked to their expansion as global cities); but growth which cannot be explained with traditional models of suburbanization increasingly also taking place on their fringes. The new city form entails new "landscapes of power" and a new mode of regulation, which the book will explore.

The cases will be held together by a loosely knit parallel structure. The book does, however, not attempt to be a systematic comparison of Frankfurt and Zurich.

The target groups for these books are critical academics and activists from all kinds of urban struggles. By making the contents of the book conceptually and linguistically available to a broad audience, by avoiding jargon and academic lingo, we would wish to make a contribution beyond the two cities themselves because we feel that our approach is a novelty in the realm of German language publications.

While the final structure of the book has yet to be determined, it will contain a theoretical introduction to current societal and urban restructuring. This will be followed by a theoretical section on new city forms and new dynamics of urbanization. In a third section we will present two lengthy portraits of restructuring in Frankfurt and Zurich. The fourth chapter looks at politics and regulation under the impression of such restructuring processes in European cities. Finally, an epilogue will try to assess the meaning of the book's findings for strategies of research and action.

In addition to the editors mentioned above, the following authors have agreed to contribute: Robin Bloch (Johannesburg), Margit Mayer (Berlin), Walter Prigge (Frankfurt), Saskia Sassen (New York), Edward Soja (Los Angeles), Michael Storper (Paris/Los Angeles).

The book project was originally thought of as stepping stone for a larger research project including an international conference. While we have not been able to develop these projects further for lack of resources, we still feel that they are worth considering in the future. If you have any suggestions or if you are interested in cooperating in the future, please contact the editorial group.

INURA-PUBLICATIONS (Report: Roger Keil)

The project by members from Zurich, Frankfurt and Toronto to publish a book on Zurich and Frankfurt (to be detailed below) as an INURA-publication of sorts prompted a general discussion on editorship and authorship, INURA-publications and so forth.

This discussion was conclusive only in so far as it established that INURA authorship or editorship was not possible for legal reasons and not advisable for practical reasons. The Zurich-Frankfurt book will now be published using the names of its editors.

However, we agreed to establish a loose and voluntary option for INURA-members to link their individual (or collective) publication to the network. Such publications could use the following statement somewhere in the beginning of the text:

"This book/article/monograph is one in a series of publications edited and authored by members of the International Network for Urban Research and Action. This organization of scholars and activists works to improve cooperation in urban research and action across countries and cities".

The Zurich-Frankfurt book will be the first publication to use this INURA-label. The editors will also negotiate with the publisher in order to have INURA mentioned on the cover of the book. Note again: this will not mean authorship but just indication of a series linked to work done by INURA-members.

In addition, we discussed a possible peer-reviewed journal or monograph series. From my recollection, it seemed to me that there was general agreement among those present that this might be a good idea for the future. In this case, an editorial committee would need to be set up, and a procedure for publication found which linked the guidelines for publication to the principles of INURA.

WHAT ARE THE PERSPECTIVES OF INURA FOR THE FUTURE ? THINKING ABOUT AN INURA FOUNDATION by INURA Zurich

The track record shows that INURA is definitely alive. Everybody is networking and a lot of important personal contacts have been established. Information and people are flowing around, trying to make our urban areas better places to live in. Many of our initial aims have thus been fulfilled and all this has happened in just one year.

The next two conferences, 1993 in England and 1994 in Italy, have been settled and along with this the responsibility for the Bulletin for the next two years. It was agreed that the Zurich group should stay responsible for the address administration and the INURA archives. Thanks to all those involved in the success of INURA, business affairs are proceeding favourably and INURA members should have every reason to be happy and satisfied with their network.

We propose to go one step beyond.

The activities that INURA members have developed so far indicate that there is more potential in our network. There are promising initiatives for workshops, common projects and conferences. Many more powerful visions, projects, plans are in people's heads, waiting to be released. In the course of the past year, it has become clear that we have something to say AND that we want to intervene in current affairs.

INURA is a small-scale, low-budget network. A lot of work is done without payment and has to be fitted in between 'ordinary' jobs. This idealistic approach towards research and activism is perfectly all right, very agreeable and it can be highly efficient. But: if we want to exert more influence, underline our statements and actions, transmit our ideas to the outside then it is necessary to build INURA up.

We should therefore strengthen our base.

At the INURA 1992 meeting in Rostock we came up with the idea of establishing an INURA-Foundation for the support of INURA activities. The proposal was well received and it was agreed that this idea should be developed and seen in a medium- to long-term perspective. The step-by-step procedure to be followed can roughly be sketched as follows:

- The idea of an INURA-Foundation is announced in this Bulletin. Commentaries, suggestions etc. regarding this project are most welcome.
- A group of INURA members will further develop the idea. A written abstract elaborating the main lines of the concept of an organizational extension of INURA as well as a financial model for the Foundation will be presented to members.
- Enquiries must be made to find out whether a foundation is the most appropriate legal framework for our plans. Information concerning differing national and European laws must be gathered to decide about the most suitable seat of such an institution.
- Before our next meeting in England, a draft of the articles of association and the form of organization should be presented for discussion.
- All further proceedings will be discussed in England.

Everybody can start working on this idea RIGHT NOW by thinking about possible modes of funding and possible donors for a Foundation.

We would very much appreciate it if you would send us your opinion.

ADVANCE NOTICE

1993 INURA Conference at
Beamish Hall, Durham, England

After snowy Salecina and sunny Prerow, INURA goes to cold and rainy England! And what an experience it will be: the madness of Docklands, the glories of British motorways and the tranquillity of a magnificent country retreat in the heart of the Great North.

The provisional programme looks like this:

<u>Friday 21st May, London:</u>	For those arriving early, visits can be arranged to Coin Street and Kings Cross redevelopment
<u>Saturday 22nd May, London:</u>	Tour of Docklands: breathtaking views from top of Canary Wharf! Accommodation arranged outside London
<u>Sunday 23rd May</u>	Travel northwards and arrive at Beamish Hall near Durham
<u>Monday 24th May</u>	Conference begins
<u>Tuesday 25th May</u>	Conference sessions
<u>Wednesday 26th May</u>	Conference sessions and tours to various parts of North East England
<u>Thursday 27th May</u>	Conference ends with traditional party in evening
<u>Friday 27th May</u>	Farewells - for another year

The venue for our conference is Beamish Hall, an English stately home built by a rich coal mining family and now owned by the County Council. It is used a lot by schools and for conferences. It is not very expensive, the food is excellent and the grounds are delightful.

Beamish Hall is halfway between Durham and Newcastle upon Tyne, and it is about 250 miles north of London. Next to the Hall is a famous 'open air museum' which includes a reconstructed town, steam railway and coal mine set in the 1920s. You will also be able to visit Durham, with its fine cathedral (7 miles away) and Newcastle, the region's capital (also 7 miles away).

So, put the dates in your diary for next year. More details and booking information in the next Bulletin.

Fred Robinson Bob Colenut Louanne Tranchell

PINBOARD

Offer for publication in 'European Planning Studies'

The Editor of 'European Planning Studies', Professor Philip Cooke sent the following letter:

"Dear INURA contact, I am pleased to see your arrival on the scene. As editor of European Planning Studies, I would be delighted if you could inform members of the journal's existence. Most importantly if you, or your members, have articles they would like to have considered for publication in the journal, please do not hesitate to send them to me."

Contact: Prof. Philip Cooke, Editor European Planning Studies, Department of City & Regional Planning, University of Wales College of Cardiff, PO Box 906, Cardiff CF1 3YN, Great Britain.

A Message from Ute Lehrer and Roger Keil

We would like to express our conviction that the second INURA-meeting in Prerow was a full success both for the substantial progress we made in our discussions and for the way we improved our political, personal and scholarly communication. We feel that most of the debates were a dynamic continuation of the meeting in Salecina in 1991. Many of the issues and research topics we identified last year were taken up again and carried further. Networking has worked. People have gotten to know and trust each other more. In brief: we should be happy with what we have achieved in such a short time. And we want to thank the Rostock organizers again for the great job they did under less than perfect conditions (no phone, no fax, no money etc.)

Having said this (or BUT... as some of us would say) there were two things which caused us some concern and which we would like to make public, for we think they will need to be discussed in the future.

1. We were quite surprised by certain instances of intolerance in the debate on what kind of research would be useful for the network. We believe that the spirit and the principles of our fledgling association forbid any restriction of research methods, topics or interests. While in Salecina, there was an unspoken agreement that one could look at "incinerators" or any such thing from a boundless variety of points of view, and that the combination of these perspectives would enrich our common work, the discussion around "waterfronts" seemed to go the other way. We think that the breadth of our members' research orientation is an asset, and that we should further the exchange of ideas rather than declaring certain viewpoints "unimportant".

2. In the debate on common INURA-publications, and particularly on the political orientation and the groups of readers we would like to reach the debate sometimes lingered closely on the edge of political prescriptiveness. We feel that "political correctness" is not a pre-given asset of an allegedly historical subject. Rather, "doing the right thing" can only come from a political process which a large variety of social and political actors participate in. That some of the oppressed might be oppressors themselves has been widely demonstrated by the discourses on racism and sexism. Political correctness, finally, cannot be mistaken for political righteousness but should be understood as a complicated process to forge new alliances in an era of

fragmentation and loss of clear political "city trenches." (Some of these ambiguities were touched upon by our fruitful and encouraging discussion on "the underclass" and the LA riots, cf. Fred Robinson's abstract in this bulletin).

In order to not be misunderstood, we should point out that we are not opting for the kind of relativist pluralism rampant in political practice these days. We believe, however, that if we learn to take our individual and collective efforts to find new ways of political activism and resistance seriously, rather than calling them "incorrect", INURA can be of significant help in creating an emancipatory strategy of research and action - both globally and locally.

Greetings and solidarity,

Ute Lehrer (Zurich) Roger Keil (Toronto)

Invitation to joint comparative urban research

The Department of Urban Development of the local council of Rostock (Germany) has established a research project on ongoing and planned changes in an area of the city.

The area has some particular characteristics:

- it was built after World War II as living area (mostly 2- or 3-room-flats together with supermarkets, schools, kindergartens and sanitary infrastructure),
- it is located at the southern periphery, though not far from the city center,
- the density of built environment is rather low,
- within the area there is a major district hospital and a significant part of the Rostock University (Faculty of Technical Sciences and others, students' hostels, a dining-hall, also used for cultural events, other students' clubs) - but integrated into the quarter and not as a campus,
- there are almost no offices up to now,
- due to the fact that the first inhabitants were mostly young families and due to a low amount of residents' mobility in GDR times, older people are now overrepresented.

This quarter, close to the center as it is, will definitely change its functions as part of the city. Reconstruction will be done, ground-plans of apartments will be changed, office space will be created, the density of built environment will increase ...

Scholars from EC-countries are invited to develop a joint research project, accompanying the changes within this quarter and comparing the respective processes with urban developments in their national context. The local council already has basic funding of some research, funding of the "comparative part" shall be raised from the EC. The aim of the comparison should be mutual learning about experiences in mastering such urban changes under different conditions, to help maintain the residents' social structure as far as possible, to include their interests into planning and to guarantee a maximum of citizens' participation.

If you are interested in participating or if you would like to get more information, please contact INURA Rostock (address last page of this bulletin).

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