

Summaries

Adelheid von Saldern, Integration and Fragmentation in European Cities. On the historical dimension of a current subject

The current discussions and developmental trends of cities give cause to place the questions in an historical perspective and, in addition, to integrate the contributions published in this volume in larger temporal and spatial contexts. Here it is not a matter of a broad systematic history of the development of urban European societies, but rather of presenting a few stones in the great mosaic of the history of European cities since the phase of industrialisation and urbanisation. The aspects considered pertain to 1) *active citizenship* and 2) *ethnic minorities*. Further fields that will be treated are 3) *municipal public assistance, infra-structure measures and socialism*, 4) the *organisation of space and the profile of city districts*, and 5) the *exclusion and control* of disagreeable groups. Moreover, preliminary treatment will be given to the question what significance may be assigned to 6) the *politics of culture, symbol and events* as strategies of integration. The conclusion will give an account of several facets of the discussion about 7) *European cities*.

Beate Althammer/Michèle Gordon, Integrating and Fragmenting Effects of Municipal Public Assistance at Cologne and Glasgow (1880–1914)

Poor Relief is traditionally one of the central tasks of European cities. On the one hand, it was for centuries a major instance of social integration that contributed to the integration of the socially weak; on the other hand, it also exerted a fragmenting effect since it never applied to all the poor but rather invariably drew distinctions among them and even more or less deliberately stigmatised those who were acknowledged to be in principle worthy of support. As a result of the socio-economic upheavals of the 19th century, the integrative potential of poor relief was increasingly criticised as inadequate and it was gradually supplemented by new mechanisms of social security. Nevertheless, many people remained dependent on poor relief.

This comparative study asks about the manner in which poor relief functioned in two rapidly growing industrial big European cities at the turn of the 19th century. At the normative level, the British-Scottish model exhibits striking differences from the German-Prussian one, including more rigid state control, greater importance given to closed workhouses than to open assistance to the poor, and a formal exclusion of those capable of work from public support. At the local level, however, the cities studied evince remarkable parallels; for instance, with respect to the percent of those receiving public assistance, the amount of the payments, the reasons for support recognised as legitimate, and the practice of expulsion towards the poor not legally resident in the cities. The restricted public assistance in both cities was supplemented, and occasionally countered, by a nearly unsurveyable field of private and church-related welfare, which gives the posture of urban societies towards their poor a more generous and, at the same time, very splintered character oriented by heterogeneous criteria of inclusion and exclusion.

Silke Schütter, From Legal Recognition to Marginalisation of the Poor. Euphoria and failure of a great municipal reform project in Strasbourg between 1871 and the 1920s

Strasbourg is looked upon to this day as a ›model city‹ of social-political reforms and innovations at the beginning of the 20th century. Democratically-minded municipal politicians who were committed to the ideals of the French Revolution and the Third Republic, like Mayor Dr. Rudolf Schwander, wanted to replace the Christian-patriarchal welfare

system with one that respected the dignity of the individual and so to make a contribution to democratisation and to the integration of the poor into urban society. The reforms introduced in 1906 failed in theory and practice not only because of anti-reform constellations of power in Alsace-Lorraine, but above all because of traditions and their representatives in Strasbourg itself. The compulsion to justify social benefits politically and morally, the acceptance of living and working conditions of the lowest level, and the deep--lying mistrust and contempt towards those living in need at the margins of society and their ways of life and conduct, were finally so great that needy persons fell under the sights of social-political disciplining. Honorary overseers and guardians complemented a humiliating and arbitrary system of surveillance, control, education and punishment which the poor resisted from the beginning. In 1929, the socialist Mayor J. Peirottes declared the reform to have failed and suspended the famous Strasbourg System of public welfare.

Karl Ditt, *Energy Politics and Energy Consumption. Gas, electric and household technology in Great Britain and Germany, 1880–1939, and the examples of Leeds and York, Dortmund and Münster*

This article is intended as a contribution to the classical question whether Great Britain maintained its lead in industrialisation and in the development of a consumer society over the German Empire between the late 19th century and the Second World War. The article studies the development of energy (i. e., the gas and electric supply and the spread of household technology) on the national and local level, using the examples of the cities of Leeds and York, Dortmund and Münster.

It is observed that the extension of the gas supply and of gas use in Great Britain was clearly greater than in Germany: phenomena that may be attributed above all to Britain's earlier start in industrialisation and the lower prices offered by the British gas industry. Notwithstanding its greater use of the industrially run long-distance gas supply, Germany had not caught up with Great Britain by the Second World War. With respect to the electric supply, on the other hand, the number of connected households in Great Britain before the war was fewer because here state restrictions, defective engineer training, heavy competition from the gas industry, and especially local efforts for autonomy strongly checked the development of the British electric supply. Only with the building of a quasi-state planned and organised national grid, decided upon in 1925, which gave Great Britain the advantage in the systematic organisation and control of the electric supply, did Germany's lead here shrink.

With respect to the spread of household technology on the basis of gas and electric, Great Britain acquired and maintained a clear lead up to the Second World War. Decisive for this advantage, which was a contemporary index of the state of a consumer society, appears to have been less Great Britain's higher degree of urbanisation or the significance of the quite different number of households with gas and electric connections than the low gas and electric prices, the higher real incomes of the population, and the higher degree of commercialisation in the energy business and the technical appliance industry which, through the broad use of coin-operated automats and differentiated offers of rent and instalment payments (among other means), found a ready market. This lead contributed to the clearly higher degree of technical appliances in the British household and thus covered up the disadvantages of greater state and municipal hindrances and the less effective solutions to gas and electric production in comparison with Germany.

Jan Philipp Altenburg, Middle Class Descriptions of the Big City. The perception of the big city in the *Gartenlaube* and the *Illustrierten Zeitung* in the second half of the 19th century

The descriptions of urban living spaces in the illustrated mass press of the 19th century were stamped by recurring descriptive stereotypes. Their basic pattern was decisively formed at the end of the 18th century by the examples of the metropolises of London and Paris.

These descriptive stereotypes were shaped on the one hand by variants specific to the cities and on the other hand integrated into a specific discourse. The discourse that proved decisive for the descriptions differed from city to city. Thus, for example, reports about criminality in Berlin in the *Gartenlaube* reflect on the one hand the topos of Berlin as the »metropolis of intelligence« and on the other hand a need for security and control with respect to the dangers of the big city. The description of the successful fight against these dangers is, in turn, closely bound up with the idea of the »metropolis« as the representative of a modern nation.

The extremely constant descriptive stereotypes could be changed by specific events, thus the description of Paris as the »city of women« in the *Gartenlaube* and the *Illustrierten Zeitung* breaks off abruptly with the advent of the Franco-Prussian war and another pattern, such as that of the anti-German feeling in Paris, takes over.

The description of the big city in the illustrated mass press may be seen more to be a construct shaped by various influences and less as the realistic reportage that it claims to be.

Britta Lenz, United in Association? Municipal recreation and the integration of Polish and Masurian immigrants in the Ruhr area between 1900 and 1939

In the second half of the 19th century the cities of the Ruhr area experienced an enormous growth through immigration. Alone during the period between the foundation of the German Empire and the Second World War, about half a million Poles and Masurians immigrated from the East Prussian provinces to the Ruhr area. This mass migration triggered feelings of resentment, fears of foreign overpopulation and defensive behaviour in the resident population. In addition to social discrimination, the immigrants were exposed at the same time to unambiguous pressure on the part of the authorities to germanise themselves. Part of the Polish immigrants responded to this pressure by forming ethnic communities. These communities enjoyed a broad net of associations and organisations which has hitherto been the focus of research on the integration process among Ruhr Poles.

This article directs the view away from the ethnic associations and enquires into the paths of integration taken by Polish and Masurian immigrants who were not anchored in this net of organisations. In their everyday life together, the established residents and the immigrants had numerous contacts and common points of reference. Of these, the common organisation of recreation in the football, pigeon breeding and allotment gardens associations, which had flourished since the turn of the century, assumed an important place. Here associations arose beyond religious, ideological and ethnic contexts, and may be conjectured to have had a certain integrative potential.

The example of football clubs in Essen between 1900 and 1939 clarifies the participation of immigrants in German sport and recreation associations. In the more closely studied associations Rot-Weiß Essen, Turn- und Sportverein Helene und Sportfreunde Katernberg, immigrants may be found equally among the members as among the club functionaries and leading players. Especially for young immigrants of the second generation, the football clubs represented an attractive recreational opportunity. Integration into the clubs, however, was by no means free of conflict. The numerous changes of name on the part

of immigrants and the stigmatising of clubs as »Polack clubs« indicate the conflict potential harboured by the membership of immigrants in German clubs.

Thomas Welskopp, Careers in the Shadow of Criminality. Diverse ways of integration among second generation immigrants in American big cities of the 1920's

The introduction of *national prohibition*, the constitutional, nation-wide prohibition against alcohol in the USA in January 1920, was the culmination of a long phase of repressive propaganda and politics towards immigrants in the large urban centres of the United States which had been further radicalised by the First World War. Conceived as a disciplinary act, prohibition became instead a resource through which the second generation of immigrants were able to achieve a selective social ascent and firmly establish themselves in the American mainstream. Instead of harsher exclusion and ethnic visibility, the social consequences of the law proved to be integration and a hyper-Americanisation of the sons and daughters of immigrants. The shadow economy of alcohol consumption and its fantastic earning possibilities permitted organised crime to leave the ethnic ghettos to which it had hitherto been confined and develop a network of previously unexampled form and scope. In the permissive culture of the 1920's, the *gangster* and the *bootlegger* rose to become secretly admired trendsetters and role models. Prohibition also brought progress in integration for urban, second generation immigrant Americans that reached beyond the restricted circle of gangsterism: in many cases, the law politicised them for the first time and provided them with the occasion for self-confident articulation of their political interests. This led finally to thoroughgoing American integration with a proudly handed-down ethnic background – in the form of the »hyphenated American«.

Lu Seegers, Symbolic Integration in City Anniversaries in the GDR

Nearly every East German city organised at least one city anniversary in the course of the existence of the German Democratic Republic. On the one hand, such celebrations yielded possibilities on the part of the cities for laying claim to resources from the state; on the other, the cities seized this opportunity to cultivate their images. For in spite of their practical powerlessness, the cities were an essential support of the GRD's system of domination, since they were able to establish local identifications which the state was not able to do in the same way. In the practical integration of the population by means of the city anniversaries, exclusion also played a decisive role. The preparations for the festivities were already intended to demonstrate the people's engagement for their city and for the GRD state. Certain groups, however, were excluded: in the 1960's, above all what was known as »beat youth«. During formal city events, efforts were made to prevent deviant behaviour which appeared to contradict the »socialist idea of man«, but which could not always be controlled in the everyday urban life of the GRD. Even if on these occasions the cities presented themselves as hospitable to the entire world, personal contact to West German citizens was heavily regulated. The larger cities especially were assigned the function of locally illustrating the »international standard« of the GRD. In this way, the presentation of city history and contemporary life became a masterly narrative of the GRD at the local level, and genuine municipal traditions remained more or less in the background. While especially in the 1960's, the image of a socialist utopia still appeared to be credible and negative developments could be laid to the door of the capitalist Federal Republic, by the 1970's this view was steadily losing plausibility. Historical fairs and public festivals, which offered possibilities of consumption, light entertainment, stars and sports, enjoyed great popularity; yet the contradiction between the staged festivities and everyday reality could also call forth publicly effective criticism.

Georg Wagner-Kyora, The Local Politics of »Reconstruction« in Perennial Conflict: The Destruction of the Braunschweig Residenzschloss (1944/1960) and Its Rebuilding (2005)

In 1960, the ruins of the Braunschweig Residenzschloss were pulled down for political reasons. After an intermittent ›reconstruction‹ discussion among the active municipal political, administrative and professional elites during the 1950's, local SPD notables succeeded in putting through the brutal solution of a total demolition, so as to signal the new beginning of the city's history. The political decision in favour of the demolition split the previous broadly anchored ›reconstruction‹ consensus and gave prominence, within the middle-class conservative party spectrum, to a retrospective discourse of demolition which became increasingly a matter-of-course between 1961 and 2001. By claiming to rest on purportedly dichotomous value orientations, it was set up to torpedo the consensual political practices that otherwise shaped the municipal politics of the Federal Republic.

The historical politics of the demolition and reconstruction of the Braunschweig Residenzschloss, however, was highly discontinuous because its motives were never reflected upon. Subliminally, the Braunschweig SPD wanted to combat the Nazi past of the city's most important state building by obliterating the structure, without ever becoming conscious of this. The middle-class and formerly (still influential) national conservative spectrum of city notables was influenced by art historical and unspecific regionalist ideas. By contrast, the former Duchess acted within and fostered a communicative consensus that tended towards non-partisanship and thereby paradoxically filled the role of a generator of a new Braunschweig municipal republicanism. All parties to the discourse were one in negating the building's republican strata of memories and thus the strongest anchor of common identity.

Accordingly, the conflicting deposits of tradition could not be worked through, so that they led anew to a dichotomous formation of opinion when the first full-time CDU mayor put through a plan for a new, post-modern development of the entire grounds of the Schloss park. He purposefully pushed the reconstruction of the facade of the former Schloss as a middle-class consensus strategy in city planning, without being able to persuade the majority of the city population of his plan. Ignoring this, he put through the construction of an out-sized shopping mall in a rapid decision process and against the strong political resistance of the SPD.

In this repetition of the assertion of one-sided power-political interests, now under reversed auspices, the burdensome history of the 20th century no longer played a role. Rather, unspecific historical images with deliberately positive connotations were inadequately instrumentalised as props, so as to enhance the public acceptance of a multi-functional commercial building. And this was achieved less through such wavering arguments as on the firm basis of the local press, which entered the controversy as a lobbyist for mall city-planning and steadily reinforced the strong coalition of political and commercial interests with its recklessly tendentious journalism.

Claire Colomb, Towards an »Urban Renaissance« in New Labour's Britain. Fragmentation or sustainable reurbanisation of British cities?

Since 1997 the UK New Labour government has put cities at the core of its agenda, launching new initiatives in urban renewal as well as championing a new agenda for the ›Urban Renaissance‹ of British cities. This contribution will critically analyse the Urban Renaissance discourse championed by New Labour from the perspective of its long term capacity to address the socio-spatial polarization of British cities.

The paper will first outline the urban demographic trends of the past decades in the UK to set the context for the challenges faced by British inner cities in terms of socio-spatial polarisation. The urban policy initiatives taken by New Labour will also be briefly de-

scribed. The New Labour agenda for an ›Urban Renaissance‹ will then be critically analysed in order to discuss the potential for integration of new urban policies geared at encouraging, or sustaining, a ›back to the city‹ movement from the middle class. Can they paradoxically contribute to the fragmentation, gentrification and social polarization of British inner cities?

In order to address this hypothesis, the paper will propose a critical reflection on the content of the Urban Renaissance discourse, its underpinning ideology and the vision of urban space and urban living which is being promoted. Four key elements, in particular, will be analysed: the construction of a new ›urban idyll‹, the myth of social and functional mix, the myth of the ›local community‹ and the rhetoric of good urban design as tool for the recreation of public space and local citizenship.

Finally the paper will discuss whether the Urban Renaissance agenda represents a blueprint for gentrification and conclude that in the context of current debates on the re-urbanisation of British cities, the need for theoretical and empirical research on more equitable redevelopment methods for inner cities is pressing – in particular those aiming at mitigating the negative effects of gentrification.

Sabine Mecking, *Between Planning Euphoria and Identity Crisis. The municipal re-organisation in the Northern Rhine-Westphalia shown in the examples of the city and rural districts of Bielefeld*

The municipal reorganisation of the late 1960's and early 1970's occupied domestic political discussion as did hardly another reform in the history of the German Federal Republic. Although regional and functional reforms were carried out in all the larger federal states, the changes in the municipal map of the Northern Rhine-Westphalia had a particularly lasting effect. The discussion of the reform was shaped by the contemporary belief in the higher administrative efficiency and better material provision that could be attained by the creation of larger administrative and planning units. If there prevailed an extensive agreement among experts, in politics, administration and society about the necessity of a municipal regional reform, resistance to individual measures of the reorganisation may nevertheless be observed everywhere at a local level. In this debate, historically developed, traditional or economic circumstances and local particularities were opposed to functional measures aimed at the improvement of administrative efficiency. As an early example of the reforms, the re-organisation of the city and rural districts of Bielefeld came to be assigned the character of a model for the successive reorganisation in North Rhine-Westphalia. In the run-up to the reorganisation, numerous communities of the rural districts already signed regional change contracts with the city of Bielefeld. On the other hand, the rural districts also resisted their dissolution and several parishes in the surroundings had difficulties with their loss of independence. The debate on the reorganisation, however, took place predominantly within the constituted municipal committees. A citizen engagement among broad circles of the population that opposed the regional reform and rested on various pillars of local society, such as occurred in the later reorganisation of the Ruhr area, could not be observed in Bielefeld. Active inclusion of the population by means of questionnaires was in part even expressly rejected, by reference to the decision that had already been taken on the part of the municipal council. The organisation of concrete new local modalities rested much more on contractual negotiations than on an intimidating politics of expansion.

Martina Heßler, *Integrated or Fragmented Spaces? Siemens Business Areas in Berlin and Munich*

This article looks at industrial and business sites and asks how these have been integrated into the public space of the city since the end of the 19th century, or conversely how

they were set up as fragmented, shut-off spaces in or outside the city. Industrial sites contain not only the space of the business itself, its workshops, factory halls, research laboratories or offices; not infrequently, there are also on its grounds or in its immediate vicinity social facilities, infrastructures and company flats. Sometimes the establishment of the business goes along with the establishment of a new city district. This raises the question whether these sites are integrated into the cities and their urban life.

The article pursues this question in the example of three business sites of the firm Siemens. Considered first will be the *Siemensstadt* in Berlin, built at the end of the 19th century. The second example is the Siemens site in Neuperlach in Munich, which is known as the ›Siemens research city‹ and was built in the 1970's. The third example, which will be considered as a prospect for the future, is the Siemens site in the Munich Hofmannstraße.

The relation of these three sites to their respective cities differs considerably. With the attempt in 1900 to erect its own district for Siemens workers before the gates of Berlin, the firm encouraged (hardly surprising for the time) tendencies to fragmentation in the city, both in respect to the situation of *Siemensstadt* and in respect to the endeavour to build a city district for its own workers, with its own social facilities and infrastructures. The Siemens ›research city‹ Neuperlach also became a protected area at the edge of the new bypass town of Neuperlach. Non-Siemens co-workers have no access to the tract. The area itself, however, attempted to imitate urban structures. Finally, the recent planning for the site in the Hofmannstraße represented a turning-point by aiming at a re-integration of city and business. Even though these plans have already been withdrawn, they nevertheless indicate a change of direction which lays emphasis upon integration and interweaving with the city.

Bernd Hüppauf, City images. Visual constructions of urban identity

The relation between the city and images as representations has always been one of mutual dependence. If different representing imagery already arose in the early cities of Mesopotamia, images of the city are very much more recent and urban photography has in particular made a substantial contribution to the visual cohesion of the modern city. In the present phase of urban disintegration and the crisis of visual representation, questions about the binding powers that hold the city together are ineluctable. Here the image of the city receives an important function. This article treats urban photography and proposes the thesis that it can be divided into two traditional types of images: documentary pictures and photography of the ideal city. Both have been deeply affected by the present crisis and a new aesthetics of disappearance is in the process of emerging. Photographic techniques have been introduced that correspond to the vanishing of concrete urbanness. An emerging urban photography that is marked by a new primitivism and a logic of indeterminacy should not be understood as a mere reaction to the dissolution of the city in an increasingly virtual world, but rather as an attempt to develop a new kind of seeing in which the city is conceived as an imagined space beyond the linear stream of time.

Walter Siebel, Sociological Dimensions of Integration and Foreignness in the City

Integration must be discussed with a view to two questions: ›What holds society together?‹ – the integration of a society; and ›How is the individual successfully fitted into a society?‹ – the integration into a society. Without an idea of what makes possible the cohesion of a society, the question about individual integration cannot be answered. In the first part of this article, therefore, the answers that sociology has given to the former question will be reviewed. The central thesis is that modern societies produce differences that

can no longer be absorbed by cultural homogeneity. The mechanisms of integration in modern societies are therefore mechanisms that integrate while maintaining differences. The result is Simmel's ›urban indifference‹, the city as mosaic, as market and democracy. In order for this to function, deep-reaching achievements of adaptation are required: not so much the learning of an educational canon as the internalisation of orientations, practices, and definite role models. To this extent, it is quite true that there is a mainstream or guiding culture.

Eva Kimminich, Citizen or Stranger? Exclusion and cultural autonomy in the French banlieue

The concepts of immigration and integration harbour a problem that has been faced in France only since the 1960's. It rests on the legacy of the Enlightenment and the revolutionary declaration of human and civil rights in 1789. Closely bound up with the values of republicanism and democracy, the French nation developed a self-understanding which formed the foundation of the integration policies of the Third Republic. In the 1970's, the number of immigrants to France rose along with the simultaneous advent of unemployment triggered by incipient de-industrialisation, leading in the 1980's to housing shortages, impoverishment, and a rise in criminality and violence: a bundle of problems that pertained above all to the French-born children of immigrant families and caused an increase in everyday discrimination and political racism. Against this, neither a housing projects policy that attempted through quotas to avoid ethnic concentration in individual *cités*, nor the numerous preventive and cultural programmes with which the government attempted to respond to the disastrous unemployment rate and criminality among young people, made headway.

French people of dark skin, however, live not only in a geographic, cultural and economic ›offside‹, but also in a mental ghetto of culturally hegemonic identikit pictures. Thus the suburbs were soon perceived as ›lawless zones‹ where ›dangerous foreigners‹ lived who, in spite of their French passports, were denied not only their *citoyenneté* but also the *civilité* linked to the colonial history of France. Reinforced by media news reporting, the *banlieusard* was in this way stigmatised as a post-modern ›barbarian‹. This intensified racism and discrimination on the one hand, and readiness to violence and ethnicity on the other. In the 1980's, however, in the shadow of an auspicious cultural policy in the banlieues, a youth movement (hip-hop) developed that eloquently opposed the crushing identikit picture of the Franco French. Its verbal component, rap, not only affords an insight into the cause and effect of culturally hegemonic projections, but has further proved to be an effective self-therapy. Analysis of numerous rap lyrics makes clear that the integration model has made politically active citizens of French people of dark skin who take the republican values at their word and admonish the deficient realisation of a democratic democracy. In this primal French endeavour, appealing as it does to the concept of *citoyenneté*, influential banlieue intellectuals have, in their function as models, recently turned to Islam; against the background of Egyptianism and Rastafarianism, Western capitalism was already described in many rap lyrics as a Babylonian cesspool before the wave of conversions triggered by September 11th, which has only reinforced the vicious circle of racism and ethnicity. On the one hand, therefore, a democracy that is practised in everyday life through intercultural communication and education must prevent a clash of these identikit pictures; while on the other hand the political concept of civil society must no longer be oriented nationally but rather transnationally. Only in this way can the potential tensions of highly complex societies be defused.

Translated by Jonathan Uhlaner