

#2ND URO LAB REPORT

# GOVERNING THE NARCOTIC CITY

ATTENTION  
POLICE CONTROLS  
WE NOW ENTERING  
HRENGEBIET

DISCOURSES ON DRUG USE, DEALERS AND  
MIGRATION AROUND THE GÖRLITZER PARK  
IN BERLIN-KREUZBERG

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## 1. INTRODUCTION: Urban Orders and the 2nd URO LAB

Urban Orders (URO) is a transdisciplinary research network consisting of collaborator teams in Aarhus, Berlin, Johannesburg and New Orleans, which focuses on the relationship between the appropriation of urban spaces and new forms of urban citizenship.

Taking 'urban order' to signify a dynamic regularity in the relationship between social life in the city and its physical environment, which has emerged without overall regulation, control or use of force, the aim of URO is to develop new transdisciplinary methods for harnessing the potentials of existing urban orders as a basis for creating viable and democratic cities.

With URO, we argue that global cities today contain multiple and overlapping forms of urban orderings, which, if properly examined, might serve as a basis for making sustainable urban development based on civic participation, flexible physical planning schemes and a truly transdisciplinary dialogue. Still, while a praxis-oriented understanding of such urban orders is vital for developing viable and inclusive cities, it rarely - if ever - guides urban planning and city management today. With URO, it is our ambition to change this agenda.

The core activities of URO center around four 'URO Laboratories' (URO Labs), which occur from 2015-17 in all four collaborator cities. Organised by local steering groups, each URO Lab explores empirical cases of urban orderings. Based on insights from these four case-studies, our aim is to harness the potentials of the different 'urban orders' for developing a new transdisciplinary approach to global urban development focusing on civic participation, co-design and flexible physical planning.

The 1st URO Lab was held in Aarhus in May 2015. Focusing on the ongoing upgrading of the Gellerup Park on the western outskirts of Aarhus (the largest urban upgrading project in Denmark), the aim of the 1st URO Lab was for the participants to collectively discuss the contested status of the area's urban youth in relation to the use of outdoor spaces and, on this basis, consider new ways of harnessing the Gellerup Park's potentials for developing a more integrative urban environment. Subsequently, we produced a detailed report that outlines the planning, realization and main findings from the event. It can be downloaded from our project website ([uro.au.dk](http://uro.au.dk))

The 2nd UROLab was held in Berlin 26-28 May 2016. It focused on the contested urban orders of the Görlitzer Park - a public park in the neighborhood of Kreuzberg in Berlin. Located in a diverse and rapidly gentrifying area between two vibrant nightlife districts, the Görlitzer Park continues to afford a number of uses to a wide variety of groups, including migrants, bohemians, local families, tourists and drug dealers. Recently, the park has become a key

site for administrative and governmental interventions; not least caused by an increasing number of refugees using a space intended for recreational activities. Consequently, in late 2014, the park was declared a “danger zone” with ensuing increases of patrols, raids and arrests. Still, as both the marijuana trade as well as the protests against racial discrimination continue to escalate, the Görlitzer Park is currently the site of one of the hottest conflicts of Berlin as well as a symbol for the ongoing struggle over public space and “the right to the city”.

This report describes the 2nd URO Lab from its inception and planning to the actual realization. It outlines the main findings and suggests ways of refining our understanding of urban orders.

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## 2. Welcome to the Blue Light District! - Everyday Life in Kreuzberg and the making of dangerous spaces

### Introduction

"The Battle of the Görlitzer Park escalates!", "Save us from the Drug Menace!" or "No one is safe here!" - If such media headlines are to be believed, a small area in the midst of Berlin is in a terrifying state of exception. The quarters of North-Kreuzberg (better known according to the former postal code as Kreuzberg South East 36) seem to drown in a vortex of violence, drugs and anarchy. In addition to the drug scene for heroin and pills at Kottbusser Tor, a former railway station turned small local park in the center of Kreuzberg called Görlitzer Park has become a key site in one of hottest conflicts of Berlin. In recent years, the park has turned into a symbol for the contested urban orders in Berlin as well as the ongoing struggle over public space and "the right to the city".

Since its official opening in 1991, Görlitzer Park has been euphorically embraced by a highly diverse public. It is used by locals for barbecues, picnics or sports, while party folk gather here for music performances or just enjoy being in the midst of a pulsating crowd. Frequently, the old railroad infrastructures in the park function as temporary homes for families of Sinti and Roma, who mostly come to Berlin during the summer period in the pursuit of seasonal work. Moreover, since years, the so-called "Görli" is also the site for a more or less open drug market for marijuana that is open 24/7 and frequented by an ever growing number of local customers and tourists. Dealers are predominantly refugees from central, sub-saharan Africa, who are stranded in Berlin without work permit and thus having a precarious legal status. With the growing migration, there are now several hundred refugees staying in the park during the intense summer months and their presence has sparked a series of complaints by local residents about assumed dangers and potential harassments. With tensions rising, a group of neighbours got together in 2014 to declare that they want to "reconquer" the park, one effect being that they were subsequently attacked by other local activists accusing them of xenophobia.

Local politicians, government agencies and the police attempt to take action against these conditions but often with limited success. For example, the local mayor of the Green Party proposed the opening of legal coffee shops to dry out the illegal drug trade in the Park. These shops would offer organic and regionally produced marijuana, but only to local residents. To several local politicians, this proposal was unacceptable and they suggested instead to fence off the park and close it during the night or, alternatively, to install cameras and make sure that the police would be permanently present in the park.

While these debates continued unabatedly, a coalition consisting of the police and municipal

public order offices was formed in 2014 and members of both agencies started to patrol the park together with the aim of making arrests and remove the drug trade. When the program was cancelled after only six months due to a disappointingly low arrest rate and with the drug trade still flourishing, local politicians and the media saw this as a sign of surrender to the drug traders and started to evoke the image of a city being on the ragged edge of anarchy.

Consequently, in late 2014, Berlin's interior minister identified several so-called "Crime-burdened Places" or "Danger Zones" in Berlin Kreuzberg. While the exact number and location of these areas is not publicly known, it is obvious that at least in Görlitzer Park and the Kottbusser Tor, the police granted itself special authority by using a controversial paragraph in the Berlin security law and with these entitlements, it suddenly became possible to make arbitrary identity checks and temporary bans from the premises as well as implementing meticulous video surveillance and undercover surveillance.

With patrols, raids and the number of arrests in the Görlitzer Park rising exponentially, tensions grew and the situation turned increasingly violent, reaching a high point in late November 2014 with an escalated knife fight between local Turkish bar owners and a group of drug dealers. This incident led not only to a massive week-long police intervention in the park accompanied by massive protests from refugee activists but also to the involvement of urban designers and landscape architects in the planning of how to salvage the park. Based on their ideas, park workers installed street lights and, more importantly, cut down bushes and trees and refilled ravines to transform the entire area into what might best be described as a "panoptical space" with supposedly no place to hide or trade drugs.



During the winter of 2014/2015, the park appeared almost like an urban wasteland that was heavily patrolled by local authorities and many dealers and customers have therefore temporarily moved to surrounding areas.

As the costs for such design interventions and police presence could not be met by an already broke local government under a tight austerity regime, the drug trade eventually returned to the park and so did the raids and arrests. However, despite the use of these highly contested governance instruments and with many police officers having worked several thousand hours in overtime, "law and order" have not been re-established. On a daily basis, the local newspapers report on yet another shocking incident of violence, open drug trade or armed robbery. Besides the print media, also countless reviews on Facebook or Google Maps draw the image of a lawless and highly dangerous neighbourhood, which needs to be absolutely avoided during nighttime - especially by women and children.



But something is wrong with this picture! For nearly a decade, these supposedly dangerous places have attracted an increasing number of international tourists each year. Millions of

mostly young people are drawn to the area that seems to promise a truly metropolitan experience. Currently, the area of the police section 53 is one of the most popular European tourist destinations. It is home to the largest number of clubs and hostels in the city and has become a sine qua non for every growing tourism industry. In effect, the massive local complaints about violence and drugs have been accompanied by the outrage over the number of tourists invading the area. Local residents feel burdened not only by the increasing number of illegal holiday apartments and accompanying noise during the night, they also feel alienated by the foreign languages in their neighbourhood and in their cafes. Furthermore, the fact that marijuana can be easily bought and consumed in the park is an information that has been spreading fast, particularly through social media, such as Facebook and Tripadvisor, and has turned the park and surrounding streets into one of the biggest tourist attractions in Berlin. To many local politicians and residents, however, the growing trade and consumption of marihuana is both intolerable and scandalous: With the drug trade for heroin and pills at Kottbusser Tor, Kreuzberg 36 has become a primary symbol for the failings of local state regulatory forces and thus also for the dystopic vision of an ultimate breakdown of public order.

While everyday life in the neighbourhoods of Kreuzberg 36 has apparently become more and more unbearable, the area is simultaneously experiencing an unprecedented property boom. Urban townhouses, luxury apartments and even car lofts pace up on formerly vacant lots, powered by a global capital market looking for lucrative local investments. At the same time, rents for apartments have reached dizzying heights. Fearing displacement and excessive gentrification, local residents have started to voice their discontent with the growing property market and have begun organizing tenant protests, demonstrations and various neighbourhood initiatives.

At the same time, the local government, formed by mainly Green party politicians, seems mesmerized by its plans to create new forms of problem solving by which they thwart and block at the same time through higher urban and state levels of government.

“Drug hell” and “luxury urban neighbourhood”, “a danger zone”, a “laboratory for alternative urban policies” and a “tourist trap” – Kreuzberg SO 36 seems to easily contain all of these epithets at once. How can it be, we might ask, that such an allegedly highly dangerous area is at the same time a desired destination for migrants, refugees and tourists alike? To make sense of this paradox, one has to look into the recent history of the borough and the myths that surround it. Up until today the district continues to be glorified and mythologized in pop songs, photographs, movies and books as a place of freedom, adventure and multiculturalism. By addressing the historical dynamics of Kreuzberg and focusing in particular on how it became a breeding ground for new forms of resistance as well as governing and governance, we might get insights into how and why the area became a place of longing

and desire for such diverse groups, ranging from village punks and small-town hippies to global Bohemian artists and “creative entrepreneurs”.

### **Militant Localism: Making the Myth of Kreuzberg**

Kreuzberg SO 36 might be regarded as a prime example of “militant localism” - with all its promises but also its failings. Originally a garrison district for the Prussian military, around the turn of the century, the area grew into one of the most densely populated districts of Berlin. With mostly working families, day labourers and craftsmen settling there, the neighbourhood soon became a stronghold for communists and social democrats alike. In the 1920s and early 1930s, these groups repeatedly fought in the streets against the National Socialists, thereby giving some parts of that area the reputation of a resilient “Red Kreuzberg”. After the Second World War, many parts of the area lay in ruins and Kreuzberg fell into a niche existence in the shadow of the Iron Curtain.

With the worker recruitment agreement between the Federal Republic of Germany and Turkey in the 1960s, however, especially Kreuzberg SO 36 quickly became a migrant destination. In addition to Turkish and Arab “guest workers” and their families, soon also students, draft dodgers and dropouts started to settle in the often still heavily damaged houses. Due to growing housing shortages, many vacant derelict buildings became squats – reaching a staggering number of nearly 150 occupied houses in Kreuzberg during the early 1980s. Especially in the period since the mid-1970s, Kreuzberg developed a reputation as a kind of alternative utopia, attracting a variety of people, who did not want or were simply not able to be part of the mainstream of the Federal Republic of Germany. During the 1980s, this process escalated into in potentially pre-revolutionary situations. During this period, the police gradually took over the area by permanently being present with armed vehicles, water cannons and increasing manpower. Provoked by the massive presence of the police, the weekly riots became a regular happening for autonomous “Kiez”-activists, the local youth and social street workers. This militant localism shaped not only the discourses in the press and by international observers; it also delivered a strong and very practical and violent local narrative about living on the social and spatial margins of mainstream German society. Kreuzberg 36 was regarded as not really being part of West-Berlin. In public, the mayor even declared its inhabitants as “Anti-Berliners”. It was through this ‘metanarrative of otherness’ that the urban and leftist oriented branch of the Green Party gradually grew and, since the early 1980s, developed its boldest stronghold in Kreuzberg. This immediate access to and confrontation with a local municipality as well as the possibilities of alternative local politics made Kreuzberg into an early laboratory and testing ground for cooperative housing, alternative urban planning, street parties, urban gardening and green roofing, with many people participating and negotiating in roundtable debates and local neighbourhood meetings.

During this process, Kreuzberg became a breeding ground for what is now known as neoliberal forms of urban governance with strategies of “New localism” and “scaling down” having become central features of new forms of spatial governance. These strategies and governance instruments offered geographical solutions to societal problems during the brutal transformation of Germany from a fordist welfare state to a post-fordist workfare state. The backbone of these strategies of localism are no longer authoritarian measures and state control but, rather, new forms of identification and forming responsible civic subjectivities, based on local belonging, participation and self-discipline.

The case of Kreuzberg vividly demonstrates how strategies of localism and “scaling down” may become strategies of bottom-up money distribution. The aim is to delegate responsibility for the management of local neighbourhoods to local urbanites by activating a sense of shared local identity and by strongly suggesting that membership of a community is possible only by expressing care and concern for local issues, such as schooling, safety, dirt and rubbish, green spaces and noise-control.

It is not without a certain irony that the rebellious past of Kreuzberg as a space of political emancipation, artistic freedom, alternative lifestyles and multicultural diversity has helped to establish new urban orders of identity politics and post-fordist economies. As a result, Kreuzberg is now highly attractive not only in the eyes of migrants, the ‘creative class’ and tourists but, equally, to the global real estate market catering for the new urban middle classes, to whom the formerly disreputable quarters have become desirable locations. According to some observers and activists, the increasing number of complaints submitted to the police thus suggests the changing composition in the local population, whose tolerance for night-time noise and disturbances is dwindling at the same pace as real estate prices are increasing.

In sum, the fact that this area is still represented as being dangerous and crime-ridden while, at the same time, being one of the most desired locations for real estate speculation can be interpreted as an expression for the overarching conflicting dynamics that we are trying to capture. It is exactly in these “Danger Zones” that Kreuzberg’s increasing social and economic polarization becomes particularly tangible. This mechanism of projecting and inscribing wide-spread social phenomena, such as migration, drug use and poverty, onto specific localities is what critical urban scholars have coined as “spatial fetishism”.

Hence, when considering the contested history and ongoing conflicts that Kreuzberg SO 36 continues to cause, we found that it might be relevant to consider whether the area is being ‘spatially fetishized’, that is, what it might imply that particular social phenomena are regarded as primarily spatial and thus reduced to being treated in terms of the problematics that are particular to the area. In organizing and preparing the 2nd URO Lab, our challenge

was thus how to organize a collaborative event whereby we could collectively and in a transdisciplinary format explore the increasing 'spatial fetishization' of Kreuzberg SO 36 and the Görlitzer Park.

### 3. Organizing and preparing the 2nd URO LAB

The Görlitzer Park presented a challenging and therefore also appropriate case study for a transdisciplinary project that aims to examine the relationship between contested urban rights and the seizure and ordering of urban spaces. It raises questions about urban governmentality and migration, the function and design of public spaces and the impact of tourism as well as its entanglements with the urban drug and party cultures. Furthermore, it brings together a complex network of social actors and physical factors: local government cadres, police and social workers, urban green space planners, neighbourhood watches as well as activists, media, residents, drug dealers, tourists and many more. Crucially, this heterogeneous network of actors constantly engaged with a meshwork of material objects and infrastructures, ranging from drugs and bushes to cell phones and streetlights. We worked from the assumption that by tracing the complex socio-material entanglements of these actors and things, we might get valuable insights into how urban rights are contested and negotiated. And, in this sense, Kreuzberg - and especially the territories of Görlitzer Park - can be understood as an urban laboratory: it serves as a key testing ground for new policies and governmental techniques as well as emergent forms of protest and resistance.

Using the complex socio-political entanglements around Görlitzer Park as our object of study, we thus planned the workshop as an investigation of the multiple and overlapping strategies and dynamics through which certain 'urban orders' emerge, are reproduced and potentially transformed. Significantly, these orders entail various forms of multi-level government and governance, e.g. systems of law and policing, territorializations and relations of private and public property and we wanted to explore their implications for a range of interconnected everyday practices, such as micro-economies, consumption patterns and the various uses of public spaces by a range of different urban actors.

The overall methodological approach guiding the planning of the individual URO Labs is based on the idea of constantly challenging our own ideas and designs. Very much in line with this overall idea, Thomas Bürk and Stefan Höhne, the local organizers of the 2nd URO Lab in Berlin, wanted to challenge and reframe the design and methodology introduced at the 1st URO Lab in (see #1 URO Report at [uro.au.dk](http://uro.au.dk)). Crucially, there would be no searching for the big narrative, but instead a fundamental challenging of master discourses articulated through the media and by the local politicians and urban planners. The reframing involved three fundamental steps:

First, they both agreed that the approach of being oriented in new ideas and local projects was overwhelmingly and quite massively articulated. In a sense, it seemed that during the 1st URO Lab, the process of creating new ideas was more important than analyzing the gi-

ven situations and the different perspectives on this area. While this approach did, indeed, generate a lot of suggestions and ideas for urban design and social projects fuelled by good intentions and problem solving approaches, it did not result in any significant critical theorizing and questioning our overall perspectives. So, Bürk and Höhne decided not to focus on solving problems per se, but, rather, trying to carefully examine the socio-economic conditions, intersecting strategies and interests and structuring mechanisms that differently positioned actors were living under.

Second, the work process during the 1st URO Lab was facilitated by a team of consultants from a private consultancy company. And they did, indeed, manage to carefully facilitate all discussions and work phases in a professional and competent way. Still while the facilitation of the event was competent and well crafted, it was perhaps too organized and rigid in its format. Hence, for the 2nd URO Lab, Höhne and Bürk designed a format that was more open-ended and flexible in order to cater for the many different perspectives, interests and positions being articulated during the intense discussions.

Thirdly, Bürk and Höhne were sceptical of the way that the field-trip to the Gellerup Park had been organized. Arriving in the area with a group of 40 persons, it was more like visiting a museum rather than taking seriously that this was an area where people were actually living. So, they decided that field-trips around Kreuzberg would involve no big groups “zooing” around in a “problematic” migrant neighbourhood. Instead, they designed a format where participants were allowed to ethnographically ‘nose’ around in order to get a deeper sense of the streets, the parks and the neighbourhoods thereby also emphasising a gathering of information from several different angles, perspectives, and actors.

In preparing the event, we had to find a basic location for our endeavour, and we found a perfect one: With the massive support of the Südblock Collective, we were able to use the space of a former shop for aquariums directly at the Kottbusser Tor, a perfect meeting location in the vibrant heart of Kreuzberg 36. Furthermore, the great crew of the collective was not only serving great food and infrastructures, but were actively part in the debates and practices around the Kottbusser Tor, a place closely linked to the stigma-discourses and the “danger zones” around Kreuzberg 36.

And, of course, we had to think about the right people to listen to: Kreuzberg is a wonderful field of longstanding grassroots activism, local politicians and planners with an open mindset about challenging issues, and students and academics highly committed to critical urban studies without a banal and instant problem solving approach (see list of participants below).

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## 4. The 2nd URO Lab

The 2nd URO Lab brought together perspectives from geography, anthropology, history, engineering and urban studies as well as local activists and policy makers. The format of the workshop covered inputs and presentations by local stakeholders and researchers as well as in-depth explorations and inquiries in small investigative teams. This allowed for focused and productive discussions aiming to identify and explore particular forms of 'urban orders'.

By applying different approaches of multi-sited fieldwork (observation, participation, 'nosing around'), we addressed issues of urban government and governance, migration, the function and design of public space as well as urban political economies (e.g. the impact of tourism and its entanglement with the urban drug and nightlife cultures). By doing so, we came to discuss the complex networks of urban actors and social infrastructures around Görlitzer Park spanning from the local government, police and social workers to urban green space planners, refugee activists, journalists, residents, dealers, tourists and many more.



In order to explore the complex situation around the open drug market in the Görlitzer Park, we discussed the historical dynamics of the West Berlin drug culture, its spatial politics and

broader immigration policies. Through these discussions, it became clear to us that Kreuzberg and especially the area around Görlitzer Park can, indeed, be understood as a laboratory: For several decades, it has functioned as a key testing ground for new policies and governmental techniques as well as for various forms of protests and resistance. Investigating the entanglements of spatial practices, governmental strategies and politics of discourse around the Görlitzer Park thus produced important insights into how urban rights and orders are contested and negotiated.

## 5. Summary of findings from the 2nd URO lab

### Spatial fetishism and the local trap

From the perspective of both government and local law enforcement agencies, the territorialisation of social conflicts to specific geographical locations has crucial advantages: In so doing, issues such as migration, drug use or the neo-liberalization of the political economy appear locatable, concrete and manageable. These issues can be directly addressed and worked on by urban planners, urban designers, street workers and the police. Social issues, such as the inclusion or exclusion of migrants or the distribution of social goods, can therefore be reformulated as questions of good spatial designs or as the proper supervision and control of specific places.

As we came to realize during our discussions, this sort of localism is often treated and bargained as an opportunity to solve local problems. Participation in urban politics has thus become a field of action for:

1. self-declared representatives (often operating without a formal mandate) of the needs and the will of local communities
2. adapting political solutions to problems without local source
3. actor-networks of multi-level political governance, which often fail in front of fortified political fields

It seemed to us, however, that such strategies are rarely genuinely successful. First of all, many of those practices and behaviours that are regarded as problematic can easily 'move' to other geographical locations, which are often even more difficult to control. Furthermore, local practices in the Görlitzer Park are also decisively structured by non-local factors, such as the European asylum policy or the global real-estate market. Obviously, these dynamics are far beyond the control of a local police officer or a Green Party district mayor operating in the area. This dilemma seems to be impossible to disentangle and many local actors are well aware of it. We argue that the fact that many actors continue to fall into the "trap of the local" and enact and adhere to these policies may be attributed to the high political pressure for immediate action as well as to the entangled local power games involving different political parties and interest groups. This localism could explain why the alarmist discourses, outraged citizens' assemblies and police raids regularly intensify in times of political crises or during election campaigns. For some reason, the public spaces of Kreuzberg are especially dangerous in the months before elections.

In order to avoid these pitfalls of a spatial fetishism and the essentialization of places, during our discussions at the URO Lab, we decided to focus on the functioning of these debates on

dangerous places, what possible strategic uses they might have and how they are mobilized by differently positioned actors. To be sure, these intricate processes of localization occur not only on a discursive level; they are highly influential on practices performed in various urban spaces and, not least, for the police.

Hence, we argue that by focusing on the uses and meanings of space as a product of contested social practices and struggles, questions of who has the discursive authority over these issues take center stage. We might thus ask questions, such as:

- Who is allowed to talk in what ways about the alleged danger areas in Kreuzberg and what interests are pursued by doing so?
- What are the ideological and practical forms of a "spatialization of the social"?

By addressing these questions, we thus shifted the focus from the spatial qualities of Kreuzbergs' so-called "crime-burdened" and "drug-ridden" places to a much deeper analysis of social relations of power.

As soon as we shifted our analytical gaze to the 'spatialization of the social', it became possible for us to identify aspects of the socio-political dynamics of the Görlitzer Park that we had previously ignored or had been unable to properly appreciate. For instance, it became clear to us that it was through processes of 'spatializing the social' that different registers of contestation seemed to keep each other in check. In other words, by 'trapping' particular political problematizations in the public park, certain socio-political debates were being reproduced over time, which allowed particular actors to maintain authority and legitimate use of power. In this regard, we identified three political registers that kept each other in check, as it were, through processes of spatializing the social. There were the *political*, the *aesthetic* and the *moral* registers of the narcotic city:

Hence, by maintaining the park as an ongoing administrative problem at municipal and regional levels, particular forms *political* contestations and argumentations were rendered possible: What were essentially ideological differences between opposing parties could suddenly be addressed by other means in order for both to assert their legitimacy to speak for and through the area as well as manifesting their unwavering firmness when confronted by possible urban disturbances. The political register fed into and was further intensified by ongoing debates about the layout and design of the park: As the neighborhood was undergoing the abovementioned processes of gentrification and broader transformations in the composition of residents, an *aesthetic* register was activated whereby the physical appearance of the park became a key issue: Local interest groups, neighbors to the area, real estate investors as well as a number of different political actors were intensely involved

in negotiating the proper aesthetic qualities of the Görlitzer Park and, in doing so, to promote their particular interests and strategies. Finally the political and the aesthetic registers were intimately interwoven with issues of proper conduct and the necessary civic duties required in order to be present in the park. This inherently *moral* register was activated in the overlapping and often inconsistent negotiations that occurred between the police, municipal authorities, local residents and, most importantly, the drug traders, who were active in the area. By focusing on the figure of the drug trader, it thus became possible to identify with precision the moral characteristics that were *not* wanted in and around the park.

Through our discussion, we thus came to realize that it was the 'spatialization of the social' that rendered the activation of different and highly heterogeneous registers of the narcotic city possible and allowed them to keep each other in check. The process of spatializing the social became an apt vehicle for reproducing particular forms of socio-political contestations and to allow a number of interweaving power plays to continue over time. As we came to realize, the ordering of the urban through a spatialization of the social might be an extremely dynamic and powerful medium for avoiding any final resolution of ongoing disputes and thereby also for the reproduction of unequal relations of power. In a nutshell, the conflict is reproduced because it allows for particular advantageous positions to maintain their privileges.

### **Can the drug dealer speak? Possibilities, obstacles and limits of the URO Lab**

One of the characteristics and qualities of the Urban Order Research Project is that it is based on the idea that we try out methods and learn as we go along. This also involves lots of stumbling and making a mess of ourselves – and retrospective reflecting on our own methodology, knowledge production and blind spots. Each URO Lab explores and works through different methodological questions in order to gain new insights. This section reflects on some of the possibilities and obstacles experienced during the URO Lab in Berlin and poses new mapping- and data collection methods to be tried out in future Labs.

While organizing the second URO Lab in Berlin, some of the main goals were to explore Görlitzer Park and Kreuzberg SO 36 as a contested space, which is at the same time perceived, lived and conceived as a "danger zone", a desired destination and a place of resistance. The Lab explored contested governance instruments, criminalizing discourses on places and processes of touristification, immigration, gentrification, neighbourhood initiatives and activism. With the 2nd URO Lab, we took as a point of departure that Görlitzer Park and the nearby Kottbusser Tor has become a symbol of a contested and troubled urban order, and examined the processes of symbolization and the myths which supports this territorial stigmatisation. In order to do that, the presumed relation between drugs and danger had to be deconstructed. Still, drug use and drug dealing is also related to subjects in pain and suf-

fering and so the question arises whether the Lab ended up creating a dominant discourse<sup>1</sup>, in which the potential suffering of drug users were not sufficiently represented. What are the relations, we asked ourselves, between the different discourses on drugs and the emotional geography of the different forms of drug uses and drug trades? There are a number of different kinds of drugs and drug uses that are often being mixed up in the different discourses on the use, distribution and production of drugs. We therefore suggested to approach the theme through the concepts of the *narcotic city* lived and re/produced by biopolitical *pharmacological selves* in order to avoid this stigmatizing and simplistic dichotomy between the victim of drugs and its perpetrators, be it human, chemical or social.

The following observation by one of the participants at the URO Lab touches upon the tension between the different totalising discourses around drug use and the multitude of individual drug users constituting the emotional geography of drug use.

*We meet in a children's zoo in the middle of Görlitzer Park. A representative from the municipality talks about the possibility and the obstacles of opening up local legal coffee shops and thereby regulating and controlling the selling of cannabis products. Consistent with the overall design of the URO Lab and the above mentioned necessary deconstruction of the "danger-zone myth", this discussion develops in a way there was an emphasis on the non-dangerous aspects of drugs. I kept thinking about the people I knew, who were lost in drug (ab)use with fatal and lethal (suicidal) consequences. I felt that it was difficult to find a way of bringing these stories and the knowledge they represent in to the discussion. Maybe this problem could be described as a clash between "the Drug User" as a an ideological figure constructed through discursive representations and "the drug user" as real material historical subjects. Because the experiences and stories that kept showing up in my head looking for a voice was not stories about the state wanting to control or stigmatise uncontrollable subject: rather, they were about subjects in pain – real pain and suffering. I leave the children's zoo. A dealer approaches me with a friendly smile. Asking me: "How are you feeling?" obviously to get into contact and potentially sell me some weed. "Well... not too well actually", I answer him . And I tell him about the seminar and my hesitations and some of the thoughts and emotions that it has arised. And suddenly it is not (only) a meeting between a dealer and a potential buyer nor an encounter between a black man approaching a white woman in a flirtatious way (unavoidable part of stereotypic sexual connotations that this type of park confrontations approaches carry with in the shape of expectations of certain kinds of performances), or even between an ethnographer openly declaring her*

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<sup>1</sup>'Discourses' are here taken to constitute particular clusters of meaning that by which we organize our knowledge about the world. When we speak about the world, our knowledge is organised in such a manner that some forms of representation are more (or less) plausible and possible than others. Discourses thus create the positions from which it is possible to speak about the world as well as the objects that we can have knowledge about.

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*intentions to her informant. It is a meeting between two people who have albeit in radically different and yet similar ways experienced some of the suffering that is related to drug use. We end up on a bench having a long and intense discussion about drugs, the seminar and about his life. During this conversation, he tells me about his brother becoming schizophrenic and being hospitalized because of his drug abuse. I left the session in the children's zoo because I felt uncomfortable with the way the conversation seemed to reproduce specific interpretations while silencing others about the potential pain and risk related to drug use. I ended up on a bench exchanging exactly that kind of stories I had missed so far. It seems to me that research-based knowledge-production very often has a potential totalizing and legitimizing imperative. Some stories are being told while other stories are left unheard or cannot find an acceptable language to be articulated through. By so doing, research and knowledge-production codify and construct subject positions. In this specific situation, my conversation with the drug dealer seemed to offer a much needed counter-discourse. The URO Lab documented the power and multi-functionality of drug discourses. When the episode on the bench was later brought into the discussion during one of the group sessions, it generated the idea that maybe we could map the emotional geography of different types of drug-using bodies in affect in different spaces of (dis-)order superimposed on the map of different drug discourses.*

At the URO Lab in Berlin, we explored and experienced how knowledge production is linked to the discursive and methodological framing of discourses. Research and knowledge production are thus to be considered as political and discursive practices. This forces us to be aware about the positionalities and situated knowledges of the different participants and actors at the Lab, of their biographical, professional and disciplinary backgrounds, etc. Hence, the organized multiplicity of participants at the Lab needs to be taken seriously in order to create a safe space for a more polyphonic dialogue. This multi-perspectival approach will bring us back to question the regimes and modes of power/knowledge:

The questions and observations made during the "bench episode" are part of the exploration into the whole endeavour of a kind of "traveling helicopter fieldwork", as it were, where a group of local and foreign academic researchers with different professional and disciplinary backgrounds meet for a few days at specific places, framed and organized by a local team to show the guests around, introducing them to local people (considered as informants), situations and explanations, feeding them with information and gathering impressions and interpretations of the local context observed. This raises the question of what kind of knowledge production we are involved in. What claims can we lay on the insights we are generating? And how do we avoid being too intrusive, instead staying sensitive to and reflective about the local situation and the local subjects?

In this regard, some of our ongoing challenges have been:

1. How do we avoid being 'traveling white (wo-)men' landing somewhere but barely scratching the surface?
2. How do we co-produce knowledge and interact with our local partners in a meaningful way?
3. How do we productively travel with questions and knowledge from place to place while also refining our ways of exploring, questioning and reaching tentative conclusions along the way?

Rather than considering the URO Lab as a full-scale ethnographic research study, it is perhaps best considered as a "fieldwork-light" or even a simulation of ethnographic research. For every kind of ethnographically informed research project, representation is of course crucial: who speaks; for whom; by what means and by what strategies and truth-regimes?. But four days is very little time when it comes to "nosing around" as a street level approach, discussing questions on "going native" or considering the limitations of so-called participant observation. To engage in a meaningful conversation requires time and commitment, language skills, sensitiveness and empathy. The crucial point is therefore to ask ourselves how we have dealt with the limited time and financial resources in order to do what we wanted and what we could professionally best, being conscious, self reflexive and carefully in doing research. That makes a link to the funding procedures and the fragmentation, flexibilisation by commodifying academic research, at least in Germany. So, if we talk about knowledge production we also should spend some time to talk about our competitive working conditions, about the constraints we have to work with and the strategies to produce and "harvest" findings, reports, results. That is another untold story of the URO Lab.

In sum, the question we continue to ask ourselves is how we might follow our explorative methodology, of learning while failing, of nosing around and questioning both the surroundings and ourselves while, at the same time, dealing with the highly idealized, addictive, exploitative and even violent practices of the "narcotic city". One response might be that the focus on the narcotic city has been based too much on the area around the Görlitzer Park. If so, we also fell into the local trap, and thus failing to take into account crucial aspect of the broader situation (e.g. Kreuzberg or even Berlin). During our discussions, we tried to address this challenge by framing our stories of Berlin as the "molech" of a metropolis, closely linked to storytelling of drug use, excess and libertinage. We furthermore tried to focus on the park as a "space of hope, amusement and fear" as well as discussing the users of alcohol, heroin and other hard drugs. Unfortunately, the time frame was too tight to visit e.g. the social workers center for addicts or the clinic for outpatient care or to talk to self-organized drug counselling initiatives like "drug scouts" or "Just say know".

There is no doubt, then, that the conceptualization of the “narcotic city” requires further reflections if we want to avoid usual tropes linked to the dominant drug-discourse, such as dealer, drug addict, drug policy, etc. and thus overcome the usual triangle between idealized, normalized and stigmatized drugs. By doing so, we may open up a new research horizon on the social exclusion of addiction as a kind of “deviant behaviour” as well as the functional importance of drugs for a narcotic society like Germany and Denmark. During our discussions, we have come to realize that life in the “narcotic city” is influenced and fuelled by a wide range of everyday drug uses, be it the omnipresence of alcohol and coffee, the club cultures and night time economies of excess, the professionals and their brain enhancers, boosters and substances for optimizing the personal output, all discussed in the Lab as dealing with a multitude of pharmaceutical selves, governed and regulated, invisible and obscured in privatised spaces. Despite this multiplicity of uses and practices, during the discussion we still maintained an overly emphasis on the visibilities of specific drug use, mostly biased around the “soft” (Cannabis) and “hard” (Heroin, Cocaine) distinctions in public discourse, drug laws and public health management.

At the upcoming URO Labs, we therefore want to explore new ways of collecting untold stories from ethnographic walking tours and take these as a collective starting point for our collective exploration of urban orders: Stories like the little girl in the playground at Kottbusser Tor playing next to hard drug user, gendered space, spaces of fear, spaces of the vulnerable body. Maybe we can even explore new mapping and data collecting methods and find ways to integrate data generated on the spot from the ethnographic walks. Also, it could be interesting to explore how we might create dialogues that allow for silenced or quiet or conflicting voices and acknowledge differences in experiences, knowledge and scientific backgrounds.

## 6. The three URO concerns

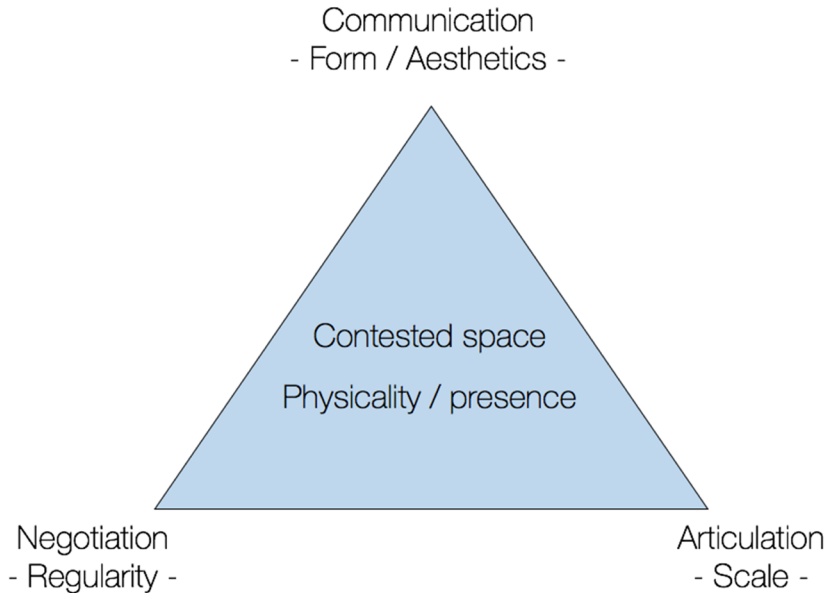
The URO project design is based on an overall ambition of harnessing the potentials of existing urban orders as a basis for creating viable and democratic global cities through a truly transdisciplinary dialogue. In order to experimentally maintain this transdisciplinary dialogue, we have set ourselves the challenge of formulating three 'URO concerns', which are of particular importance when seeking to harness the potentials of existing urban orders. After each URO Lab, we collectively re-visit the URO concerns already identified in order to discuss whether they need to be reformulated or maintained.

Based on our collaborative work during the 1st URO Lab in Aarhus, we identified three URO Concerns, which were used during the 2nd URO Lab to orient the discussion and to challenge our preconceived ideas about the dynamics and workings of particular urban orders. Below we mention these only schematically but encourage readers to refer to the #1 URO Report for further discussion of these crucial issues (The report can be downloaded from [uro.au.dk](http://uro.au.dk)):

1. *Who Governs the City?*
2. *Who Owns the City?*
3. *Who Lives in the City?*

During the discussions at the 2nd URO Lab, it became clear that these three concerns were central also for understanding the social and political contestations and appropriations of spaces in and around the Görlitzer Park. By reflecting on the 'spatial fetishism' of the Görlitzer Park, realized, however, that while these three concerns address key questions regarding the dynamics of the kinds of appropriations of urban spaces that this project focusses on, they do not necessarily capture the range of scales that urban orders operate through. In a sense, the three URO Concerns that we defined after the 1st URO Lab narrows in on the concrete empirical situation but it does not necessarily capture the broader analytical implications.

Hence, based on our discussions and reflections during and after the 2nd URO Lab in Berlin, we have developed a model, which incorporates three URO concerns that we have identified as being of particular importance for capturing the dynamics of urban orderings (See Model 1 below). As was also the case with the first set of URO concerns presented in the #1 URO Report, this is truly a work-in-progress and so the triangular model will need much further reflection and empirical investigation.



Model 1: The URO Triangle

With this research project, we are focusing on the relationship between urban rights and the appropriation of public or private spaces in relation to concrete geographical locations in different urban settings. At the centre of the analysis is therefore a particular contested urban space that reflects a unique *physicality* and a form of *presence* that can be identified and examined. This might pertain to the everyday use of public or private spaces but could also refer to movements and flows through interweaving infrastructure circuits or to manifest contestations over rights to marginal and informal areas and even to the planning of new cityscapes in projected zones of the city.

In order to examine the urban orders that operate in and through concrete contested spaces, we suggest to focus on three interrelated issues or concerns: *Communication*, *negotiation* and *articulation*. It is through an intricate interplay between these three factors that provisional urban orders may be established and take effect.

1. *Communication*. Contestations and attempts at appropriating spaces are communicated by means of particular media through which they acquire efficacy, directionality and force. It is thus through communicative processes that spatial contestations attain

social expression and affect or even condition the formation of particular urban orderings. Crucially, communication requires particular aesthetical forms in order to serve as shared vehicles for articulating contestations over space: building structures, language, images, fashion, blueprints, design etc.

2. *Negotiation*. Spaces are contested when their meaning, function and usage are disputed by different parties and actors, who are connected through their conflicts of interests. While disputes may flare up momentarily, the tendency is for these to endure over time and acquire a kind of rhythmic regularity whereby different normative repertoires are repeatedly activated by different opponents in their negotiations with adversaries and collaborators.
3. *Articulation*. In order for spatial contestations to stabilise as particular urban orderings, they need to be articulated across different scales. Scaling is the act of framing or dimensioning the urban space and it is necessary in order to acquire a particular point of view; e.g. as citizens moving through a public space or as planners imagining the optimal usage of inner-city highrises. Articulation across scales thus occurs when a particular contestation 'travels' from one scale to another, say, when a dispute between residents regarding the gentrification of their neighbourhood becomes a political debate that activates broader ideological repertoires.

By triangulating urban orders by using these three thematic 'coordinates', it has become possible for us to formulate a series of central questions that go to the heart of the relationship between urban rights and the appropriation of urban spaces:

- Who speaks? From which positions?
- Who are present and who are absent?
- Through what means is the space being contested?
- What kinds of contestations are negotiated? Where, when and by what effects?
- How are negotiations stabilized over time?
- Why is articulation across scales necessary?

Crucially, the URO triangle is of course an analytical abstraction that should not be considered as a 1:1 representation of the dense and complicated network of practices, spaces, ideas and things that are central to the making of urban orders. Still, by focusing on communication, negotiation and articulation as three key concerns, we believe that it becomes possible to examine with much greater precision and clarity the qualities and dynamics of those urban orders, whose potentials are crucial for the making of more vibrant, engaging and democratic cities.



## 7. Urban orders reconsidered

As the project advances, our aim is to use data collected as preparation for the four URO Labs to discuss and develop new approaches to urban spatial appropriations and thereby challenge and redefine our understanding of 'urban orders' defined at the beginning of this research project. To recall, our definition was: a dynamic regularity in the relationship between social life in the city and its physical environment, which has emerged without overall coordination, control or use of force. By critically engaging with the empirical cases, we moreover hope to qualify the overall transdisciplinary approach, which orients our collaborative work.

As we have seen above, the case of the Görlitzer Park reflects a number of similarities and differences when comparing with the Gellerup Project that we studied during the 1st URO Lab. Comparative similarities were thus identified in relation to such issues as ethnicity, immigration, youth culture (however problematic this notion may be), and, on a broader scale, municipal policies and orderings being contested by an "other".

One fundamental difference between the two cases lies in the relation between stasis and transformation, which is also a key research theme for the URO project. Gellerup reflected a kind of stalemate situation, where particular conflicting orders, first emerging years or even decades ago, were still structuring the socio-spatial configuration of the area. Our impression was that certain key problematics continued to be of central importance: youth self-identity,

urban violence, the formal categorization of the area as 'ghetto' and the importance of non-local factors for the making of the local space, such as national policies or the booming real estate market. By contrast, in Görlitzer, the situation was extremely dynamic and undergoing continuous transformations.

Being a former transport hub, since the Cold War, the Görlitzer has been all about mobility: Railway depots, hidden stations, fences to stop movement, and so on. In a way, this emphasis on movement also characterizes the current situation, where tourists, drug dealers, police squads and locals (as well as researchers!) are moving in and out in interweaving and often contradictory patterns. In 'Görli' as in Gellerup, issues of visibility and territorialization are central – the "opening up" of Görli being an extreme example of this. Still, while Gellerup gradually moved towards a "slum" identity, Görli underwent a number of changes that were all about contestation and mobility.

If we look at the current situation in Görli, a number of actors – as well as urban orderings – are creating a situation of mutual pressure in swarming, hectic, rhythmic patterns. Police squads enter the park to remove drug dealers and illegal immigrants only for those of the latter groups who were not apprehended to return shortly afterwards; tourists appropriate the space by moving back and forth between the park and the surrounding neighborhood while capturing the dynamics of the conflict over an authentic "Berlin" on handycams and on Instagram. At the same time, the local Kreuzberg population considers the park as their own and thus a central space in relation to the ongoing gentrification of the quarter; promoters of legal cannabis use the space as an ideal laboratory for achieving this objective; drug dealers move around constantly in the attempt not to be detected by formal authorities while continuing to sell weed. And, during these intricate processes, the purchase and consumption of weed seems to connect the multiple and otherwise disparate groups of local actors generating a seemingly loose but constantly pulsating rhythm in and around the park. So, we might say that while Gellerup was in a state of stabile contestation, waiting for the "Helhedsplanen" (The Global Plan) to potentially resolve its inherent contradictions, Görli is in constant and turbulent movement, where different and mutually hostile orders reverberate through the spaces, in a way de- and reterritorializing its socio-political and physical composition in a seemingly volatile manner. However, it seems that these urban forces, while incompatible and contradictory, are holding each other in check thus allowing for the park to endure as a contested space.

From our discussions, it also seemed as if there was a flip-side to the market mechanisms working through the Görlitzer Park. While the social environment in and around Görlitzer Park is morally and legally unacceptable to state and municipal authorities, it attracts tourists on a scale that does not go unnoticed by the main economic actors, such as real estate

investors and local commerce. By this duality, the dealers and illegal immigrants – often the same individuals – are positioned in a 'grey zone', where they are both acceptable and unacceptable, welcomed and despised.

These considerations have made us reflect about the conceptualization of 'urban order' by emphasizing that "orders" are never a determinate outcome or final pattern that can be definitively stated, say, through empirical investigations, archival studies or in conference auditoriums. Rather, it is a rhythmic relation between partially erased, provisionally established and potentially emerging patterns of ordering, and while these may reflect some kind of balance or equilibrium, we still can not deduce anything about the *intensity* of ongoing contestations. Any existing "order" is a reflection of the momentary configuration of war and peace, so to speak.

During the 2nd URO Lab in Berlin, we gradually shifted our focus from the assumed crime-ridden park to broader processes and mechanisms by which this phenomena is 'produced' as a political issue. This change in perspective proved fruitful for a deeper and more nuanced exploration of the complex orderings of discourses, practices and ethics that constitutes the 'stuff' of the Görlitzer Park case. In section 6, we defined these orders as political, aesthetic and moral "registers" and we have suggested that it is the spatialization ('trapping') of these registers that allows for the continuing contestation and positioning in and around the space.

Even though these findings were specific to the Kreuzberg case, they might further nuance our understanding of the Gellerup Project examined during the 1st URO Lab and thereby challenge and redefine our understanding of 'urban orders'. In particular, by focusing on the political, aesthetic and moral registers that structure the ordering of the area, we might identify particularly productive intensifications and processes of spatial power relations. So even though this conceptualization of 'urban order' requires further reflections, it does indicate an emphasis on distributed and loosely structured forms of power. In upcoming URO Labs, we will need to unpack this concept even further.

To be sure, urban *practices* have been at the heart of discussions at various levels at both workshops. And, still, its status is somewhat vague defined and only sparsely examined – particular when considering the recurrent URO concerns. We are currently framing the three concerns as relational phenomena (involving communication, negotiation and articulation) and we have defined the contested space in terms of its physicality or presence, which suggests a material space. Thus, the idea of practice – the actions of individuals or collectives – is not directly addressed. This absence might point to the fact that practices are all-pervasive or, equally likely, that we have simply neglected to consider practices as a key analytical concept. In either case, we need to address this question during future discussions of 'urban orders'.

## 8. The next steps

In the fall of 2016, we will start working on the #3 URO Report based on the 3rd URO Lab held in Johannesburg, South Africa, in November 2016. The 4th and final URO Lab will be held in New Orleans, Louisiana, in April 2017 and we are already in the process of preparing that event in collaboration with local collaborators from the Tulane Regional Urban Design Center. Finally, during the summer of 2017, we will organize a final international conference in Aarhus, Denmark, to discuss research findings from the four URO Labs and to plan a collective.

## 9. Reflections from participants

### Designing Criminal Spaces

Lea Rakovsky

#### Introduction

The Kottbusser Tor, the Görlitzer Park and the RAW area have been defined as crime hotspots, and sometimes even No-Go-Areas. On one level, it means that this depiction has been widespread in the media. It has been reported that criminal activities such as pickpocketing, drug dealing, physical aggression and sexual harassment take place in those spaces. On another level, it also means that some policing measures have been practically implemented. Security measures have been enforced, for example by an increase presence of police force and security staff. This development can be seen in the three spaces mentioned above. Additionally, design-led security measures, such as the installation of surveillance cameras, for example in the RAW area, have also been applied. This paper focuses on security measures in urban spaces. It aims at questioning how policing of urban spaces is carried out and how it represents an exercise of power. First it will be described in which context the policing of urban spaces became so significant. It will be explained how policing became closely related to design and what the ideology behind a design-led policing of urban spaces is. Secondly, by taking the example of security cameras, it will be analysed in which way power is exercised in highly secured place. Finally, the consequences of these measures will be discussed and how they contribute in reproducing stigma and scapegoating.

#### Policing urban spaces

The nature of urban space policing was shaped by important societal transformation. With the process of deindustrialisation in west European countries, spaces that were formerly centre of production changed into spaces of consumption. As a consumption-based economic activity is dependent on investors and consumers, urban regeneration programmes had to ensure that these spaces are attractive for both investors and consumers. In this context, the image of these spaces had to be taken significant care of (Raco, 2003). Public spaces reflect a variety of social interactions, and if a space is aiming at promoting the image of an attractive commercial place, these interactions need to be appropriate to that image. In other words, some of these interactions and, more particularly, some social groups or individuals may be perceived as detrimental to the new image regeneration agencies want to give to these spaces. New commercial developments, such as shopping and leisure centres, control spaces by managing and excluding individuals, characterised as threatening the image of that place. These groups of people are not always seen as a potential threat for investors and consumers as such, but mostly for the image of the space itself. Some social groups perceived as „social pollutants“ need to be removed in order to ensure the aesthetic

quality of urban spaces (Raco, 2003). In addition, many of these spaces, such as shopping malls, are semi-public; they are often owned privately but are supposed to be accessible by everyone. However, this is often paradoxical as they are spaces „*suggesting an openness that is in fact carefully exclusive*’ (Marcuse, 1997, p.107). Surveillance systems are operated by private security firms and working for the mall’s purpose. It is important here to acknowledge that policing is for profit rather than security. The idea here is to surveille and exclude people that are not potential consumers rather than protecting people’s safety. It is consumerism that is being policed before anything else. This results in an anesthetisation of spaces of consumption; people who are presumed to be non-consumers will be explicitly or implicitly excluded for the good image of the space.

Along with this process, new policing technology and strategies have been developed in order to establish control over these spaces. Before going into detail about certain tactics and practises of policing, it is important to define what this policing „philosophy” is based on. Security measures come along an architectural and urban planning movement using design-led approaches to deal with criminal behaviour. It rests upon the idea that design-led measures can reduce the opportunities for criminal activity. In short, it is assumed that design can influence people’s behaviour. There, architecture and planning are strongly linked to a new form of power, which is not characterised by its visibility but rather by its invisibility. In the past, power was represented by spectacular and awe inspiring buildings. By contrast, in contemporary architecture, power is unnoticeable (Foucault, 1977). Power is not physically present, instead it is embedded in the very structure of space (Raco, 2003). The effect is that since power is not clearly, physically, functionally defined, power is everywhere. It is omnipresent and thus regulates people’s behaviour as a consequence of potentially being seen anytime. An interesting example for that is the installation of surveillance cameras.

### **The exercise of power in urban spaces: surveillance camera**

Surveillance cameras have become widespread in contemporary western European cities. Their presence range from a variety of spaces such as private spaces; private homes and gated communities, semi-public spaces; shopping malls, public transport or “leisure” spaces such as the RAW area, and public spaces; city streets, square, parks such as the Kottbusser Tor and the Görlitzer park. In this context, it is relevant to analyse surveillance cameras in semi-public and public spaces and look at their role in the policing of spaces.

The simple design of surveillance camera is contradictory and asymmetric. One side is opaque while the other transparent. It means that while everyone under surveillance is becoming more visible, the authority behind the surveillance is becoming less visible (Koskela, 2000) This is similar to the mirrors in subway station. One side, the one seen by civilians, is a mirror, an opaque surface, while the other side is a window, a transparent surface. There comes the

asymmetry; one is being watched and cannot see who is watching her/him. Theoretically, this is supposed to be put in place for security reasons, but in practice, this might create a feeling of insecurity. This design results in a power relationship, one party observes the other party without been seen, identifies whether the other's behaviour is deviant and acts upon it. Power is clearly exercised through the installation of surveillance cameras. However, what is interesting to analyse is how power is exercised as well as what kind of power relationships appear; who gets to watch and who is being watched?

Although urban spaces and prisons differ in various ways, it might be interesting to look at what they have in common in the context of the growing surveillance in urban spaces. Indeed, what a prison and a city have in common is that both apply surveillance. Although the urban space is, contrary to a prison, a space one is part of voluntarily, if one does not want to be under surveillance, it would be impossible to live in a city (Koskela, 2000). Everyone living in a city has to bear the consequences of being watched, even if it is involuntarily. Commonly to the principle of Foucault's panopticon, the idea behind installing surveillance cameras is power through the awareness of one's own visibility. The inmates seeing the tower and the citizen seeing the camera are both reminded of their own visibility, in other words, of being watched (Koskela, 2000). Although it is obvious that power is exercised in surveilled urban spaces, it is less obvious to clearly characterise who owns the power. To state that it is government, the state or a form of big authority exercising power over the population would be reductionist. The actors maintaining surveillance are not exclusively extensions of the state. As already mentioned, surveillance cameras are mostly used by the private sector than by the government. The private owners of the RAW area are the ones owning the surveillance cameras installed in the area. Although one might assume that greater surveillance reflects increased power from the state, actually the contrary is the case; authorities do not have complete control on who surveilles whom and how this is being done.

Traditionally, the boundaries between private and public urban spaces were more clearly defined. In the context of urban regeneration programs, new developments led to more „elastic“ boundaries between private and public. As already argued, in spaces that are supposedly public, it is often private actors taking care of surveillance (Raco, 2003). Additionally, in the case of the UK, the responsibility for crime prevention has been moved beyond the police to a kind of partnership between local authorities, private investors and the police. Furthermore, the police is asking the advice of architects and planners, who are perceived as neutral parties, on how to reduce crime through design (Raco, 2003). Therefore, it is not a clear authority responsible for the surveillance of urban spaces. Rather, it is a policing partnership of a variety of actors commonly committed to the cause. Not only is it unclear who is policing, it is sometimes also blurry who is being surveilled. Indeed some shops use cameras to even surveill their own staff. The exercise of surveillance is complex and multifaceted.

Although there is a variety of parties involved in the surveillance of urban spaces, this type of surveillance is characterised by anonymity. No one knows who is behind the camera watching and actually it does not matter. What a panoptic development of surveillance is aiming at, is actually the absence of an identifying authority. As Foucault argues: 'There is no need for arms, physical violence, material constraints. Just a gaze.' (Foucault 1980). Power is very present, but the authority behind it is anonymous, invisible. The aim is that power gets deeply internalised in every individual until it operates in the mind of individual itself. The individual ends up surveilling its own behaviour and actions (Koskela, 2000).

To sum up, there is no clarity on who is in power and who is not. It seems that the state is not in control of surveillance, instead there is a great variety of parties working together for surveillance and control. The police, private investors, local authorities, architects and planners as well as probably other parties not mentioned here are all contributing to the policing of urban spaces. Incidentally, the result of an extreme version of a panoptical principle of surveillance is that individuals end up being part of it, by policing and surveilling themselves. However, it would be misguided to thereby arrive at a potentially relativizing conclusion stating that everyone is surveilling everyone and no one has the power. In the next section, this will be further discussed.

### **Stigma and spatialization of crime**

#### *Who is watching whom?*

It might be difficult to assess who is policing urban spaces since there seem to be a variety of parties engaged in it, however, it is important to state that surveillance is targeted at certain groups of people. For instance, studies have suggested a gendered dimension to surveillance. Most of surveillance occurs in consume-related spaces such as shopping malls. The study suggests that most of these spaces are occupied by women since women are more likely to be involved in this type of consumption and to take care of everyday grocery shopping. However, most of the people negotiating and maintaining surveillance, managers of shopping malls, leading politicians, security guards and police officers are men. Therefore, in this context, the ones involved in the process of surveillance are dominantly men while the ones being under surveillance are dominantly women (Koskela, 2000). Gender is not the only dimension that shows asymmetric relationships in the case of surveillance. This gender analysis is not easily applicable to the case of the Kottbusser Tor, the Görlitzer Park and the RAW area, however, looking at gender is definitely a good tool to help us realising other types of power relationships. Drawing from media reports of a variety of mainstream newspapers such as the Berliner Zeitung and the Tagesspiegel, it is very obvious that the people targeted by surveillance in the RAW area are „coloured“ men while local politicians, private investors of the area, police officers and security guards are predominantly „white“ people, mostly men. The same goes for the Görlitzer park; the ones under surveillance are

clearly “coloured” men. In these spaces, the gender asymmetry between who surveilles and who is under surveillance is not easily applicable (it is actually men surveilling other men), however the racist dimension is very obvious, it is mainly “white” men surveilling “coloured” men. While there might be a great range of actors surveilling spaces, there are clearly very targeted, specific groups being surveilled.

### *Who's fear, who's security?*

Since the beginning of the 21st century, fear of crime in western European cities has been given more attention in national and local politics as well as in the media and academia (Pain, 2000). However, it is important to reflect on who's fear and who's security has been given attention. More security at the Kottbusser Tor could have meant providing sterilized syringe for heroin addicts in order for them to be protected from transmissible diseases. Talking about fear at the Görlitzer Park could have meant the fear of dealers being caught by the police and getting deported out of the country in case they are undocumented. It is obviously not the security of heroin addict and the fear of drug dealers that are given attention.

Ironically, it is the ones that are feared, surveilled and displaced that are the most subject to danger and insecurity in urban spaces. While homeless people are removed to ensure the security of urban spaces, studies show that they are more likely to experience violence in the urban space than the general population. Furthermore, among homeless people, homeless women are particularly exposed to violence, an issue that is not at all in the forefront of security strategies. Moreover, hate crimes and systemic violence towards individuals from „ethnic“ minorities in urban spaces are often overshadowed and underestimated (Pain, 2000). It seems that people who are the most at risk in urban spaces are not taken into account since they themselves are stigmatized as threats.

The issue of stigma and the fact that some people's fears and security are given importance while other's are ignored is not something new of contemporary urban spaces. Some commentators have criticised nostalgic assumptions of the urban space in the past (Pain, 2000). Indeed, power relationships in urban spaces have always existed. However, the design-led ideology of policing urban spaces and the highly developed technology going along, brought the control of the urban spaces, and more specifically certain people, to a significantly higher level. Being so present and intrusive, design-led methods such as surveillance cameras encourage an atmosphere of fear. It that constantly reminds individuals that they could be victims of violence and therefore leads to mutual suspicion. For example, Los Angeles is perceived as the perfect example of a fortress-like design, with an extreme presence of security measures. It is said that Los Angeles has lost its public life, its „streets are dead“ (Davis in Pain, 2000) because it is invaded by a widespread paranoia feeling. In this case, it seems that increased security has led to a vicious circle of insecurity.

### *Spatialisation of crime*

If design-led security measures are implemented in certain urban areas, this decision is based on the claim that these spaces „need“ security; they are framed as crime-related spaces. The criminal activity is located to very specific bordered areas. Drug dealing is related to the area of the Görlitzer Park and station. However, dealing in Berlin is not just happening in this area. It touches a variety of milieus and takes place in a variety of spaces. The Görlitzer Park has also been characterised as a place where gendered violence takes place. Again, it is not the only place where gendered violence takes place. Actually, various studies show that domestic spaces are the main spaces where gendered violence takes place. Gendered violence is more commonly happening in familiar spaces than in the streets (Pain, 2000). The point here is not to state that drug dealing and gendered violence is not happening at the Görlitzer Park. The point is to question if since we know that drug dealing and gendered violence is a widespread phenomena, why is drug dealing and gendered violence occurring in that specific area so much talked about? Why is there an emphasis in security measures in areas such as the Kottbusser Tor, Görlitzer Park and RAW area?

Obviously, these are, particularly the RAW area, places of consumption. And as already argued before, there is an interest in keeping spaces of consumption „safe“ to attract visitors. However, this alone cannot explain the spatialization of crime. If crime is spatialised, it means that it can be more clearly framed and controlled. It also means that giving attention to criminal spaces is deriving the attention from bigger societal issues. In framing spaces such as the Görlitzer park as the drug-dealing scene, the complexity of the „drug problem“ is abstracted. By emphasizing that sexual harassment is linked to certain urban spaces, it derives the attention from the wider issue of sexual harassment that is (mainly) happening at home or in the workplace. Again, this is not to state that sexual harassment and drug „problems“ in the public space should not be given attention. The point is to say that these are related to wider issues, not solely related to these spaces. And this cannot be simply solved by intense surveillance and policing of certain spaces.

In keeping crime spatialized, it makes it simpler for urban authorities to show that they are trying to bring solutions to urban issues. Indeed if societal problems are reduced to specific spaces, it makes it easier for authorities to show that they are doing something specific to combat that issue. The problem of drug dealing is reduced to a specific space, the Görlitzer Park for instance, in order for authorities to exercise their power and show the population that they are taking very concrete actions against the alleged problem. If arresting drug-dealers in the Görlitzer Park is presented as a solution, then the social, economical, political reasons for drug dealing are ignored. In reducing social problems to spatial one, it contributes to a political strategy that does not aim at exploring the sources of the problem and try to act on a more fundamental level, but it aims at finding „techniques to identify, classify and

manage groupings sorted by dangerousness. The task is managerial, not transformative" (Belina, p.330). Instead of dealing with the causes of „crime“, it only deals with its effects. Then, perhaps, there might be an interest in keeping the Görlitzer Park as it is. It is convenient to have those very visible spaces where all the issues, flaws, pollutants, „sins“ of society are projected upon. It helps authorities to show that they are doing something while taking their own responsibilities away to deal with broader societal issues. Moreover, it is convenient to have a scapegoat; to make “ethnic” minorities or undocumented people responsible for the overall issue of drug-dealing and sexual harassment within society. Because dealing with these complex widespread societal issues demands more effort than stigmatising minorities. In short, reducing drug dealing and gendered violence to urban spaces and social groups gives, on the one hand, the opportunity for authorities to demonstrate their power and, on the other hand, to overshadow the complexity and widespread presence of those issues in overall society. However, this is not to state that there is a clearly defined authority responsible for the spatialization of crime and stigmatisation of people. Again, there is a variety of actors with various interests involved in the surveillance of urban spaces. However, what is suggested is that there is a political appeal, a growing populist tendency, to frame and reduce spaces and “ethnic” minorities as criminal.

## Conclusion

The urban regenerations programs and the commercialisation that comes along with it are important factors that led to the securitization of urban spaces. A variety of parties play an active role in this development, architects and urban planners among others. The designed policing approach made the ground for the establishment of surveillance technologies such as video cameras. Such technologies reflect a new type of power reigning over the urban space. It is not a power characterised by clear, punctual and defined authority, on the contrary it is a power that is unlocatable and the „ones“ behind it are not easily identifiable. However, it seems that there are certain economic and political interests in maintaining and developing policing strategies. On the one hand, there is the commercial intention and, on the other hand, there is a need to relieve political burden in scapegoating spaces and people. Indeed, when one talks about security and fears, it has to be clarified for whom. People that are particularly at risk of urban violence are often the ones persecuted by authorities in the name of security. It makes sense for authorities to materialise and concretise issues, that are too difficult to deal with, towards spaces and people. By projecting sexual harassment und drug dealing on spaces and minorities, it is a convenient avoidance strategy. One thereby avoids analysing these widespread and highly complex societal issues, which are a lot more challenging to deal with.

To conclude, some further questions related to this topic might be interesting to investigate. If we talk about Berlin and its image, it would be significant to mention that Berlin attracts

visitors because of its drug accessibility. Therefore, how do various parties negotiate between keeping Berlin attractive for (drug) tourism and, at the same time, developing a vivid commercial image? Furthermore, it would be noteworthy to compare how this case enters a historical tradition of scapegoating spaces and people in Germany and in Europe generally. Moreover, the link between the actual anti-migration discourse and the increased surveillance of urban spaces would also be interesting to investigate. Finally, it would be appealing to have an intersectional perspective on the issue. For instance, how certain discriminated groups are politically instrumentalised to exclude other discriminated groups; how the security of women is instrumentalised to stigmatise and exclude migrants and undocumented people.

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## Everyday life of the local activists in the context of Görlitzer Park

Liina Viil

Görlitzer Park embodies a diversity of people, landscape and situations. It would not be itself, or actually not exist at all, without the people who have been active in the neighbourhood, despite the every day difficulties. The initiatives still play a key role in the area, even if their actions do not seem to have an immediate result. This delay of effect is a cause of deep frustration in the ranks of the activists, but it is not the only cause of it. Also a major issue itself is the aforementioned diversity of people, as it shows in the many conflicting voices at neighbourhood meetings, which can materialize into violence. Neighbourhood parks differ from other types of parks by function, and directly affect the lives of the residents around it. Why not give them direct power to form the park as they seem fit? Or would it be unwise for the sake of the minorities, as a public place should be a common space for all, without exceptions? Does the fact that Görlitzer Park now has a global reach have any influence on the everyday life of the local initiatives and activists? Does it bring other (foreign) actors with their own interests in mind? With so many every day issues, one wonders what it is that has kept the struggle around the park alive for decades.

Görlitzer Park really seems like a park of the people, without any romantic park planning but a shared diversity to explore and understand. The physical morphosis the park has gone through makes it a place loaded with the electricity of “change”. As it was originally a train station turned into a park, it makes you think of the power of the people working together. In 1970s the idea to create the park on the unused derelict train station arose, and through a planning competition in 1978/79 it became official. The competition was different from previous ones, because of one reason: the people’s initiatives were allowed to participate in the process.[1] The idea of the park on the area of the *Görlitzer Bahnhof* was considered essential for the living quality of the people in the neighbouring areas. It is important to note that the workers’ quarters, which were built at the end of the 19th century, were very dense and nowadays living standards did not exist. At the turn of the 19th century, Berlin was one of the biggest and most crowded cities in the world and people were packed in tenement flats. It is shocking to see the conditions people lived in. Thanks to photography, we can glimpse into the squalid living conditions of the tenement flats and their unfortunate inhabitants.

At the time when the apartment blocks were built, the idea for a city park for the area did not exist. The reason is that the common people, the workers, who inhabited these new tenement houses, did not yet have the time for or the habit of leisure in the park. A lot has changed in the last 100 years. The people who lived in the same built structures demanded better quality of life, which led to the development of the idea of a multifunctional park. According to a brochure from 1985, the government of Kreuzberg noted that on this area, instead of

ruins, there should be recreation, leisure, play and opportunities for sport. The goal was to create the possibilities for discussions, meetings, play and rest. The diverse landscape was to be thought through and harmonized. It was important to connect the historical traces, achieve a balance between the industrial past, new use and the nature. The construction works started in 1986 and officially lasted until 1998/9. Even in the building process, the local citizens were an integral part of the work by cleaning the site from rubble, rubbish and carrying away the old train tracks together.[2] As the writer and activist Jane Jacobs writes in her book *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, parks are not automatically anything and are directly and dramatically affected by the way the neighbourhood acts on them.[3] In case of the Görlitzer Park, the influence goes beyond the neighbourhood, as also visitors from other parts of Berlin have always visited it. The fact that today also more foreign visitors come and use the park brings up issues that seem too complicated and unsolvable on a local level. According to the action plan (*Handlungskonzept*) that was finished in May 2016: "since the turn of the 21st century the problems have evolved to be global and are not any more typical Kreuzberg".[4]

Even though a lot of people state their wishes, gave advice and recommendations to find solutions, not much seems to be done by the government. The mayor of Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg, Monika Herrmann, has explained that, unfortunately, she can not act alone and needs to forward the proposals to the government of the city of Berlin. According to her statement, she understands the frustration people are feeling.[5] At the end of the bureaucratic process, the initial proposal may have been downgraded or not what the people asked for. Looking at the projects that have been taken on in the last years, they are small projects with a short lifespan. This could be explained by the election cycles; long-term proposals are too complex for a five year governing term and unfinished projects do not bring any benefits to the politicians, rather the opposite in the sense of spending money without any visible results. As it can be seen, it took 8 years from the date of the planning competition to the date of the actual building for the park itself to start to materialize. Like the park grounding struggles, anything good in life takes time, and the delay of ideas materializing may be a benefit in disguise. There are a lot of people who use the park, and any decision has to be carefully analysed. When we talk about creating a common space, there is a high risk of exclusion and conflicts, a balance must be achieved. Common space, defined through acts of spatial enclosure, may end up either as "collectively private" space (as, for example, the outdoor space of a gated community) or as "public space" managed by authorities which act in the name of a community (as, for example, the space of a municipal park or a town square). Both these forms of closed common space tend to "corrupt the common" and to block the liberating potentialities.[6]

It is a humbling fact that Görlitzer park has been the recipient of such love and devotion

from the locals for so many years. One would expect the activists to lose their energy, act half-heartedly or quit altogether. Local initiatives do not seem to last for long due to several reasons; two examples easy to relate to are Time and Financing. Any activist who wishes to be heard and seen needs to invest a lot of time on meetings. Not everybody has that time, so more respect needs to be given to the people who juggle all and make the time to be part of this political debate. To spread the word, one also needs to prepare and print flyers, write articles, take part in interviews and occasionally plan events where ideas could be swapped and common ground found. When there is no chance to build a bigger co-operating community, the force of the fight is diluted and does not have desired effect. In recent cases where the neighbourhood government has organized an open meeting, the situation has turned into a protest. The organizers even thought of calling the police to remove the disturbers, which was not accepted by the crowd and the meeting ended without any calm discussions.[7] If, in the 1970s there used to be a mindset of co-operation for a united goal, it seems to no longer exist, and “everybody thinks they are the king”.[8] According to an ethnographic study of the park, the engagement of people has sunk due to the everyday issues the local initiatives are experiencing. [9]

Unfortunately, there have also been verbal and material clashes between the different groups. It should not be tolerated that someone is attacked after expressing their concerns about the situation in the park, as was reported to have happened in 2013. According to an article, a lady, who works at the park and belonged to a local initiative, outed her concerns publicly about the dealers in park and was later verbally attacked and called a racist. It is believed the same reasoning was also behind the vandalizing act of burning 4 cars on the Görlitzer Street which is parallel to the park.[10] If people are afraid to say what is on their mind, express their feelings, how can a fruitful discussion arise? There seems to be a process of self-destruction or blockage happening; not only is it hard to get approval for ideas from the government, but the people are also actively at each others “throats” and the picture resembles an urban activists war zone. Everybody should get a chance to express their opinions but also be ready to face founded criticism and not take it personally. The people living around the area have different understanding of life, what needs to be done and how it should be done. David Harvey mentions one key issue: “Many different social groups can engage in the practice of commoning for many different reasons. The foundational question is which social groups should be supported and which should not, in the course of commoning struggles”.[11] The idea I am aiming at is that nobody or no group should be excluded. Görlitzer park is a space all locals use to live, it is not simply a place to use. The park needs the local people to have a soul. Every conflict will find a solution, there should be no stress while discussing the matter. There is no need to cause more problems than the ones that already exist.

Newspapers are definitely throwing fuel into the fire. The negative image projected of the Görlitzer park must be discouraging for people who deal with these issues daily. Articles are being written to sell the papers and journalists tend to blow the stories up for a bigger impact on readers. Görlitzer park is known outside of Germany and often finds its way into articles of international newspapers. The park has a global reputation that is not steerable by the locals whose life it affects first hand. The reputation brings foreign visitors, tourists, who have heard about the park through news or hearsay. Among other things it adds to the feeling of overusing the park. A lesser known fact is that already during the initial planning stages it was found out that the park will be overused, according to the statistics at the time, the park was in 10 minute distance from home to 35,000 people.[12] Now with Kreuzberg receiving international reputation as a creative multicultural hub, many people decide to move there. Some initiatives are being attacked for paving the road for gentrification by making the park a better and more beautiful place. The logic behind it is understandable, a better park will raise the rent in the neighbourhood and may force previous residents, who are not able to pay higher rents, out. This has and is happening in other cities and at first glance it seems that there is not much that could be done to stop it. To show the contradictory opinions about this matter in the neighbourhood, a person was interviewed about the drug dealers in the park and the answer was that the drug dealers are helping the park not becoming gentrified.[13] For some, locals tourists are the engine that keeps the wheel of criminality turning by bringing in the demand for drugs. There are even documented cases of ill-acting against foreign language speaking people. One lady regularly throws buckets of water from her balcony on "groups of tourists".[14] Knowing the diverse cultures living in the area, one wonders how she distinguishes who is not a local? It is known that tourists play a big role on the streets of Kreuzberg and there are a lot of complaints from the residents. This seems to be an opening for a local initiative to make the tourists more sensitive towards the park and to actually find a positive way for them to help the park. If not direct help, then by explaining the situation to their friends and family and thus change the biased image.

This essay is the first attempt to understand the everyday struggles of the people engaged in neighbourhood activism. The situations are complex, there are undercurrents and factors that do not reveal themselves easily. One can only advise to join or support an initiative you feel is close to your heart, there may be a chance to actually change something. Change right away is not guaranteed, but you would be part of a diverse community and hopefully be able to have fruitful discussions that bring everybody forward to a better present and future. And one day you might be surprised to hear that the seed that was planted actually grew to something. The tradition of social activism in Kreuzberg lives on, despite the discouraging everyday difficulties.

"The threshold between hopelessness and hope, powerlessness and power is, after all, in

our hands and spirits." [15]

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## **Görl: Where is the journey going?**

**Katrine Melson Gregersen**

The Görlitzer Park is a mythical place in Berlin. The park is infamous for its dealers, tourists and rough aesthetics, and was since its beginning in the late 1980s always the “outsider” of the Berliner parks and a place of conflicts and meeting point for many different groups. Because of its location on the border from Kreuzberg to Friedrichshain, it is for many Berliners not just a park but also a transit space. Moreover, its proximity to the club scene attracts people to the park as well. Especially in the summer, it is buzzing with people grilling, drinking, smoking, biking and chilling in the park. But according to many neighbours, the atmosphere has changed within the last couple of years. Görlitzer Park was made by Kreuzbergers for Kreuzbergers, but at the moment, there is a feeling of having lost the park to other dominant groups. Either to the dealers, the tourists, or to the Romas sleeping in the park. It has come so far that some residents are avoiding the park, as they are not feeling safe anymore. Several attempts to change the situation by neighbour initiatives have failed because of very different ideologies and visions for the park. The increased police control, repression and zero drug tolerance put in motion by Minister of Interior, Frank Henkel, only displaced the dealers and “problems” to the nearby streets, hence not being a bearable solution for the residents either. All of this has left many residents feeling discouraged about the future for the park[1].

This situation prompted the idea of putting together a new concept for the park, where all the issues and conflicts are included and connected, since if something has to change, one has to look at the whole park and integrate all the different social groups. What is new about the concept is also the understanding of differences and compromises, which is needed for a place where so many diverse groups are coming together. The “integriertes Handlungskonzept” was made by “AG Görlitzer Park”, which is put together with people from the administration, residents and social supporters. They got the contract for the concept in August 2015 by the “Kreuzberger Bezirksstadtrat für Planen, Bauen und Umwelt”. To support the concept, to gain a better knowledge of the conflicts in the park and also get a more objective view, Dr. Franziska Becker did an ethnographic research in the winter of 2015 and beginning of 2016. This has been the basis for the concept[2]. The main goals are to create a park where the residents once again feel safe, to once again make Görlitzer Park a park for the Kreuzbergers, but also making sure that it is a park for everybody. As they say, no group should be dominant and no group should be displaced, and the character and identity of the park should not change. It is mainly to understand that everybody has the right to the park, which at the moment is not the case, as there are certain groups, who do not feel safe in the park, mainly because of the dealers and crime[3].

That the park is a place of conflicts is not new. It has always been a place where many

different groups came together in a relative small space and issues with noise, grilling, and garbage were everyday problems. What has changed is the perception of the problems. In the 1990s, it seemed to be Kreuzberger problems, which means that it came from the residents themselves, whereas now the park has gone from local to global[4]. It is a hotspot for globalisation and transnationalism because of its amount of tourists, dealers and Romas, which is connecting the park to the world. For instance, the increase of dealers seems to be connected to the arrival of refugees, who have no legal rights to stay in Germany and thus have no other possibilities than to work in the park. The problems are consequently out of the hands of the residents and part of the larger political scene in Berlin and Germany. The globalisation of the issues the park is facing is one of the main obstacles for change[5]. An example of how global issues affects the park is in the case of public toilets. It was planned to build public toilets in the park, as there is a problem of people using the park as a toilet. With the increase of refugees and the building of refugee camps, the price of portable toilets has gone up, so that only one public toilet is afforded [6]. This is just one example of how global events have an affect on a very local scale, making it difficult to change the park.

So what exactly is it then that “AG Görlitzer Park” wishes to change with the concept? First of all, they emphasize that no single group is responsible for the problems. Nevertheless there are three groups who are more addressed than others. These are, as briefly mentioned before, the dealers, tourists and Romas. According to many residents and users of the park, the amount of dealers has increased the last years not only because of the arrival of refugees coming to Europe as discussed above, but also as a consequence of more demand from the tourists. Moreover, it is said that the crime in the park has increased as well, which is also seen as a consequence of the dealers and tourists. The “integriertes Handlungskonzept” makes it clear they do not wish to displace any people. Instead they recognize the dealers as people who have no other opportunities, and as someone who needs help instead of repression. The solution should therefore be having social workers in the park, addressing the dealers and giving them information of other possibilities and ways to get asylum and a more stable situation[7]. Also the Romas sleeping in the park is perceived as a problem. As Europeans, they can freely live in Germany but are still a very stigmatized group[8], as they are perceived as the main group, which uses the park as a toilet and leave madrassas and other belongings behind. Again social workers should also address the Romas to help them and their children finding a more stable and safe place to sleep[9].

Lastly there are the tourists. The increase of tourists is a general “problem” in Berlin, and especially Kreuzberg is feeling the impact of this. They are seen as the group responsible for buying the drugs, which also parties and are not showing respect to the park or its neighbours. They are part of the reason why the freedom in the park has gone too far, according to some residents and users[10]. The solution to this is mainly information. To make sure the

tourists are better informed about the park and how to behave[11]. Also the “BSR” has started cleaning in the park, which has already helped with the problem about the garbage[12]. An important question to ask is who are actually the tourists? Of course it is proven that the area close to Görlitzer Park has many Airbnb apartments and hostels, which means that it is a place where a lot of tourists come[13]. Likewise the club scene is very close by, which of course is also something that attracts travellers in Berlin. But the group of people who are perceived as tourists might as well be people living in Berlin, even in Kreuzberg.

This too is an overall problem in the park that certain people are quickly identified to belonging to a certain group. For example people of colour are more often than not defined as dealers. It is a very strong and dangerous racial profiling, which is very stigmatizing and leading to a discrimination of any people of colour hanging out in the park; even though the study from Dr. Franziska Becker shows that many comes just to hang out in the park[14], they are often immediately identified as a dealer and hence a problem. Similarly it goes for the non-German speaking, young people, who are defined as party tourists. It is important to keep these stereotypes in mind when debating about certain groups of people and their influence on the park. This too makes the debate about the right to the park so difficult.

There is a lot of talk about the right to the city today, and in this case the right to the park. Again and again it is emphasized that everybody has the right to use the park. One can say that the problems in the park are about how to distribute the right to the park. A way of assuring that the right to the park is balanced is by what AG Görlitzer park call “democratic control”. This means that the park will be organized and governed through different “parties”: The “Park coordination”, which is connecting and communicating with the different actors in the park, having the general view of the park and is the link to the administration; the “Park counsel”, which is the so-called “guardian” of the concept and consisting of residents and users of the park; and the “Parkläufer”, who is to be the social control in the park[15]. He/she is not to take the work of the police or the social worker but is working as a mediator between the different groups and is there to smooth out any conflicts happening in the moment. It is important that the “Parkläufer” is a group, which consists of people with different ethnic backgrounds (here it is mainly Arab or African). Apparently this has had success in Paris and in Malmö, which is why it is now to be tried out in Görlitzer Park[16]. This idea of “democratic control” is supposed to be connecting the residents, users, businesses and politicians. It would be a way of easing the participation processes and communication between the different interest groups and also gaining more openness about the development in the park. In general, it is about more governance and social control. But maybe that is necessary in a public place like Görlitzer Park where you have so many different groups coming together and where everybody is supposed to have the right to be there.

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The “AG Görlitzer Park” emphasizes in the concept for the park that the right to the park is for everybody. Nobody is to be displaced but also no one is supposed to have any fear when entering the park. Those two things do somewhat contradict each other since what they mean is that they do not wish to displace the dealers, but it is the dealers that some of the residents are fearful of. It also becomes apparent when reading the concept, that it is the residents who have the first right to the park. As they are saying, the park was made by the residents and hence it should also be them who have the first right. The right to the park is thus mainly the resident’s right to the park. The concept is in some way about the residents regaining the control of the park and the right to the park. For this reason, they do also wish more participation from the residents as a way of gaining the feeling of control again and getting “their” park back[17].

It is very important for the residents to make the park more children friendly, as the “Kinderbauernhof” also resides in the park, and generally the children are often used as an argument for need for change in the park. Making Görlitzer Park more children friendly would be done by putting up table tennis, making a volleyball field and giving the children more possibilities to play[18]. The idea is that more cultural events and sport areas would give life to the park and also to otherwise less used areas, which might be considered dangerous. This is another way of regaining control of the park, without displacing any groups directly. It seems like this would mainly be in the area around “Pamukkale” fountain, which would leave the “valley” as a more free space, as it is now. This could be a way of avoiding problems, by having the park more or less divided into children “friendly” areas and then the chill out areas where you can also grill and drink your beers without disturbing anyone.

As now all the conflict points have been mentioned, we must not forget that for many Görlitzer Park is still just a park, a nice free space where you can hang out with your friends, drink some beers, and maybe smoke some weed. It is not a conflict filled social space. For these people, the park is just good as it is. It is a place where you feel free to do whatever. Therefore one could argue that there is no reason to change anything. But leaving the park as it is would also be ignoring the issues that very clearly are there and seem to worsen between the different interest groups in and around the park. And maybe it is romanticising the place, by saying it is fine the way it is, that it is fine with the dealers for instance. Most likely the people who are dealing are not doing it by choice, so acknowledging it as a social problem and trying to help the people who are in precarious situations is better than just letting people be.

One has to keep in mind that the concept is also mainly thought of as the basis for debate. It is still not certain what will be funded and what therefore can be realised. The journey of the park is thus still very insecure, but some things are sure: The park manager has already been hired and began his work the 15.11.2016, and next year the “Parkläufer” project will

be set in motion[19]. The rest cannot be put to reality without political support, which is also important when discussing Görlitzer Park and Kreuzberg. It is also a fight between local and national politics, between district and senate. This is also the reason why change is so difficult in Görlitzer Park; there is a lack of money and a lack of political will to try something new. And then, of course, there are the different ideologies fighting in the park. The journey thus might still go in many directions, but the direction put out by the "integriertes Handlungsconcept" might be what is needed to overcome the increasing conflicts we experience the park.

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  - [17] Ibid. P. 13-15.
  - [18] Ibid. P. 24-25.
  - [19] [www.berliner-woche.de/kreuzberg/leute/cengiz-demirci-ist-der-neue-parkmanager-im-goerlitzer-park-d111849.html](http://www.berliner-woche.de/kreuzberg/leute/cengiz-demirci-ist-der-neue-parkmanager-im-goerlitzer-park-d111849.html)
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## Appendices

### Appendix 1: Program

2ND UROLab | 25TH – 28TH of May 2016

#### Wednesday, 25th of May 2016

##### Arrival, Kick-off in the Görlitzer Park

16:00

**Welcome and Introduction of the Program**  
Thomas Bürk / Stefan Höhne / Boris Michel /  
Morten Nieslen

17:00

**Nosing around and BBQ in the Görlitzer Park**

#### Thursday, 26th of May 2016

##### Urban Orders Colloquium

9:30 – 10:00

**Governing the Narcotic City: Introductions  
to the Case**

Thomas Bürk / Stefan Höhne

10:00 – 12:00

**INPUTS I: POLICING OUT CRIME AND THE  
GOVERNANCE OF DRUGS**

**The Fixers' Capital' - Spatialization of Social  
Crises since the 1970s**

Jan-Henrik Friedrichs (Hildesheim)

**Urban Drug Use, Drug Policy and its Side  
Effects**

Bernd Werse (Frankfurt am Main)

**"There were problems with residents who  
complained..." Police governing the gen-  
trifying city**

Jenny Künkel (Frankfurt am Main)

12:00 – 13:30

**Lunch at Südblock**

13:30 – 15:00

**INPUTS II: BERLIN-KREUZBERG:  
URBAN GENTRIFICATION AND THE HOU-  
SING QUESTION**

**"We made this district hip!"**

**– Legitimizing the Right to Stay Put in Times  
of Governance through Community**

Lisa Vollmer (Berlin/Weimar)

**New Dynamics of urban Tourism in Berlin-  
Kreuzberg**

Nils Grube (Berlin)

15:00 – 16:00

**INPUTS III: LOCAL POLITICS OF MIGRATION**

**Of Dangerous, Concentrations' and Produ-  
ctive, Communities'**

**Kreuzberg and the Spatial Governance of  
Migration in German Cities**

Mathias Rodatz (Frankfurt am Main)

**Urban Migration and Refugee Politics**

Myrto Kougievetopoulos (Berlin)

16:30 – 18:00

**EVERY DAY LIFE IN KREUZBERG AND THE  
MAKING OF DANGEROUS SPACES**

**Guided Visits to Kottbusser Tor, Görlitzer Park and RAW-Area**

Research Team of the Center for Metropolitan Studies, TU Berlin

19:00

**Dinner at Südblock**

16:30 -18:00

**Preparation of inputs by groups (supported by a guideline)**

19:00

**Workshopdinner and Party at Südblock****Friday, 27th of May 2016****Fieldwork Day**

10:00 – 10:30

**Breakfast and Briefing**

Meeting at Aquarium, Südblock (Inputs by the Team)

**Saturday, 28th of May 2016****Urban Orders in Kreuzberg**

9:30

**Breakfast and Plenum**

Presentations of groups and final discussions

12:30– 2:00

**Farewell and Lunch at Südblock****FIELDWORK AND RESEARCH****A Non-linear Archeology of Goerlitzer Park**

Stefan Höhne / Mikkel Thelle

**Designing out crime in the Park**

Nick Jenisch, Leo Pedersen, Guest: Axel Koller (Grünflächenamt)

**Policing in Kreuzberg**

ReachOut, KUB, Thomas Bürk

**Drugs in the City**

Morten Nielsen, Bernd Werse, Horst-Dietrich Elvers

**Touristification in Kreuzberg**

Niels Grube, Boris Michel

**Housing and the Politics of Urban Renewal**

Lisa Vollmer, Kotti &amp; Co

## Appendix 2: List of participants

AbdouMaliq Simone Sociologist, Urban Scholar, Max Planck Institute, Göttingen	Hanna Schilling Sociologist, Center for Metropolitan Studies TU Berlin
Alexander Klose Cultural Studies, Publisher and curator, Halle/ Berlin	Jan Simon Hutta Geographer, Hamburg/Erlangen
Anastasia Blinzov Cultural Studies and Linguistics, Center for Metropolitan Studies, TU Berlin	Jan-Henrik Friedrichs Historian, Hildesheim University
Anne Kleinbauer Art History and Cultural Studies, Center for Metropolitan Studies, TU Berlin	Jenny Künkel Geographer Institute for Geography, Frankfurt University
Assaf Uni Journalist, Berlin/Tel Aviv	Joscha Metzger Geographer, Institute for Geography, Ham- burg University
Avi Sharma Historian, Center for Metropolitan Studies, Technische Universität Berlin	Katrine Duus Terkelsen Anthropologist, Aarhus University
Bernd Werse Sociologist, Centre for Drug Research	Katrine Melson Gregersen Cultural Studies, Center for Metropolitan Stu- dies, TU Berlin
Boris Michel Geographer, Institute for Geography, Erlan- gen University	Kuno Zscharnack Cultural studies / Philosophy of Technology, Center for Metropolitan Studies, TU Berlin
Fabian Bovens Art Historian, Cultural Studies Scholar, Center for Metropolitan Studies, TU Berlin	Lea Rakovsky Sociology, International Relations, Center for Metropolitan Studies, TU Berlin
Frederieke Westerheide Human Geography, Center for Metropolitan Studies, TU Berlin	Leo Pedersen Architect, School of Engineering, Aarhus University

Leonard Speelmans  
Arts & Culture, Political Culture, Center for  
Metropolitan Studies, TU Berlin

Liina Viil  
Architecture Conservation and Heritage  
Protection, Center for Metropolitan Studies,  
TU Berlin

Lisa Vollmer  
Urban Planner, Bauhaus University, Weimar

Louise Fabian  
Historian of Ideas, Aarhus University

Marian Burckhardt  
Sociologist, Max Planck Institute, Göttingen

Matthias Rodatz  
Geographer, University Frankfurt

Mikkel Thelle  
Historian, School of Culture and Society - Da-  
nish Centre for Urban History, Aarhus

Mischa Weber  
History and Sociology, Center for Metropolitan  
Studies, TU Berlin

Morten Nielsen  
Anthropologist, Aarhus University

Myrto Kougievetopoulos  
Cultural Anthropologist, Berlin

Nick Jenisch  
Urban Planner, Architect, Tulane University,  
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Nicolas Sustr  
Journalist, Berlin

Stefan Höhne  
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Thomas Bürk  
Geographer, Critical Geography Group Ber-  
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