

“European Port Cities: Disadvantaged Urban Areas in Transition“

A collaborative project under the EU Transnational Exchange Programme (“*Fight against Poverty and Social Exclusion*”)

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Final Report – Phase I

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1. Introduction

This project focuses on disadvantaged urban areas in European port cities, based on close collaboration between institutions of academic research and social work organisations directed at disadvantaged local actors. According to the project schedule, the main task of phase I was to generate an overview of the specific problems in each of the cities under study, to identify relevant local actors and to build networks of possible partners for phase II. The following report is based on ethnographic field studies in five European port cities. After a short introduction to the methodology of ethnographic fieldwork and to some key concepts of this project (part 1), a summary of the results of these studies and general conclusions will be presented in part 2. Detailed case studies of the five cities will be provided by different researchers in part 3.

For some of the cases (Dublin, Thessaloniki and partially Hamburg), there had been ongoing research prior to phase I, while in other cases, the data reported here were gathered exclusively within this phase. Therefore, the scope of the studies will be somewhat different. The studies on Algeciras and Ceuta are linked together because of the specific geopolitical relations of these two cities.

Port cities – nodes of transfer networks of cargo and people – were selected as a structural framework, because they have been affected by ongoing economic and social transformation processes in an exemplary manner. In the context of globalisation, technological and economic developments have restructured ports all over the world, fundamentally changing the relations between port and city. Over the past decades, port neighbourhoods and their environs have undergone processes of social and economic degradation, particularly affecting those areas of the local economy traditionally related to the ports. Segments of the urban population living close to the ports, or making their living from the ports, have been particularly affected by the loss of job opportunities and relatively cheap housing, and by the decline of social networks and local infrastructure. In many cities, historical port areas and their environs have become a target for the redesigning and restructuring of urban space and for pro-

cesses of gentrification, resulting in the exclusion of disadvantaged social groups. In the context of global economic and political changes, port cities have also become transit points and interfaces of transnational migration. Besides traditionally disadvantaged segments of the local population, such as the homeless and urban poor, the owners of small port-related businesses and of informal segments of the urban economy, refugees and “new immigrants” form yet another group of social actors particularly affected by processes of degradation and social exclusion.



Illustration 1: The five research locations in Europe: Algeciras, Ceuta, Dublin, Hamburg and Thessaloniki

The point of departure for this project is ethnographic and comparative, as well as action-oriented. It is based on the assumption that, on a general level, global processes of technological, economic and social change will lead to relatively similar stages of urban transformation in all cities involved¹. On the other hand, due to the differences in geographic, historic and political conditions, we expect strong local variations in relation to particular problems and to the categories of social actors involved. Thus in phase I, the main task has been a survey of the range and variation of problems and local strategies, based on a series of ethnographic case studies in the port cities of Algeciras, Ceuta, Dublin, Hamburg and Thessaloniki. In this phase, the particular stages of transformation relating to port areas and the resulting processes of social exclusion had to be determined for each of the cities. In each case, the relevant categories of social actors particularly affected by social transformations had to be identified, and a general overview of their specific situations and living conditions

¹ For a detailed discussion of the model of transformation underlying this project see Hoyle / Pinder (eds) 1992, Schubert 2001

had to be obtained. In phase I, preliminary ethnographic research was conducted in former port neighbourhoods and among homeless people in Hamburg, migrants and refugees in Ceuta and Algeciras, among immigrant street vendors in Thessaloniki and among migrants and inhabitants of deprived urban areas in Dublin. Also, a central aim of phase I was to identify and to contact social work organisations directly related to the actors and problems at hand. Some of these organisations became partners for the development of practical programmes in phase II (see activity report).

The aims of this project meet with the general objectives of the entire EU programme: fighting social exclusion by establishing networks and exchanging knowledge and resources. Our objective is based on the assumption that cultures of urban subsistence, in general, will exhibit a high potential for self-organisation and resource-orientated action. We regard these actors as “cultural experts”² in urban life and subsistence, even though these specific strategies have seemingly lost their value as a consequence of global transformation processes. Based on the ethnographic studies and documentations provided by the university partners, this project seeks to contribute to a re-valuation and empowerment of the actors and lifestyles involved, by means of establishing new programmes and networks of exchange between related institutions of self-organisation (NGOs).

1.1. Methodological issues: an ethnographic approach to social exclusion

Ethnographic methods have been successfully applied to various aspects of complex societies. In recent decades, urban anthropology and migration studies have become fields of major relevance for social anthropological research³. The standard methodology of ethnographic research includes intensive structured and non-structured interviewing, social network analysis and cognitive domain analysis, as well as the application of formal queries directed at social and demographic data. The distinctive feature of ethnography however, as compared to other forms of social science research, is the close and long-term personal contact of the researcher to the local actors under study, enabling an intensive *participant observation* of their everyday life. Focusing on “culture”, in the sense of local actors’ views, knowledge and strategies of everyday action, the ethnographic perspective provides a unique approach to the local effects of global structures and transformations from an insiders’ point of view, serving as a much-needed empirical corrective to abstract theories of globalisation.

In this project, the areas of *ethnographic research* and *social practice* are to be closely interconnected. The university partners see their basic task in ethnographic fieldwork, documenting the different cultures of urban subsistence. The non-academic partners (NGOs) will primarily be in charge of designing innovative, research-based and practice-orientated programmes, securing the effectiveness of these programmes and establishing new networks for their activities. In phase I, the ethnographic approach has been used in a more general way, in order to identify the special problems related to each case and the actors particularly affected by processes of social exclusion.

On this basis, more detailed studies of their social practices in the context of change will be provided in phase II. Topics of research include forms of perception and appropriation of urban space, urban discourse and identities, as well as everyday social and economic practices. In this context, the issues of *participation* and *empowerment* gain particular importance. We consider local actors as individuals, who, linked in groups and networks, take an active part in restructuring their urban environment. A main focus of the detailed ethno-

² For the notion of “cultural experts” in urban situations, see Kokot et al. 2002

³ For recent ethnographic studies of social exclusion and urban poverty see e.g. Desjarlais 1997, Ferrell / Hamm 1998, Gigengack 2000, Thoth 1993)

graphic research in phase II will therefore be on the particular strengths and potentials of these actors in coping with the redevelopment and restructuring of their neighbourhoods. The notion of *empowerment of local potential* will also be a guiding concept for the development of practice programmes in collaboration with social work organisations.

1.2. Key concepts 1: transformations of “*urban subsistence*” in European port cities

A central concept relating to the notions of local potential, participation, and empowerment is the range of cultural resources and strategies of *urban subsistence*. By this we refer to various forms of life and economic strategies, which, having developed in the context of port-related activities and occupations, can be considered as typical forms of subsistence in port cities. Today, however, these forms of subsistence are no longer bound to the port as a specific place and institution.

Typical port-related professions, such as loading and unloading cargo, or working as hired hands in the ship building industry, offered an important market for casual kinds of work, which – at least in times of economic crisis – had to go hand in hand with high personal flexibility and the ability to take advantage of multiple resources. These abilities and strategies, which are intrinsically connected to casual labour, were once essential for many households in traditional port areas. Encompassing much more than mere economic survival and everyday life, they are part of the cultural knowledge of local actors and their communities in these areas. Thus, we consider various forms of urban subsistence to be an integral and characteristic part of urban culture in port cities.

As port-related and other urban economies were increasingly restructured and modernised, the number of casual jobs declined. With the worldwide redevelopment of port cities – including the decline of port-related jobs and the shift from the old ports close to the centre of the city to modern ports at the city boundaries – once-valued cultural resources were increasingly devaluated, bringing local actors closer to social exclusion. In many cases, the port no longer plays an important role as a potential employer. Yet, some niches remain for similar forms of economic subsistence and cultural ways of life, or they are currently re-emerging as a consequence of global transformation processes. Examples include various forms of casual labour, begging (and similar jobs like busking etc.), low-budget enterprises, generally considered part of the informal economic sector (e.g. low-budget retail, street vendors, street services, including casual prostitution) and small enterprises operating in various fields of urban reproduction, e.g. transport and logistics. This domain, which we summarise under the term “*urban subsistence*”, is characterised by several common features:

- No or minimal capital investment
- Low income and no or minimal accumulation of capital
- Informal learning of job-specific cultural knowledge, “learning by doing”
- High personal flexibility, which is necessary in order to use multiple resources
- Either no separation of „work“ and „leisure time“, or an often blurred distinction between the two
- Often flexible or mobile places of work

Global transformation processes, such as the fundamental restructuring of ports, have been one decisive factor leading to unemployment, social deprivation and exclusion. However, these processes are much more complex and their effects vary greatly between different cases. Lifestyles and practices of urban subsistence included in this project vary accordingly, depending on national and local conditions in different European countries. A first ethnographic overview shows, for instance, that informal street merchants play an important role in

Thessaloniki, whereas this field seems to be of lesser importance in Hamburg, which is particularly characterised by homelessness.

Different port cities – even within Europe – serve as exemplars of different phases of transformation. The port of Hamburg is almost completely dominated by containerisation, while in Thessaloniki this activity is still relatively less-developed. While many industrial ports have been shifted away from the city centre and the old port-related areas have become upper-class quarters in a preserved, museum-like environment, this process is just about to begin in others. Urban development schemes influence one another, with the London docklands development serving as paradigmatic point of departure⁴. Various national, local and regional conditions may lead to quite different forms of living and strategies of urban subsistence characterizing the cities' particular local contexts. In many cases, questions of the social exclusion of urban subsistence strategies are also closely connected to issues of (legal and illegal) migration.

Cases included in this report range from gentrification in former port neighbourhoods and urban homelessness among locals and immigrants (Hamburg), former port and dockworkers (Dublin), refugees and local poor as street merchants (Thessaloniki) or illegal migrants in urban squatter areas (Ceuta and Algeciras). On a general level, the problems in all the cities under research proved to be structurally similar. However, the categories of actors, ways of life and strategies of urban subsistence show a considerable variance among the different cases. Therefore, the connection between the lifestyles of urban subsistence in former port areas, and the new niches for casual labour and informal economies included in this project, will not always be immediate. Not all of the groups and actors considered were former dockworkers, ship hands and the like, and not all urban areas included in the project are spatially related to the ports. Nonetheless, we consider strategies and resources of urban *subsistence as prototypical elements of urban culture in port cities*, due to the particular historical connection between ports, casual labour, and related styles of knowledge and everyday practice.

1.3. Key concepts 2: “*social exclusion*”

The central focus of the entire project has been on the subject of “*social exclusion*”, as defined by the framework of the EU Transnational Exchange Programme. In this context, we refer to *social exclusion* as a multidimensional, dynamic process of substantial duration, which occurs in the case of denial, non-realisation or failure of one or more of the following aspects: citizens' rights (civil, political, social); labour market/economic integration; state welfare system; and social networks (neighbours, family, friends, community...). This separation of one part of the population from the normal living patterns of mainstream society might occur in terms of each of or a combination of the following aspects:

- education, training (this includes disparities in the distribution of life chances)
- employment, financial resources (poverty)
- housing, basic standard of living (poverty)
- health care system
- welfare institutions
- social activities which cost money (e.g. leisure activities) (poverty)
- lack of power (political and other)
- social networks (e.g. established neighbourhoods, ethnic based groups)

Groups or individual actors who are excluded may be unemployed, homeless, lacking educational qualifications, with addiction problems, migrants (facing discrimination on grounds of

⁴ compare Falk (1992), Charlier (1992)

their legal status and/or of race/ethnicity/origin etc.), living on different forms of urban subsistence (prostitutes, street vendors...), or in general, communities in urban areas of deprivation.

1.4. “The street” – stage and context of urban subsistence strategies

Survival strategies of the urban homeless may be considered prototypical for the range of cultural knowledge and everyday practice included in this project. The “street” – public urban space – serves as context and limiting factor for many of the lifestyles and activities considered here. Casual labour, informal enterprises, street vending, informal services and logistics, as well as “temporary” settlements of refugees and migrants or the organisation of communities in deprived urban areas, all make use of urban public space - in ways frequently not conforming to official norms and standards. In many cities, formerly deprived areas once related to the ports are now undergoing rapid gentrification and privatisation, denying access to public urban space to more and more everyday life activities and local-level economy.

This close connection between urban subsistence and public space can be quite contradictory, however. Despite their high visibility, the actual range of activities, lifestyles and insiders’ views of the actors involved remain virtually unknown to the general public - they are “visible invisibles”. The specific abilities and cultural knowledge necessary to occupy and adapt to public urban space will thus be an important issue for this project. Knowing about appropriate places for living and working in the streets, dealing flexibly and creatively with the police and local administrations, using spatial knowledge as a resource for survival, make these actors experts in urban cultural knowledge. To take stock and re-evaluate this cultural knowledge in order to develop new strategies of empowerment in cooperation with the actors themselves, remains a key objective of this project.

2. Results and conclusions

To varying degrees, all the cities involved in this project have recently been undergoing massive structural transformations, which have fundamentally changed the relationship of city and port. The local effects of this global process manifest themselves in the decline of port-related sectors of the economy and, in turn, in different approaches to urban revitalisation programmes.

The different cases may serve as exemplars for the impact of global change on formerly thriving port or working class areas. Despite efforts towards new waterfront development schemes in Ceuta’s former fishing port area, in Dublin’s dockland areas, Hamburg’s St. Pauli and Thessaloniki’s Ladadika quarter, a strong traditional sense of local identity has been replaced by economic degradation and a growing stigmatisation of these areas as “criminal” and potentially dangerous. Currently, new uses for former industrial and working class quarters close to the inner city ports aim at introducing a “new economy”, “new media” and an upwardly mobile, middle-class population – resulting in gentrification processes and the displacement of various categories of local actors traditionally related to the ports. As the example of Hamburg shows, it will also be important to note the specific role of social elites and decision makers in these processes of social exclusion.

Besides the residents of former working class areas close to the inner city ports, refugees and (illegal) migrants form an important category of actors threatened by social exclusion. As the examples of Algeciras, Ceuta and Thessaloniki have shown, survival strategies of these migrant communities can be considered in terms of *ethnic enclavement*, i. e. resulting from a mutually dependent process of inclusion and exclusion.

Among the *strategies of urban subsistence* employed by those local actors, semi-legal or illegal practices of begging, hawking, prostitution, street vending and the like, are of prominent importance in all the cases under study. The style and mobility of businesses, the type of goods traded, and the local forms of social organisation vary considerably along with the actors' legal situation. For refugees and migrants without legal status, various forms of street vending seem to offer the only means of securing a daily income. Similar activities in the informal economic sector are also used by former port and dockworkers or by the local homeless.

These economic activities create a potential field of conflict with the aims of city planning authorities and investors' schemes for urban renewal. Former port areas close to the inner city and adjoining working class neighbourhoods are now being rescheduled for new economic development and a wealthier, middle-class clientele. The appropriation of urban space by the homeless, refugees, street vendors' and the like clearly contrast with these interests. In many cases, this conflict about public urban space is acted out by means of raids and police controls on the one side, and by subversive strategies of extreme mobility and invisibility on the other. As the examples of Hamburg and Dublin show however, participatory approaches based on negotiations between all sides have proven to be much more effective, albeit still rare, exceptions.

2.1. Case studies and comparison – an overview of results

Algeciras, together with Ceuta, is characterised by its position as a gateway from Africa into Europe. Algeciras is Spain's most important trade- and passenger port and a centre of illegal



Illustration 2: Moroccan bar, restaurant and hostel; minaret of a mosque, that remains unfinished

transfer of goods and people. As in Ceuta, the port of Algeciras is currently being expanded. Despite this rapid development, the relationship of port and city seems to be rather disconnected. There is a high degree of unemployment, particularly among migrants. Algeciras is a typical place of transit characterised by a dense port atmosphere, beggars, street vendors, drug addicts and homeless. Migration and ethnic heterogeneity are shaping the image of this city, many of the inhabitants being transients on their way into Europe. A derelict area close to the port is currently in the process of being appropriated by migrants from Morocco, thus

changing the urban landscape and developing into an ethnic enclave. Several NGOs are working with illegal migrants, despite popular stereotypes and hostility.

The contested status of *Ceuta* as a Spanish enclave in Morocco has led to specific consequences for this city's development. Like Algeciras, Ceuta is characterised by migration and transnational flows of trade and contraband. Potentials of conflict and social exclusion centre



Illustration 3: The Spanish-Moroccan border at checkpoint Benzú

on the security of the border, as well as on urban development schemes in the port area. Like Algeciras, Ceuta's port is currently expanding. While gentrification processes can be observed in the area of the old fishing port and adjoining neighbourhoods, migrants' shantytown communities in the periphery are characterised by a high degree of deprivation. In the inner city illegal migrants work as street vendors and drug traders. As in Ceuta, the Red Cross and several church-based NGOs deal with socially excluded segments of the population.

Dublin serves as a typical example of the consequences of global city-port development processes. After the major port functions had been moved out of the city, former working class areas fell into dereliction and are now being targeted for urban renewal. The loss of opportunities for casual manual labour in the port has led to a high degree of unemployment and social stigmatisation in these quarters, giving rise to massive conflicts with the new type



Illustration 4: The Poolbeg Lighthouse in Dublin

of inhabitants and investors drawn into the area by urban renewal. Despite these problems, Dublin's dockside area shows a high potential for self-organisation based on traditional local identities and neighbourhood networks. This has recently led to various forms of participatory action and joint decision-making in the restructuring of port-related neighbourhoods.

Hamburg has increased its international importance after it regained its Eastern European hinterland at the beginning of the 1990s. As in Dublin, major port functions have been moved



Illustration 5: Homelessness in Hamburg

out of the city and vast areas of the former port are targeted for dockland development schemes. In consequence, gentrification processes have been affecting former working class areas like St. Pauli. Specific forms of social exclusion are related to the demands on urban space: the loss of affordable housing in the face of urban renewal schemes as well as homelessness characterising the images of the city to a high degree. Hamburg has been named Germany's "capital of the homeless", their numbers being significantly increased by migrants from Eastern Europe. Relevant NGOs are either self help and neighbourhood associations in gentrified areas, or advocacy organisations focusing at empowering the specific potential of the urban homeless.

The port of *Thessaloniki* has likewise regained its hinterland after 1990 and is a gateway between Eastern Europe and the European Union. As a Mediterranean city, Thessaloniki is also a port of entrance into Europe for migrants and illegal refugees from Afghanistan, Africa



Illustration 6: Thessaloniki: migrants from the Black Sea region in Aristotelous Street

and the Middle East, many of them entering via Turkey. As in Ceuta, Dublin and Hamburg, urban renewal programmes have been directed at the former inner city port area. Likewise, former port-related opportunities for casual labour are disappearing, leaving the former dockworkers, stevedores and seamen to compete with the migrants for the few remaining opportunities for urban subsistence, mainly street vending. Here, they come into conflict with the authorities' plans for improving the city's image by the renewal of urban space. In Thessaloniki, the same small group of NGOs is dealing with the problems of homelessness and refugee settlement.

Case	Stage in city-port-development	Specific features	Actors affected by social exclusion, to be included in this study	Main case-specific types of urban subsistence	Main sources of local potential for self-organisation
ALGECIRAS	Expanding city port	Border position, migration and contraband	Migrants, local poor	Street vending, begging, smuggling	Ethnic networks
CEUTA	Expanding city port	Enclave, migration and contraband	Migrants, local poor	Street vending, begging, smuggling, fishing	Ethnic networks
DUBLIN	Expanding, but port functions displaced out of inner city	Gentrification, devaluation of port-related areas and life styles	Former dock-workers etc., migrants	Casual labour, illegal activities	Neighbourhood networks
HAMBURG	Expanding, new hinterland, but port functions displaced out of inner city	Gentrification, homelessness	Former dock-workers etc., homeless (migrants)	Casual labour, begging, street vending	Neighbourhood networks
THESSALONIKI	Expanding, new hinterland, but port functions displaced out of inner city	Border position, gentrification	Former dock-workers etc., migrants	Street vending, illegal activities	Ethnic networks

2.2. Preliminary recommendations

Although the research in this phase is not yet sufficient to allow detailed *policy recommendations* (which will be a major goal for phase II of this project), it should be noted that local forms of self-organisation and self-representation are of utmost importance. In all cases, the surveys have shown a strong local potential for self-empowerment and representation, although this varies according to the local conditions and legal statuses of the actors concerned. Among the local populations of former port-related quarters like Hamburg's St. Pauli or Dublin's dockland area, there has been a strong tradition of self-help based on local identity and neighbourhood organisation, which should be researched in greater detail and supported by this project. Among migrants as in Algeciras, Ceuta or Thessaloniki, social networks based on ethnic origin play a similar role in the potential for self-organisation.

Social networking, mobility, and flexible reactions in the face of insecure living conditions are common denominators characterising the subsistence strategies of all the actors concerned, along with a high degree of *cultural expert knowledge* about their specific urban environment, which is communicated along the lines of their social networks. These features form the potential for self-organisation inherent in the urban cultures under study, which ought to be made explicit and enhanced by policy programmes directed at empowering local potential. In the case of illegalised or disadvantaged actors such as homeless, undocumented refugees,

prostitutes or users of illegal drugs etc., their interests must be advocated by sympathetic non-governmental organisations directed at furthering their clients' potential unhindered by their precarious legal status. In order to be effective, these organisations must be provided with in-depth knowledge about the living conditions of their clientele, without running the risk of this information being transferred to the local authorities. These NGOs must be provided with sufficient staff and a secure status in order to be able to offer continuous support to their clients and to develop target programmes towards the empowerment of their specific potential (a list of relevant NGOs is included in the activity report, some of them will serve as partners for the implementation of activity programmes in phase II).

2.3. Illustrations

1. Map of Europe (taken from the Encyclopædia Britannica, Britannica CD 98, Multimedia Edition, International Version, modified)
2. Algeciras (photo taken by H. Driessen)
3. Ceuta (photo taken by E. Kaewnetara)
4. Dublin (photo taken by A. Wonneberger)
5. Hamburg (photo taken by M. Gruber)
6. Thessaloniki (photo taken by W. Kokot)

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3.1. Enclavement of Moroccan Immigrants in the Port City of Algeciras, Spain

Researcher: Prof. Dr. Henk Driessen, University of Nijmegen, The Netherlands

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Illustration 1: Postcard: View of the Strait of Gibraltar and of the two continents Europe and Africa

3.1.1. Introduction

This report is the result of a fieldtrip to Algeciras during the first week of June 2003, the aim of which was to update a sociographic outline written on the basis of research conducted in October 2000. It may serve as a point of departure for further in-depth anthropological inquiry into disadvantaged urban areas in transition.

3.1.2. Algeciras: Port and city, an uneasy relationship

Algeciras (province of Cádiz) is the last port of the Spanish Mediterranean, situated at the Bay of Algeciras opposite to Gibraltar. In 2002 the municipality registered 102.000 inhabitants *de jure* and 125.000 inhabitants *de facto*. Among the latter there are approximately 1.400 immigrants, mostly Moroccans, but hundreds more remain unregistered and undocumented.¹

rebuilt and revived in the second half of the eighteenth century by King Charles III as a stronghold against Gibraltar. When the famous travel writer Richard Ford visited the town in

¹ Servicio de Estadística de Andalucía, 2000; Official Guide of the Municipality, 5th edition, 2002.

the 1830s it had a population of about 16.000 and he found it swarming with coastal guards. Writes Ford:

"There is very little communication between Algeciras and Gibraltar; the former is the naval and military position from whence the latter is watched (...) Here are the headquarters of Spanish preventive cutters, which prowl about the bay, and often cut out those smugglers who have not bribed them..."²

The Bay of Algeciras continues into the present as an important centre of cigarette and liquor contraband, and more recently of drugs and people smuggling.

An elegant international summer resort in the first half of the twentieth century, in the 1960s, after the Franco government closed the border with Gibraltar, the Bay of Algeciras was chosen as a location for industrial development in addition to the traditional fishing and fish salting industries. The large petrochemical and steel plants had to absorb the Andalusian workers previously employed in Gibraltar's naval docks. Today, the bay is one of the most polluted areas of the Spanish Mediterranean. Direct discharges (both landbased and offshore), atmospheric deposition, and raw sewage poured into the Mediterranean, are a major threat to the health of the inhabitants and to marine and coastal ecosystems. Another source of pollution in Algeciras is coastal and urban litter which is not adequately removed by the municipal cleaning services.

The main commercial activity is connected with the port, an important stopping place for transatlantic shipping. It is estimated that almost half of the jobs in the Algeciras district (Campo de Gibraltar) depend directly or indirectly on the port of Algeciras.³ Over the past two decades it became the biggest Spanish commercial port in terms of total traffic and the leading pan-Mediterranean centre for the management of containers in transit, having been chosen as a base port by the multinational shipping companies of Sealand and Maersk. Containers in transit constitute 93,5% of the total number of containers moved.⁴ Port facilities were greatly improved and expanded, largely with regional development funds of the European Union. The handling of containers and cargo was moved to newly constructed docks away from the old port and its fishing and passenger terminals and connected by a bridge to the ringways. Between 1994 and 2002 the total throughput almost doubled to 55 million tons.⁵

Algeciras is also Spain's largest passenger port with eight daily crossings to Morocco. It is the main port for Moroccan migrants in transit from Western Europe to their native country where they spend their summer holidays. In the eight weeks from mid-June to mid-August close to one million people pass through the port, Spanish and foreign tourists who cross the Straits to Ceuta and Tangier on shopping and sightseeing tours included. In the early 1990s Spanish and Moroccan authorities began to coordinate the massive passage across the Mediterranean in order to avoid the chaos and abuses of previous years and recently a new passenger terminal has been constructed. Between 1994 and 2002 the annual number of passengers moving through the port increased from 3.7 to 4.4 millions and the number of vehicles from 707.000 to more than one million.⁶

² R. Ford, *A Hand-book for Travellers in Spain and Readers at Home*, Vol. I. London, 1966, p. 340.

³ Official guide of the Municipality, 2002.

⁴ See R. Castejón Arqued, *Commercial Ports in Spain*, *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie*, 87, 4 (1996), 357 - 363.

⁵ Puerto Bahía de Algeciras, annual report, 2002.

⁶ Idem.

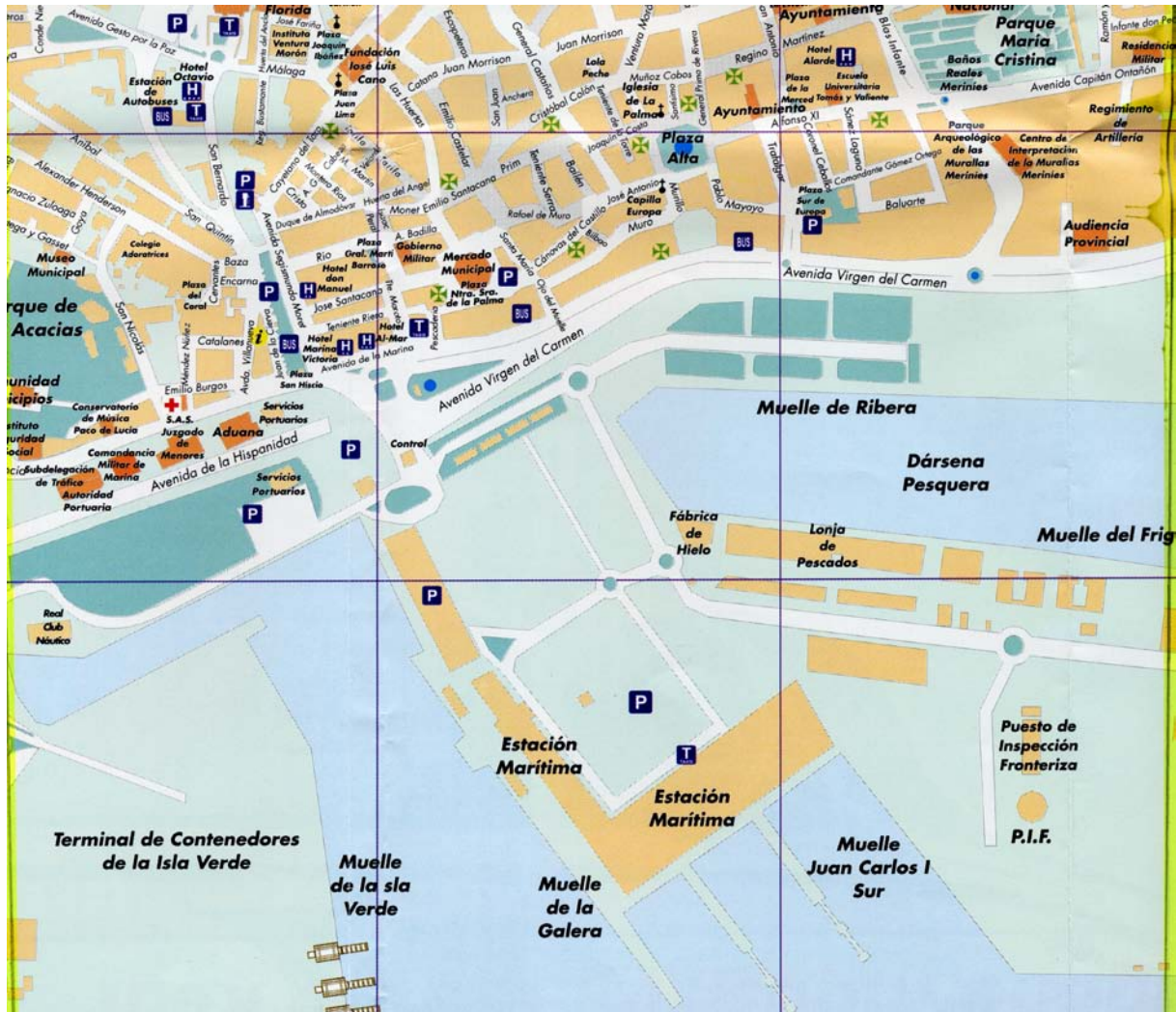


Illustration 2: City Map of Algeciras

Algeciras is thus very much a place of transit with a strong port atmosphere. Along the waterside there are dozens of ticket offices. Unofficial ticket sellers congregate near the dock entrance, trying to sell last minute tickets, adding a considerable amount to the standard ferry prices. A large number of small restaurants, food-and-drink stands and boarding houses cater to the passengers as does the crowded, ever-expanding, main daily market on the Plaza Palma down by the old port. Street hawkers, mostly Moroccans and Black Africans, circulate the busy streets in the port area.

The air of transience is reinforced by a high concentration of beggars, drug addicts, alcoholics and vagabonds; by jerry-building; dilapidated and abandoned old buildings and ones that were never finished; by the erratic course of urban development; by the high turnover in shops and enterprises; by the deficient maintenance of public space: roads, squares and buildings; by the omnipresent rubble; and by the municipal policy of giving priority to new housing and office development at the expense of renovation.⁷

⁷ At the end of the 1990s a building boom had taken place in the suburbs of Algeciras. In October 2000 I held an interview with a councillor who told me that large amounts of black money, coming from the smuggling business, were being laundered before the introduction of the Euro in January 2002.

In other words, there is a striking neglect of the past, both on the part of municipal authorities and the citizens. The city seems to lack a clear sense of historical identity and social cohesion.

This may partly be explained by the fact that a substantial part of the local population are immigrants from other parts of Spain who have settled down since the economic boom of the late 1960s. Moreover, Algeciras is a city that has been taken by surprise by the recent port expansion, being unable to keep abreast of the pace of economic growth which almost completely revolves upon its port. Non-governmental organizations complain that only a minor fraction of the huge profits generated by the port is invested in the social and cultural development of the city.⁸ And although the port authorities claim to implement a policy of reinforcing the ties between city and port, so far this has hardly moved beyond the level of paying lip-service.

In spite of the fast expansion of the port, local unemployment rates are high. In the first half of 2003, 16% of the active population in the Algeciras district was unemployed, twice as much as the national average. In absolute numbers 7.375 people living in Algeciras were officially registered as without work.⁹

3.1.3. Moroccans in Algeciras: ethnic enclavement?

Algeciras is the main European gateway to Morocco and the vast majority of Moroccans who come to the city are transients. However, since the 1980s an increasing number of Moroccans, 1.400 according to municipal statistics, have managed to settle down more or less permanently. Apart from this group with papers, there is a floating community of clandestine, undocumented Moroccans who crossed the Straits in so-called *pateras*, small fishing sloops. Some of them try to make a living in the shadow economy of Algeciras, yet the majority attempts to move on to the major cities of Spain or to the countries of Western Europe. If caught, they are deported back to Morocco. In fact, over the past few years there is a determination on the part of the Spanish government to stop uncontrolled immigration and keep 'new immigrants' away from its shores by all possible means. In December 1998, an expanded bilateral agreement between Spain and Morocco was signed with the aim to reinforce police cooperation in the fight against uncontrolled immigration.

More than half of Spain's clandestine immigrants land on the beaches of Cádiz province, especially those of Tarifa to the west of Algeciras. Almost 90% of them are Moroccans. The number of illegal immigrants arrested in Cádiz province and deported to Morocco increased from 3.552 in 1997 to 10.301 in 2000. There is a deeply rooted feeling among the inhabitants of the Algeciras district that it is impossible to stop the new immigrants. The following metaphor can often be heard: "fences cannot stop the wind."¹⁰

The growing number of clandestine immigrants is increasingly generating fear and mistrust among the majority of established Algecireños and in some cases even violent racist reactions. Many people think if people are 'illegal' they must have committed some crime. This attitude of rejection is reinforced by evidence that the smuggling of human beings is intimately connected with the drugs trade.

⁸ See the black book by José Salguero Duarte, *Desde la otra orilla*. Algeciras 2003.

⁹ Taken from the daily newspaper *Europa Sur*, Campo de Gibraltar, 4-6-2003, p. 23.

¹⁰ See H. Driessen, The 'new immigration' and the transformation of the European-African frontier, in: T.M. Wilson & H. Donnan (eds.), *Border Identities. Nation and State at International Frontiers*. Cambridge, 1998, pp. 96 - 117.

On the other hand, in Algeciras there are several NGO institutions that try to help the clandestine immigrants by offering legal aid, food, shelter, clothing, language classes, job placement and payment of transportation costs. Apart from the secular ACOGE, the Red Cross and the Church-linked Caritas are very active and important in this regard. A local key figure in helping immigrants is a Franciscan friar nicknamed as "Father Patera" (after the fishing sloop used by migrants to cross the Straits). But he complains that it is hard to get sufficient financial support by the local, regional and national governments to help the clandestine immigrants and that the money he gets from the municipal government is only a fraction of the subsidy to the local soccer team.



Illustration 3: African street vendors near the Plaza Alta of Algeciras

In the bars and streets of Algeciras there is a lot of talk among the Algecireños about what is called "the silent invasion of moros" (a pejorative name for Moroccans). It is true indeed that in the course of the past decade Moroccan immigrants have become more visible in the townscape. There is a process of appropriation by Moroccans of parts of the destitute residential and commercial areas near the old port and the emergence of an ethnic infrastructure consisting of mosques, cheap hostals, hallal butchers and groceries, cafés and eating places, recycling and repair workshops, contracting offices (many of them semi-legal or illegal), ethnic niches that are the result of self-help and self-employment on the part of immigrant entrepreneurs. In other words, part of the rather dense, dynamic and interstitial space at the waterfront seems to be in the process of becoming an informal Moroccan enclave, connected to a cross-border network of people and activities. On the other hand, there is a high turnover with regard to economic activities. And it may be a writing on the wall that a large mosque almost finished in the fall of 2000, still remains in the same condition three years later, construction being abandoned and the building already beginning to decay.

3.1.4. Some questions for further research

At the theoretical level it would be interesting to explore whether the concept of ethnic enclavement¹¹ is useful to study the emergence and consolidation of a Moroccan community in Algeciras and how it relates to the politics of inclusion and exclusion (with regard to the use of public space and facilities; citizenship; social and economic networks; interaction across ethnic boundaries; transnationalism; etc.). Other major questions concern the relationships between established Moroccan inhabitants and (clandestine) newcomers; whether the prox-

¹¹ Coined by the American anthropologist Edward Spicer in 1966 (see G. P. Castile & G. Kushner, eds, *Persistent People. Cultural Enclaves in Perspective*. Tucson, 1981) for the problem and process of the persistence of peoples **as groups**. As far as I know, this promising concept never entered the canon of ethnic and minority studies.

imity of Algeciras to Morocco and the relatively easy connection by sea, influences the dynamics of enclavement and transnational community formation (f.i. fluctuating and rotating membership in the enclaved minority, core and peripheral membership). A more general question would be how cultural diversity is organized in a relatively small port city (compared to Barcelona).

3.1.5. Illustrations

1. Postcard: View of the Strait of Gibraltar and of the two continents Europe and Africa
2. City Map of Algeciras (taken from informaTodo, Algeciras, 5^º Edición 2002)
3. African street vendors near the Plaza Alta of Algeciras (photo taken by H. Driessen)

3.2. Ceuta. Port and Enclave City at the Border of Europe

Researcher: Eva Kaewnetara, University of Hamburg, Germany

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3.2.1. Introduction

This report is based on an ethnographic field study which was conducted in April / May 2003 in the port city of Ceuta. The main questions guiding this research relate to defining the area of study and to mapping the structural changes in the port region and other areas of town which are connected to processes of social exclusion. In the case of Ceuta, these processes are shaped by its situation on the border between Spanish and Moroccan territory. Relevant groups of actors were to be identified and their roles in the transformation processes were to be traced. A special focus of interest was on their forms of social organisation and self-representation, and on areas of potential conflict. Finally, case-specific problems and topics in Ceuta were to be determined.

The data for this report were gathered from participant observation, current literature and from interviews with relevant actors. In order to integrate different perspectives on the town and its problems, preliminary research was conducted in three different neighbourhoods.

Because of its geographic and political situation, Ceuta is a prime example for the problems of urban transition which form the core of this project. Geographically situated in the north of Morocco, it is a part of Spain politically. From a Spanish point of view, Ceuta, together with Melilla in the east of Morocco, is a European enclave (*plaza de soberanía*). From a Moroccan point of view, these enclaves are historical anachronisms and are to be considered as colonies. So far, Morocco’s attempts to gain support for their decolonisation have been unsuccessful. The UN is adhering to the argument that Spanish settlers have been living there since long before the foundation of the modern state of Morocco. Accordingly, the contested term „enclave“ will be used in the following text.

The peninsula, directly facing Gibraltar, is spreading far into the Mediterranean. Towards Morocco it is closed off by the Atlas mountains. It is part of the EU, but with a particular status. There are specific treaties with the EU in general, and arrangements with Spain in particular.



Illustration 1: Ceuta geographically

Products originating in Ceuta are generally tax-free, and they are exempt from certain European Union (EU) regulations. As a consequence of this special status, the widespread trade in tax-free goods has become a substantial source of income for thousands of Moroccans, who cross the border several times every day. Additionally, Ceuta receives financial support from the EU, particularly for the development of infrastructure. In April 2003, the researcher counted 78 construction sites marked as being financed by the Interreg-III-Programme. They in-

cluded the building of new museums, a football stadium, a shopping mile in the city centre and the redevelopment of the port. In the years before, the EU has already financed a substantial part of the border fortifications, as well as the refugee centre *C.E.T.I.* Since Spain has entered the European Union in 1986, the enclave situation is become even more precarious, because the border is not just separating a Spanish city from Moroccan territory, but Europe from Africa.

3.2.2. Ceuta: history and present

Ceuta has a long and rich history. The Phoenicians had already left their traces when Ceuta became one of the most important Arab ports in the Mediterranean. In 1497 it became Spanish, being taken over by Portugal in 1515. Since 1668, when the treaty of Lissabon ended the union between Portugal and Spain, Ceuta has been Spanish. For the relations between Spain and Morocco the African War of 1850 / 1860 is of decisive importance, as well as the opening of the modern port in the beginning of the twentieth century. Today, Ceuta's position has become quite problematic after the Schengen Treaty of 1999. Being part of the outer borders of Europe, the fortifications and controls along the Spanish-Moroccan recall the Iron Curtain. In consequence, social conflicts in the margins of the city have acquired a new quality.

3.2.2.1. First impressions

Like Gibraltar (although much larger with more than 70 000 inhabitants), contemporary Ceuta appears as a garrison city. It is situated on a rock peninsular between the Atlantic Ocean and the Mediterranean Sea. Its north eastern edge, *Monte Hacho*, is mostly military no-go area. In the south-west, it borders at the mountainous Moroccan mainland. Ceuta is a medium-sized city of predominantly Spanish appearance. A striking first impression is the large number of construction sites throughout the city. Tourism, which has been of minor importance until recently, is currently being developed. In the city centre and the port area, the predominance of development schemes financed by EU funds is quite obvious. The port area is currently being redeveloped. It consists of a ferry port with three major shipping agencies, a

cargo port with warehouses, a newly-built tourist marina, and the fishing port, all situated at the Atlantic side of the port.



Illustration 2: The new port with the landing stage

The fishing port functions have been moved to the Atlantic side of the harbour area. The old fishing port is now replaced by new fancy restaurants and the port museum, which shows the maritime history of Ceuta. This museum is not open to the general public. Visitors have to inquire at the Port Authority and get a key there.

The displacement of the fishing port from the city centre to the margins of the port area marks the decreasing relevance of fishery for Ceuta. The fishermen supply the local markets around Monte Hacho, where fresh fish is offered daily. In further research, the subsistence strategies of these fishermen, who are not covered by any EU treaties, are to be investigated in more detail.



Illustration 3: The fishermen's quarter, Barriada Sarchal

3.2.2.2. Internal structure of the city

There are two ways to get to Ceuta: across the ocean from the Spanish mainland, mostly via Algeciras – the ferry ride takes around 45 minutes. Another way is per helicopter from Malaga,

taking about 20 minutes. This more costly, but time-saving solution is preferred by business people. Ceuta is embedded in a hilly landscape towards Morocco into the Atlas mountains. In the neighbourhoods behind the port area, as *Manzara* or *Plaza de la Libertad*, buildings are spreading uphill. These neighbourhoods are predominantly Muslim, with an abundance of mosques.

Adjacent to the port area there is the city centre, reaching from the ferry pier at *Paseo Marítimo* along the *Plaza de Nuestra Senora de Africa* and *Plaza de la Constitution* to *Paseo Calle Revellin*, *Calle Real*, and *Plaza de los Reyes*. These streets are lined with international shops, banks and hotels. No beggars or street vendors are visible here. There are nine bus lines in the city centre. Taxis also play an important role in Ceuta's public transport system.

Major taxis stands are situated at the ferry pier, at Plaza des los Reyes in the inner city, *Plaza de la Constitution* and close to the hospital.



Illustration 4: Ceuta City Map

Next to the city centre, two neighbourhoods spread towards Monte Hacho: *Barriada de San Avaro* in the north, and *Barriada del Sarchal* in the south. On Monte Hacho there is a Spanish garrison. The area is closed to the public. Several marginal settlements, *Barriada Principe Alfonso*, *Barriada Principe San Felipe* and *Barriada San José*, are close to the border checkpoint towards Morocco. The neighbourhood of *Benzú* on the Atlantic side of the city is also situated close to a border checkpoint. These are poor neighbourhoods with a predominantly Muslim population, characterised by provisional housing, squatter huts, cardboard boxes and the like. This is a mixed neighbourhood with its own administration. The squatter areas stretch along the border, while uphill there are some container lodgings which seem to have been existing for years and which are supplied with gas and water. On the road *Capital Claudio Vasquez*, there is the *Mezquita de Sidi Embarek*, an ornate, large-scale building. This *Barriada* has its own town centre and a garrison. Everywhere along the streets, even smallest patches of ground are being utilised for growing herbs or vegetables, mostly for subsistence. On Saturdays, a regular market offers products like oranges, tomatoes and herbs, sold by Muslim women from the neighbourhood. A number of beggars are also a regular feature of this market.

3.2.2.3. The “city of four cultures”

The public image of Ceuta as the „city of four cultures“ is announced even in the internet¹. This epithet refers to Christians, Muslims, Jews and Indians, the latter two groups appearing mainly as owners of shops and businesses. Ceuta’s centre is marked by churches and cathedrals, while most mosques are situated in the outer Barriadas. There is a Hindu temple as well as a synagogue. 70% of the population are Spanish². The majority of the Muslim population is living in the aforementioned neighbourhoods. In the city centre, they appear mainly as street vendors. There are few Chinese and Black Africans. Projections on the population growth of Ceuta predict the Muslim population to become the largest ethnic group by 2050³.

In the centre, there is no street vending from permanent stands but there are mobile vendors, mostly Moroccan youth, selling drugs and CDs. Older Muslim women sell herbs, mostly home-grown peppermint, and some older Moroccan men offer fruit and vegetables cheaper than the local stores. In the marginal neighbourhoods with predominantly Muslim population, there is a lively system of markets and street vending from permanent stands selling herbs, fruit, vegetables and other goods imported from Morocco. Ceuta being a tax-free area, a lively trade of original products from Ceuta to Morocco can be observed at the checkpoints, mainly at Tarajal.

According to the Schengen Treaty, the border to Morocco is supposed to be quite closed. Nonetheless, Ceuta’s borders seem rather permeable. Many persons, mainly Moroccans, stand at the checkpoints, cross the border by foot, or ride in long lines of cars transferring goods from one side to the other. On the Spanish side of the border, there are provisional buildings erected by migrants living there without being transferred to the Refugee Centre or to other official shelters. Also, the hills of Ceuta offer various possibilities for illegal migrants to remain in hiding.

3.2.3. Conflict and social exclusion

In Ceuta, conflict and social exclusion are made particularly visible by the frequent arrests of „illegals“. From the administration’s point of view, potential sources of conflict lie in the number of migrants illegally entering the city, as well as in the drugs trade. Drug trafficking is regularly debated in the local newspapers⁴. Each month, ten to fifteen persons are arrested while trying to cross the border illegally, and there are regular reports of deaths⁵ in the desperate attempts to cross the border. During this research period, two young women of fifteen years tried to cross the Atlantic Ocean floating in a refrigerator box, and young people frequently attempt to dive through the sea without proper diving gear⁶.

The border through the mountainous area between the Mediterranean and the Atlantic Ocean fortified by means of EU-funds since the Schengen Treaty was signed in 1999. It consists of three metres of walls with barbed wire, police patrols and watchtowers. To a German observer, the resemblance to the former inner-German border is striking indeed. At first sight,

¹ www.ciceuta.es/inicio.htm (28.04.2003)

² Planet Contreras 1998: 41

³ Gold 2000: 169

⁴ El Pueblo 09.04.2003: 3, idem 25.04.2003: 8, idem 29.04.2003: 5; El Faro 09.04.2003: 18, idem 24.04.2003: 11, idem 29.04.2003: 14

⁵ El Faro 02.05.2003: 11, idem 22.04.2003: 9; El Pueblo 29.04.2003: 6; El Sur 26.06.2003: 5, idem 23.11.2003: 1

⁶ El Faro 30.04.2003: 7; El Sur 02.05.2003: 4

this hermetically sealed border stands in obvious contrast to the seeming permeability of the checkpoints, indicating conflict potential between the interests of the EU, of Spain, the state of Morocco and the population of Ceuta. While the sealing of the border reflects the interests of the EU, Ceuta and other towns in its environs have developed and maintained a lively exchange of goods and people with Morocco, from which they are still drawing profits.

3.2.3.1. Actors affected by social exclusion

Groups and actors affected by social exclusion can be located along the contested border area as well as in the neighbourhoods around the old fishing port. Here, all of Ceuta's ethnic groups have been living for centuries. The Jewish population has experienced several phases of immigration and expulsion, but there has always been a Jewish community in Ceuta. In the city centre certain buildings and streets can be linked to certain Jewish families since the 16th or 17th centuries.

Ceuta's history is the key to its present. Spanish citizens of Muslim faith were drafted into the army. Besides, many of them were craftspeople without formal qualifications. Many Jews and Hindus were – and still are – traders. A small group of Italian migrants has been fishing for coral in and around the bay of Ceuta.

Despite the immediate vicinity of Morocco, the city was barred to Moroccan subjects until the end of the war in 1860. In peace times, and only during the day, Moroccan market traders and street vendors were allowed to move about in Ceuta until the gates were closed at a certain hour. Later, after they had acquired permission for residence, they lived in the so-called *Barrio de los Moros*, mainly in the *Calle Padia*.

Ceuta has also been an important place of diaspora for the Jews of the Mediterranean, although their residence in Ceuta was not guaranteed. While already in the 19th century Muslims preferred the neighbourhoods closer to the border, Jews preferred to live in the inner city, combining, as a rule, work and residence at the same place. Some streets, as *Calle General Gomez Polido*, *General Morena y Real y en el Revellín* were almost exclusively Jewish. After 1875, the community grew considerably from 99 persons (67 men and 32 women) to 296 persons in 1888 (109 men and 187 women)⁷. New arrivals had come from Tétouan and Tanger in 1870 and 1875 and lived predominantly in the *Baja de la Almina*. Among those migrants, there is a marked increase in the number of women. The places of residence of the Jewish community remained remarkably constant through time. In 1950, 153 Jewish inhabitants were counted in Ceuta, in 1960, the count was 274, less than in 1935⁸. These figures however, only include persons without Spanish citizenship. This decrease of the Jewish community between 1950 and 1960 can be explained by their profession. For traders, Ceuta in these years did not offer enough business opportunities⁹. In consequence, there was emigration towards Spain.

The most significant feature distinguishing the Jewish community from other ethnic minorities in Ceuta has been their relative integration into the Spanish society. This is demonstrated by generous donations for monuments and for the restoration of historic sites in the city, as well as by membership in major clubs and trade associations¹⁰. The Jewish community has also been present in the political life of Ceuta. In the years of emigration, they were mainly at-

⁷ Gonzalbes Cravioto 1988: 78ff

⁸ idem: 79

⁹ According to Gonzalbes Cravioto, Ceuta did not appeal strongly to traders. (This seems quite reasonable to me, because most of the trading activities have been carried out via Gibraltar. If so, further research would have to check, though, for what reason.)

¹⁰ idem: 122ff

tracted to Gibraltar. But when Gibraltar was closed and the trade with Gibraltar declined, Jews from Gibraltar moved to Ceuta in turn.

The African War (1497 – 1574) speeded the development of Ceuta and its port, consequently affecting, among others, the position of the Hindu diaspora. Until then, only few Indians who were British subjects were doing trade in Gibraltar¹¹. The first Hindus from Sindh came from Calpe to Ceuta¹². The British consulate in Gibraltar decided who was to receive permission to emigrate. In the 1920es, Hindus traded predominantly in Indian arts and crafts. In the 1930es, the first Hindu born in Ceuta was registered¹³, in 1935 there was a population of 15 Hindus living in Ceuta. They stayed on during the Spanish civil war and through world war II, and 1948, the foundation of the Asociación de Comerciantes Indúes was approved by the governor of Ceuta. In 1949, the first wedding between a Hindu man and a Christian woman was registered. Since then, the Hindu community of Ceuta has been steadily increasing. In the 1970es, after the closing of Gibraltar, the trade with Ceuta experienced a boom. In 1962, the Hindu community applies for Spanish citizenship¹⁴. Before that, there were all British subjects. After Gibraltar was re-opened, the trade decreased in the 1980es. In 1995, around 400 Hindus were registered in Ceuta, besides an unknown number of illegal residents. Currently, there are increasing problems in business with Portugal and Morocco.

3.2.3.2. Enclavement and mobility

One question coming to mind during this research in Ceuta has been: why do people stay there? Ceuta is a relatively closed enclave which does not offer the same standard of living as the rest of Spain. Even for the legal residents freedom of movement is limited, because



Illustration 5: Check-point Tarajal

leaving the enclave means crossing the ocean or dealing with bothersome procedures at the Moroccan border, which is closed off quite frequently in order to bar the movement of illegal migrants. One explanation may be found in the garrison status of the city. Army personnel and their families find an income in Ceuta. Beyond this, the transit status of the city itself is an economic factor. Ceuta is a node in the transit route of labour

migrants to Spain. Finally, there is a potential for the future development of some tourist industry, albeit still in its very beginnings.

¹¹ Ramchandari / Chandiramani 1974: 182

¹² idem: 180ff. According to the authors, Hindu immigration has taken place since the 1860s.

¹³ idem: 182

¹⁴ idem: 192

Currently, the city is redesigning its image, making use of various projects funded by the EU. A small research institute, *Instituto de Estudios Ceutíes*, has published interesting research on the ethnic identity of the Spanish population, intercultural conflicts, and about the history of Ceuta. Two large conferences in 2003 focused on intercultural communications and conflicts between the Spanish and Moroccan inhabitants¹⁵.

Due to Ceuta's particular situation, significant places indicating processes of social exclusion are related to the issue of mobility. At one particular gasoline station for example, about one kilometre before the border, goods as well as opportunities for crossing the border by car are being traded.

The next inhabited place behind the checkpoint of Tarajal on Moroccan territory is five kilometres away. Their transnational social networks on both sides and their expert knowledge about making a living at (and from) the border will be one important subject of further ethnographic research in phase II.

3.2.3.3. NGO's in Ceuta

Funded by the EU, a refugee camp (C.E.T.I.) was constructed in the mountains in 2000, 6th of March. During phase I, the researcher did not receive permission to visit this camp – in the opposite: she was explicitly told that her presence was not wanted by the authorities. This centre, which is currently housing ca. 380 refugees¹⁶ from various Arab countries was run by members of the Red Cross from 1995 – 1999, but is not subject to this organisation, but directly to the central government in Madrid¹⁷. The Red Cross is still one of the most important NGOs in Ceuta, although the refugee camp is now handled directly by the government in Madrid under the Schengen Treaty.

Another relevant NGO are the Franciscan Brothers of Ceuta, being one of the few organisations doing social work in the strict sense of the term. One Brother and a female social worker regularly go into the mountains to work with illegal refugees living in hiding. Help is open to everybody, for example in getting papers and dealing with the authorities. They also offer shelter, a home for mentally diseased persons and food for about 100 persons.

3.2.4. Questions for further research

In this context the question arises, whether Ceuta's particular situation is also engendering particular, enclave-specific forms of social exclusion which might differ significantly from other forms of marginalisation. Based on this preliminary study, we presume that in many cases, exclusion in Ceuta might be tied directly to the lack of resources of trade and / or physical mobility. This will be an important issue relating to the future of the city.

A second important question for further research relates to the contribution of the socially excluded groups living in the marginal Barriadas to the city's overall economy. On one hand, they provide cheap goods for a wealthier Spanish middle class. On the other hand, they offer transit functions for persons from nearby Moroccan towns like Tétouan or Chefchouan into the South of Andalusia. One prominent example are the fleet of taxi drivers who cross the border regularly and who obviously are part of a widespread transnational network.

¹⁵ In this context, two contributed works have been published by the Instituto de Estudios Ceutíes, (2002 / 2003, for further information see chapter 3.2.6. References).

¹⁶ El Pueblo 24.04.2003: 3 (El CETI tiene plazas libres al bajarel censo de ilegales. Oficialmente hay censados 380 inmigrantes el centro así como otros 155 más que etsan en la calle.)

¹⁷ C.E.T.I de Ceuta 2002, in Instituto de Estudios Ceutíes 2002: 419

A further question relates to the different forms of permeability of the border. Besides tax free goods and cheap imports from Morocco, there is cheap labour crossing the border, both legal and illegal. There is trade, as well as a form of transnational health care – Moroccans who cross the border explicitly in order to receive medical treatment in Ceuta, and leaving again after the treatment has ended. Finally, the border passage itself, consisting of a caged passenger tunnel of about 500 metres, is a point of transit to be observed from the perspective of the people crossing or using it, epitomising the elements of structure and anti-structure which characterise the port and enclave city of Ceuta.

3.2.5. Illustrations

1. Ceuta geographically (taken from the Oficinas de Información Turística, no year given)
2. The new port (photo taken by E. Kaewnetara)
3. The fishermen's quarter (photo taken by E. Kaewnetara)
4. Ceuta City Map (taken from the Oficinas de Información Turística, no year given)
5. Check-point Tarajal (photo taken by E. Kaewnetara)

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3.3. Social Exclusion in Dublin's Dockland Areas

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3.3.1. General introduction

Dublin's port area has been particularly affected by recent changes and is still the target for plans of redevelopment, rejuvenation, social and economic regeneration and renewal. One example is *Temple Bar*, an area situated on the south side of the Liffey, which had suffered severely from decay, until it was finally restored, modernised and made a centre for different cultural activities as early as in the 1980s. These activities were partly due to the election of Dublin as *European City of Culture* in 1991. With the support of grants from the EU, Dublin's image was reshaped, and similar changes are planned now for other parts of the port area, especially the docklands. The *Dublin Docklands Development Authority* (DDDA), founded in 1997, aims at connecting the docklands closer to the city centre by planning housing, economic, cultural and other development projects for the area. For this reason, many changes concerning both images and functions of the port in the wider context of the entire city, its hinterland and finally on international (European) level can be expected. The study of networks and relations which may stretch well beyond the borders of the docklands and the entire city, will demonstrate that the city and its inhabitants, with all their ideas, conceptions and actions, are to be seen in many different contexts including local, regional, national as well as global connections.

3.3.1.1. The city of Dublin¹

The city of Dublin and its port are situated on both sides of the river Liffey where it flows into Dublin Bay and the Irish sea. The Bay stretches from the peninsula Howth in the north to Dun Laoghaire in the south.

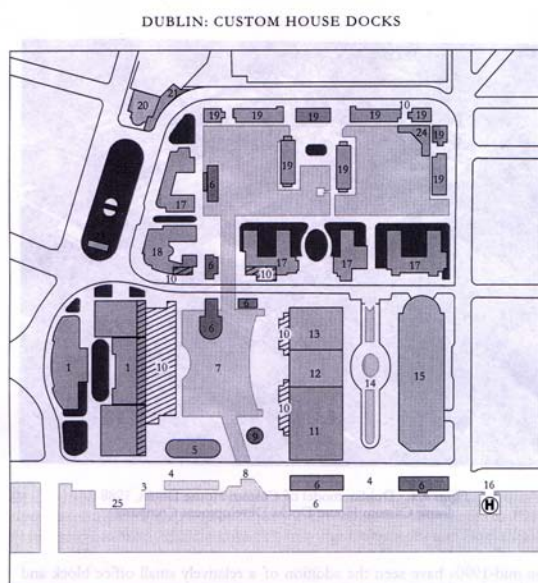
The area had probably been settled by Neolithic people for about 4000 years and later by small Celtic settlements, when the Vikings landed at the river Liffey in 837, Dublin's official foundation. The Norse were the first to build a fortification and to enlarge and secure the port facilities which at that time stretched basically along the south bank of the Liffey. The 12th century saw the city as a prospering Norse trading port, which traded not only with England but also with many other ports in continental Europe.

¹ The historical part is based on Gilligan, 1989².



Illustration 1: Map of Dublin (Medieval and today's boundaries)

New docks and quays were built, deep-sea basins established and new land was filled in to further enlarge the port. New industries brought new imports, such as gas or oil. Thus, the



KEY SERVICES

1. International Financial Services Centre	8. Bridge	13. Cinemas and Nightclubs	19. Residential
2. Fountain Plaza	9. Bandstand Pavilion	14. Reflecting Pool and Sculpture Garden	20. Connolly Station
3. Open-air Market	10. Retail	15. Hotel	21. Community Centre
4. Riverside Park	11. Museum of Modern Art	16. Helipoint	22. Station Park
5. Museum of Folk Art	12. Museum of Science	17. Financial Services Office Buildings	23. The Original Stone Gateway
6. Restaurants and Bars	13. Flea Market & Antique Shops	18. International Trade Centre/Financial Services	24. Boat Club
7. George's Dock Marina	14. Lecture Theatre		25. Canoe Club
	15. Winter Garden		

Figure 4.2 Dublin: plan of Custom House Docks, 1988
Source: Custom House Docks Development Company

Illustration 2: Map of Custom House Docks Development Site

The importance of the city and its port continued with the Anglo-Norman settlement. The following centuries witnessed a continuing expansion and growth of the port, which was finally extended to the waterfront in the 14th century. Since then, the port area has continuously been extended, moved eastwards towards the sea and modernised, and its importance for importing and exporting goods from and to Ireland has increased enormously.

The end of the 18th century brought the first major changes to the port city of Dublin: With the erection of the new Custom House east of the city centre, the port activities were also transferred downriver, away from the city centre. The close connection between the city and the port, storage and trade, as well as port-related professions, which had characterised Dublin until then, began to dissolve. However, the port continued to grow. The 19th and first half of the 20th century witnessed thriving port activities, lots of employment on the docks (in the professions of stevedores, dockers, sailors, crane drivers, lines men, merchants, traders, factory workers, as well as closely associated realms such as pubs and prostitution – only to mention a few). Another characteristic was the establishment of a number of port-related communities, who depended on port-related jobs and gradually developed a specific dock or port culture. Dublin's docklands became a typical working-class area.

Global transformation processes in the form of international mechanisation and containerisation brought new, crucial changes to Dublin and its port in the late 1960s. Dock-related professions, particularly casual and manual forms of labour which the dock communities depended on, became increasingly redundant. Being no longer dependent on the proximity of the port due to better transportation, many factories moved out to the suburbs, where it was easier to expand. Mass unemployment was one consequence, dereliction of the old docks, warehouses, stacks etc. another. The area faced a general decline.



Illustration 3: The IFSC

This began again to change in 1986 with the foundation of the Custom House Docks Development Authority (CHDDA). Based on the models of other port cities, whose docklands had already been or were still in the – obviously global – process of transformation², the aim was the redevelopment of a former docks site east of the Custom House. The area was transformed to a modern International Financial Services Centre (IFSC), which included not only banks and other finance companies, but also luxury apartments. Today, this area is one of Dublin's most important business centres, which employs about 15,000 people.³

However, the CHD development was only the beginning of the redevelopment of the entire former port area: In 1997, the Dublin Docklands Development Authority (DDDA) was set up. Their objective is to secure:

- i the social and economic regeneration of the Dublin Docklands Area on a sustainable basis;
- ii the improvement of the physical environment of the Dublin Docklands Area; and
- iii the continued development in the Custom House Docks Area of services of, for, in support of, or ancillary to the financial sector of the economy."⁴

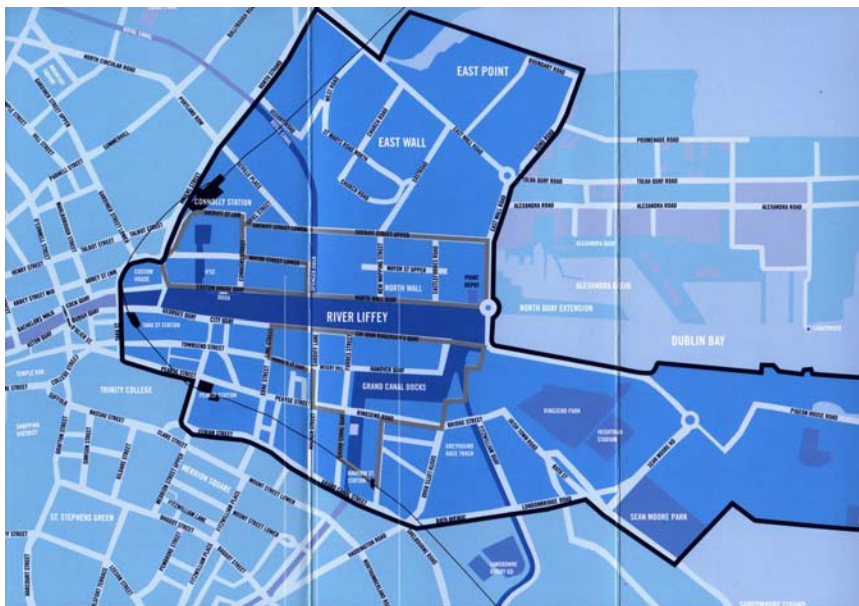


Illustration 4: DDDA area

The docklands area was defined by the Ministry of the Environment and Local Government. The 13,000 acre site covers almost the entire former docks including five of the former dock communities. [map] The development period is from 1997 to 2012.

Due to this plan, the entire area is currently under reconstruction: Apart from a few, se-

² Schubert, 2001, deals in detail with the process of revitalisation of derelict port areas all over the world.

³ Malone, 1993; 1996; I.13

⁴ DDDA, Masterplan 1997 (Dublin): 2

lected listed buildings, the old warehouses, flats, dock buildings, factories have been or are still being demolished to give way to new housing (20% social and affordable), hotels, retail, offices (an estimated 40,000 new jobs will be created), amenities (campshires, parks), tourist attractions (moorings, museums, etc.). The plan also includes training and education programmes as well as work schemes for the local communities. The 7,000,000 Euro project will also result in a population increase of 25,000 residents in the area (from 17,500 in 1997 to 42,000 in 2012).⁵

The current port of Dublin has moved out of the city to the waterfront, where it is still expanding by reclaiming new land from the sea. Dublin is Ireland's largest port city, the port itself is the most important place in the Republic for importing and exporting goods.⁶ Despite of its economic importance, it is only marginally mentioned in literature dealing with the city of Dublin.⁷ It does neither play any significant role in official images of Dublin, nor has it been a touristy area. However, this is about to change as well now.



The DDDA has different plans to make that part of Dublin more attractive to visitors: The annual Dockland Festival, new hotels, a museum, the newly developed moorings, a heritage walk and other amenities were or are planned in order to make the area more attractive to tourists.⁸

In contrast to the port of Cork, which played a significant role in Ireland's emigration history (as a

Illustration 5: Dublin City Moorings at the DDDA

port of emigration), the port of Dublin was rather unimportant in this respect.⁹

On the other hand, Dublin's port has always been a place of entrance for foreigners who invaded, settled or visited the island, from the Vikings, who invaded and settled at the mouth of the Liffey, to today's tourists, who arrive on cross-channel ferries to stay for a couple of weeks. Thus, the port and port area of Dublin has always been a border, a place of immigration, a meeting-point for people from different backgrounds and intercultural relations. Therefore, the research in Dublin's dock-related area will focus on largely two groups: the different local communities, who used to depend on port activities and are still closely affiliated to the docks, with all their facets and sub-groups on the one hand; and migrants on the other.

⁵ DDDA, Masterplan 1997, I.13

⁶ Dublin Port Yearbook, 2002: 45;

⁷ Gilligan, 1989²: vii

⁸ DDDA, 1997: 64; DDDA website, 6.5.2002

⁹ Gilligan, 1989²: 108; I.2

3.3.1.2. The research area: locations and actors

Dublin's port area stretches along the mouth and both sides of the river Liffey. The official limits of the harbour and port were defined in 1869 by the Dublin Port and Docks Board and include the following areas:

In brief, the harbour of Dublin is any place between O'Connell Bridge and the space of one mile east of Poolbeg Lighthouse. The port consists of the river Liffey and the quays and walls bounding it, together with the bridges, piers, jetties and tidal basins, strands, bays and creeks between Rory O'More Bridge, the harbour of Sutton on the north side of the bay and Dalkey on the south.¹⁰ Today, Dublin port is the area that belongs to the Dublin Port Company, which does not include the quays along the Liffey, after they were sold in the second part of the 20th century.¹¹

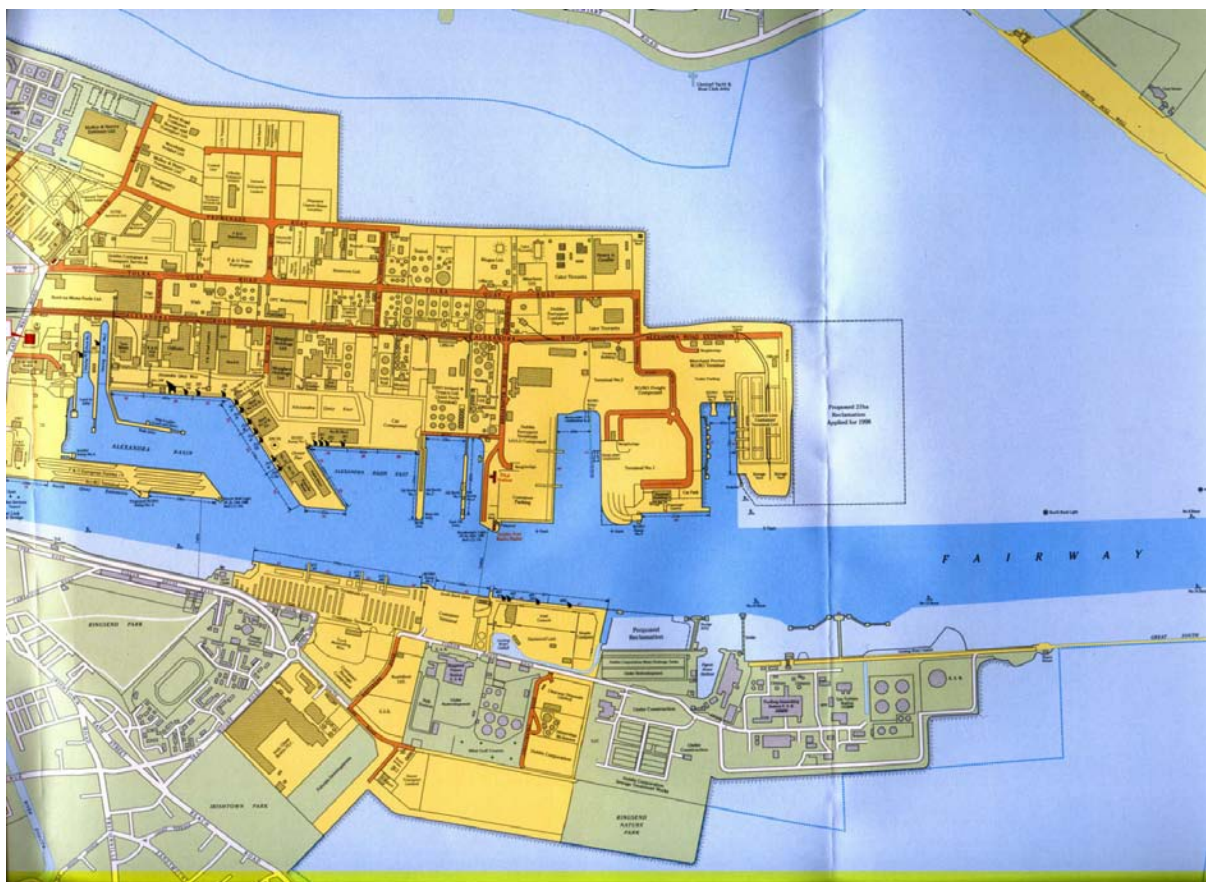


Illustration 6: Map: Dublin Port today

The DDDA defined their rejuvenation area in their own terms and included most of the derelict sites and docks, as well as the five dock communities of City Quay, Westland Row, Ringsend, North Wall and East Wall.¹² It was them who popularised – borrowed from London – the term "docklands", which had hardly been used in Dublin before. The popular terms to designate the port area had rather been "docks", "quays", "dockside" or "quayside". The term

¹⁰ Gilligan, 1989²: 240

¹¹ I.34 (Historian in the Dublin Port Archives)

¹² DDDA, no year given

became very popular, particularly with the local communities, who accepted the term as their own.¹³

However, these are only the official boundaries of the docklands, port and harbour areas. The local perspective differs slightly from this view and contains also a number of internal boundaries and different characteristics which are not included in official documents.

Firstly, there are the five communities that have been identified by the DDDA and included into their schemes. All these communities, who are also parishes, are also closely associated with the docks and dock culture by both their residents as well as by other Dubliners. They are all perceived as close-knit working-class communities, and are separated from each other by the parish boundaries.¹⁴ However, they differ in various features:

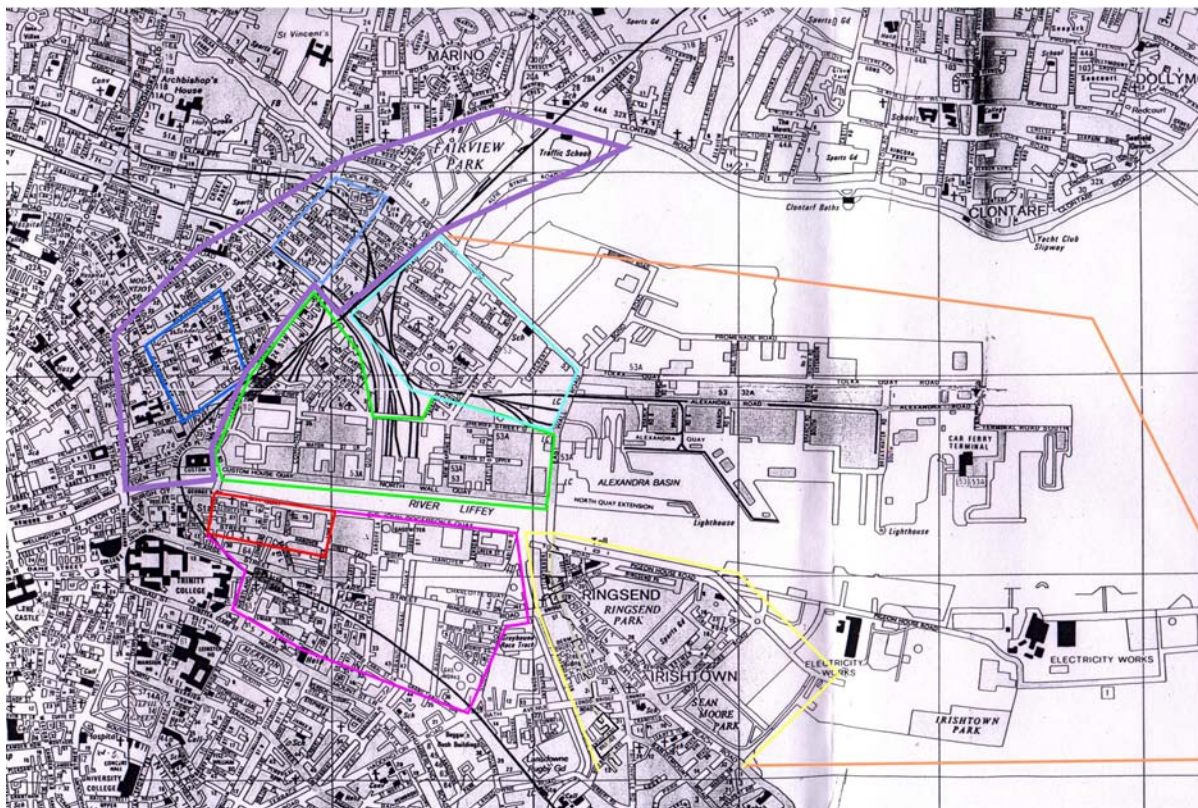


Illustration 7: Map: communities (City Quay: red; Westland Row: pink; Ringsend: yellow; North Wall: green; East Wall: bright blue; port-related North Inner City: purple; Monto: dark blue; Ballybough: dark blue, further north)

On the south side of the Liffey, there are the three communities of City Quay, Westland Row (or Pearse Street) and Ringsend.

City Quay, only small in size, was particularly affected by the decline of the docks. It lost more than half of their population since the 1960s, and therefore closely cooperates with Westland Row, e.g. in the organisation of St. Andrew's Resource Centre.¹⁵ In the hey-days of the docks, Westland Row and City Quay were characterised by a large number of coal yards,

¹³ I.30, I.35

¹⁴ The map is the result of the analysis of various mental maps and interview-based descriptions.

¹⁵ I.3; St. St. Andrew's Heritage Project, no year given: 1

other factories and the Gas Company, one of the biggest employers of the area which closed down in 1993.¹⁶

The "village" of Ringsend, as it is called even today by Ringsenders and Dubliners alike, is well known for its fishing and maritime history. Although the fishing industry went into decline as early as the beginning of the 20th century, the community still identifies with this heritage, along with their recollection of the docks and dock-related trades and companies.¹⁷

The north-side of the DDDA docklands includes the parishes of East Wall and North Wall (also Sheriff Street). East Wall was characterised by numerous timber and cattle yards and still borders to the Port Company today.

North Wall, which used to include the area that is now the IFSC, is the most notorious area of Dublin. After the coal and timber yards closed down and factories moved out to the suburbs, this North Inner City area was dramatically affected by unemployment, growing crime rates and drugs, and was considered "no-go area" for a long time. Its bad reputation was also partly due to the Sheriff St corporation flats, who had been built (along with corporation flats all over the city) in the 1940s and 1950s to solve Dublin's housing problem. Although demolished in the late 1990s in the course of the new developments, the flats still play an important part in the identity and images of the community. They also created inner boundaries within the parish between the people from the flats and the others. [This needs to be further investigated in phase 2].

Both East Wall and North Wall suffer also from heavy traffic from the port, which goes right through their communities. A port tunnel currently under construction is hoped to help solve the problem.¹⁸

Secondly, apart from the five local dock-related communities who are part of the DDDA docklands now, there is a number of additional communities, whose inhabitants also used to depend on work on the docks and still identify with their working-class docks heritage.

This area is part of the North Inner City and includes such communities as Ballybough, the North Strand or what used to be the so-called "Monto" area, the former red-light district of Dublin, which was dissolved in the 1920s.¹⁹ The population faces the same problems as the other dockland communities, but at the same time feel neglected by the DDDA, as they are not included into their schemes.²⁰

The entire DDDA dockland area is currently under reconstruction. All communities are affected by extensive structural changes, mostly based on architectural redevelopment.²¹ Derelict warehouses are taken down to provide space for the newly designed campshires, entire factory sites, such as Goulding's Fertilizer Factory or the Gas Company on the south quays, are demolished to give way to hotels, apartments, retail etc. In this process, old landmarks, which had characterised the area for decades or even centuries, such as the gasometer, disappeared, others arise, such as the new Millennium Tower, one of the very few high rise buildings in Dublin.

¹⁶ I.3; I.4; I.5; I.6

¹⁷ Flynn, 1990; Sandymount Community Services, 1996; no year given

¹⁸ I.35; I.30

¹⁹ Fagan and the North Inner City Folklore Project, 2002

²⁰ I.19; I.36

²¹ These changes are described in detail by the DDDA, e.g. their Masterplan, 1997.



Illustration 8: Grand Canal Docks, the Millenium Tower

Another important change affects the notorious corporation flats, particularly in the North Wall. After more than 50 years, these flats had become an important aspect of social life within the community. Part of their identity is still closely connected to this form of dwelling, although these flats, that had been run down by the Corporation for centuries, have been knocked down in the late 1990s. Despite the fact that the vast majority of the people in the community wanted new housing, the flats are still a conversational topic and their advantages are not forgotten.

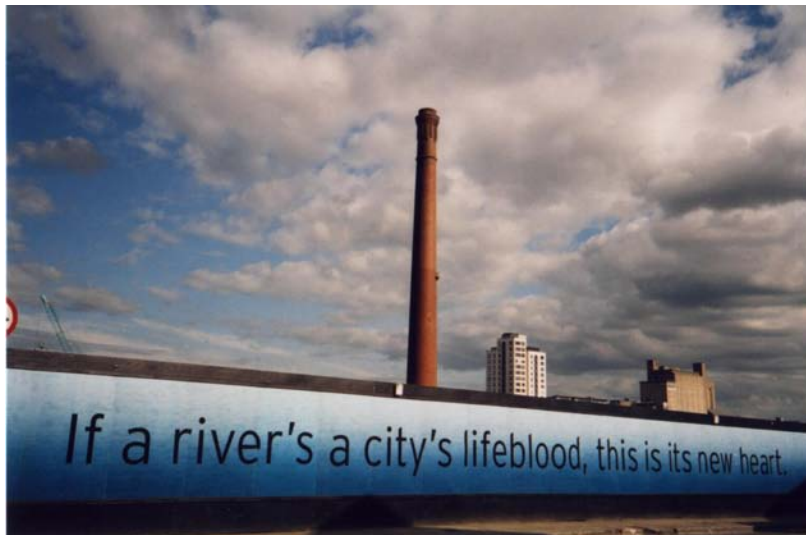


Illustration 9: Former gas site: only the chimney is left

Some older people would like to get them back, for mainly social reasons: Over decades, the same families had lived door to door, established close networks and identified with a specific building, a specific block of flats. When they were demolished, these networks were torn and the families scattered to different houses in different streets, which still many people, particularly old people and women, have not got used

to yet. Another effect seems to be that old established inner boundaries and rivalries between the flats residents and others, seem to vanish due to the new residential order.²² This example demonstrates how these structural changes have a huge impact on the local level, on social relationships and day-to-day life. It remains to be investigated in detail how the structural changes of the entire dockland area affect the different old-established communities on different levels.

²² Based on a number of interviews and conversations with residents from the community, e.g. I.15; I.30; I.12; I.23.

The actors

Actors can be identified on different levels:

- a) community/parish level

The inhabitants of the different communities (see section 2) will be one focus of the research and the project planned, as the different communities as such feel neglected and excluded on several issues (see below).

- b) Selected organisations within these communities:

Westland Row/City Quay:

- City Quay parish
- Westland Row parish
- St. Andrew's Resource Centre

Ringsend:

- Ringsend parish (St. Patrick)
- Ringsend Community Centre

North Wall:

- North Wall parish (St. Laurence O'Toole)
- North Wall Community Association (North Wall)
- North Wall Day Care Centre
- North Wall Women Association

East Wall:

- East Wall parish (St. Joseph)
- East Wall Housing Association

North Inner City:

- Sean McDermott St parish (Our Lady of Lourdes)
- North Inner City Folklore Department/Radio Monto

- c) Groups of excluded people within the communities:

- drug addicts
- homeless people
- old people
- children

- d) urban planners:

- DDDA
- architects

- e) private investors:

- Harry Crosbie

- f) City-level organisations:

- FÁS
- North Inner City Partnership
- North Inner City Development Project
- social workers

- g) Companies/firms:

- new economies
- IFSC (several firms) and their employees
- h) New residents/newcomers
 - mostly employees in the IFSC
- i) Tourists/visitors:
 - Dublin tourists in general
 - cruise liners
- k) Others:
 - musicians: U2 (studios)
 - filmmakers (Michael Collins, In the Name of the Father, The Snapper, The Commitments, The Butcher Boy etc.)
 - National College of Ireland, IFSC Campus
- l) Migrants

3.3.2. Social exclusion and urban subsistence

- a) Community / parish level

The inhabitants of the different communities (see section 2) will be one focus of the research and the project planned, as the different communities as such feel neglected and excluded on several issues.

The biggest problems of the area can be traced back to the decline of the docks due to mechanisation and international containerisation. The residents of the former dock area depended completely on mostly casual and manual labour on the docks or in dock-related factories or industries. Over centuries, the port had been one of the busiest labour market in Dublin. Ships had to be loaded and unloaded, the freight had to be stored, distributed and manufactured. The work was plenty and labour-intensive. Therefore there was no need for second-level education. Over generations, children left school usually at the age of 14 or even earlier. Boys followed their fathers to the quays to learn how to work on the docks and to help support the family. Girls worked mostly in households of wealthier families or found work in one of the many factories in the area.²³

Life in dock communities was also shaped by the casual form of work. Flexibility was one crucial virtue in order to find work. Men needed to address different employers, worked on different ships, with different cargo, in different coal yards, tried to find jobs on both the north and south side of the Liffey, early in the morning or late in the afternoon, depending on boats that came in. Personal, neighbourhood and communal networks were also important to survive.

Modernisation, mechanisation and containerisation brought an end to the thriving dock communities. The residents were increasingly excluded from employment, when the docks closed, associated factories and business closed or moved out. Poverty became a widespread phenomenon. In dockland culture, where education had never been an important issue and therefore of bad quality for a long time, children continued to leave school at 14, but could not find apprenticeships or jobs, which in turn led to increasing alcohol abuse, later

²³ Based on biographical interviews and conversations with people from the dockland areas, e.g. I.3, I.4; I.5; I.6; I.13; I.14; I.19; I.23; I.30; see also a number of oral history publications of the area: North Inner City Folklore Project, 1992; no year given (a, b).

drug addiction, crime and vandalism. The lack of leisure amenities only worsened the situation.

The situation, particularly in the North Wall, was even more intensified by the establishment of the IFSC. In the direct neighbourhood of the world of finance, luxury apartments and expensive retail, the poverty of the area became even more apparent to the residents, particularly because they had not been included in the plans of the CHDDA. The fact that the new apartments were largely blocked off and barred, made the local communities obviously aware of the new boundary between rich and poor. For the children, the IFSC brought another consequence: Both the Inner Dock and George's Dock, which, when they were derelict, had been a place for swimming for the local youth, were now also included into the new scheme and, consequently, swimming prohibited. On the south side, a similar situation arose, when it was no longer permitted to swim in the Grand Canal Basin.²⁴

Another problem relates to the lack of infrastructure, in particular in the North Wall. A large variety of shops closed down in the last decades, along with the factories, pubs and the only post office in the area. Public transport is almost non-existent in that community, which is particularly problematic for elderly people (see also below).

Although only very few local people belong currently to the white-collar employees in the IFSC, it nevertheless provided new jobs for the area in the form of cleaning jobs for women and jobs in security for men.

In summary, the local residents feel to be excluded from resources such as work, money, amenities, education (as there is no secondary school in the North Wall, for example). They feel to be let down by the City Council and the government and also suffer from being stigmatised as criminals by the rest of Dublin.

The situation began gradually to change with the introduction of the DDDA. Partly because they understood that the local communities would have to be considered, if their objectives were to be carried out, partly because the local residents had begun to organise themselves and fight for their future, the authority included the local communities and their needs in their plans. They took representatives of the communities on board, introduced training and education schemes, cooperated with IFSC firms to support local adolescents in their search for jobs in financial services, set up a social housing scheme, funded community-based initiatives and other programmes. However, the communities were and are still sceptical towards some of the plans. They fought for and managed to get a higher percentage of social housing for the area, defeated the plans for a National Conference Centre, which would have overshadowed the entire area of North and East Wall, and are still battling for other aims, such as getting rid of the barred blocks of luxury apartments, which, in their eyes, would only establish two separate worlds instead of creating a new, diverse and mutually benefiting community.²⁵

b) organisations within these communities:
see section **3.3.2.2. NGOs** and section ***The actors***

c) groups of excluded people within the communities:

On a lower level, some groups of locals are particularly affected by exclusion: children, old people, drug addicts and homeless people.

²⁴ I.3; I.4; I.5; I.6; I.11; I.14; I.19; I.30; I.35; I.36

²⁵ I.3; I.30; I.35

Children suffer from the lack of leisure activities, second-level education, apprenticeships and jobs in general. Some of the problems have already partly been addressed by both community initiatives and the DDDA. Community Centres, such as St. Andrew's Resource Centre, established training and education programmes, the DDDA runs programmes to integrate local applicants in IFSC firms. The National College of Ireland opened their new campus in the North Wall / IFSC area in October 2002. 10% of the places in the courses are reserved for students from the docklands area, and many of their resources, such as the gym, the wellness centre, the restaurant, the court, lecture halls, are also open for local residents.²⁶ A new playground for children in Sheriff St. is as popular with kids as the local sports clubs. However, second-level education is still not available in the parish, but kids need to travel about two miles to Marino, to attend secondary school. Due to the lack of opportunities in the area, many of the well-educated youths need to move away from the area to escape unemployment. However, despite this positive tendency, alcoholism, drugs, unemployment and low education remain serious problems that are still far from being resolved.

Elderly people are the second group of residents that are particularly affected by social exclusion. They particularly suffer from the lack of public transport on the one hand and the lack of infrastructure on the other, particularly on the north side of the river. Many people complain about the long distance to the next post office (which is in O'Connell St., about one mile away from the North Wall), where they have to collect their weekly pension, for instance.²⁷ Daily meals for elderly residents are provided by local communal initiatives in all parishes, partly on a completely voluntary basis.

Why do we concentrate on these actors?

For a long time, starting with the 1970s, when unemployment became one of the most common characteristic of the dockland area, Dublin's quayside has been a no-go area. Crime, vandalism and drugs provided the local communities with a very negative image, and Dublin's north inner city is still one of the city's most notorious area. However, particularly local initiatives (see below) started gradually to change the situation. They not only established education and training initiatives to fight unemployment, they also battle to maintain at least part of their culture and heritage, and therefore identity, in the course of the current redevelopment processes. Only recently, this has also been acknowledged by official bodies, so that the DDDA, for instance, is also involved in local programmes, which they help funding, as well as their own.

Over decades, networks, flexibility and wit – a characteristic the locals of the dock areas have always been famous for, even in Dublin in general – have been a crucial aspect of dockland culture in order to survive. Despite an abundance of work during the hey-days of the docks, labour was mostly casual, hard, low-paid and not always easy to get for everybody. Social security, in the form of sick money for instance, depended, for a long time, on personal networks. Detailed knowledge, experience and flexibility were necessary to get regularly jobs on the docks. If one was not hired on one boat, he had to wait to the second or third – and to know where they would arrive. Women played also a crucial role in this respect. Apart from being in charge of the household, they often worked in factories or as housemaids and established their own networks of mutual support.

Later, when unemployment became a widespread phenomenon, the battle for survival became even more difficult. Apart from social welfare, stealing and illegal or half-legal dealing became even more important, book makers and the local pawn shops indispensable. Many

²⁶ I.31 (National College of Ireland Open Day 9.10.2002); National College of Ireland, 2002; 2003-2004

²⁷ Based on conversations with elderly people in the North Wall Day Care Centre.

moved away to find work somewhere else, but most people did not want to leave the community and stayed.²⁸

Today, the IFSC provides new jobs for local people, however mostly cleaning jobs for women and security jobs for men. White-collar jobs are only beginning to become an option for local adolescents.

All this shows a very high potential within these communities: a potential for self-organisation, which is already realised (see above), a potential for networking, a potential for a living, thriving community and also for economic success, which a growing number of cases demonstrate. For instance, specific grants and support for talented local kids have helped a growing number of them to receive second or third-level education or to start internships in the IFSC.

The general neglect of the area by the city and government for decades only showed that problems cannot be solved in such a way. Quite the opposite happened: With the unemployment rate cases of violence, crime and vandalism and drug abuse rose. This of course had an effect on the entire city, as the problems did not just stay in the "problematic" areas. This was another reason, why the planners decided to take the local communities into consideration when the redevelopment of the docklands started.

However, a lot of conflicts or conflict potential still remain. Apart from conflicts within the communities due to old rivalries, drug problems, debts, joy-riding, vandalism etc., the most important conflicts arise between the investors and planning authorities, in particular the DDDA, on the one hand, and the local communities on the other. After they had not been taken into account at all in phase one of the redevelopment (IFSC), the local communities became particularly aware when phase two began in 1997. Whereas the basic interest of the investors is profit, the local initiatives are fighting for a general improvement of their situation along with an acknowledgement of their past and culture which they want to preserve, at least in part, for instance in the form of a museum, which has been promised but not put into realisation yet.



Illustration 10: Gated luxury apartments

One specific place of conflict is the IFSC, which the locals perceive as a Yuppie-type place which they are excluded from, partly due to the gated entrances to the (very expensive) residential areas, partly due to the mere prices of retail and shops. The firms themselves, where only few locals work yet, are another means of exclusion.

Other places are the docks (Grand Canal Docks, George's Dock, Inner Dock) where local kids used to swim over decades. When the redevelopment began, these basins were closed for swimming, which many kids do not accept and ignore. Thus, conflicts with local security are frequent.

Further, general debates deal with gated luxury apartments versus social housing, first-class retail versus locally affordable shops, offices versus public parks and playgrounds, profitable and spectacular high-rise versus locally suitable buildings, a new Liffey bridge, which

²⁸ Based on all interviews, in particular I.37.

would presumably increase the traffic in the area, versus traffic soothing measures. The local communities are not generally against the new developments, the opposite is true. They aim at recognition and want to profit as well as the investors, business enterprises, the planners and the city in general. After decades of neglect, they feel to have the right to play an active role in the redevelopment of their quarters instead of being undesired "problem areas", whom the urban planners would rather move out than take into consideration in their endeavours.

3.3.2.1. Self-organisation and representation

As already mentioned above, all the former port-related communities are characterised by a strong sense of community, functioning networks, pride of their heritage and a high potential for self-organisation, which is expressed by a large variety of local initiatives.

As described above, networks played always an important role in dockland culture. Doors were always left open and neighbours used to help and look after each other. Dockers would always put in a good word with stevedores or other employers to help friends find work. In case of death, the workmates of the deceased would collect money for the funeral and to support his family. Women had their own important networks among themselves and supported each other with the house work and children. The local church was one meeting point, the balconies of the flats another. A strong sense of community and personal networks are still important today. A working neighbourhood watch system is just one visible aspect.

As long as the docks were a thriving job market, the people from the different communities kept mostly to themselves.²⁹ However, this is about to change today. Facing the same problems and a common opponent, the urban investors and developers, the communities grew closer together. Local organisations began to contact and support each other in their common aims. When, for instance, the National Conference Centre was planned for the North Wall, which would have overshadowed all other residential buildings in the area, members from all communities joined in protest marches and finally managed to defeat the plans. Representatives of the local communities on board the DDDA cooperate for the same goals, concerning housing, traffic, architectural designs etc.

The DDDA also established new contacts, e.g. to various firms and employers in the IFSC and other parts of the area, which local people also profit from (training programmes, internships, jobs etc.).

Thus, existing networks have both been maintained and extended in the course of and due to the redevelopment of the area. They play a crucial role for both individuals and organisations, who would be less influential in the current planning and redevelopment process if they were not interconnected. These networks, whose features and importance have still to be further investigated, can serve as a valid basis to fight the social exclusion of these areas.

3.3.2.2. NGOs

The representation on organisational level exists in various forms with different focuses:

Community Centres, such as St. Andrew's Resource Centre (Westland Row/City Quay), the North Wall Day Care Centre, the North Wall Women Association, the community centres of Ringsend and East Wall, deal particularly with social and educational concerns of the population. They offer training courses for adolescents, women, long-term unemployed people, provide daily meals and leisure activities for elderly residents or kindergartens for children. Others, such as the North Wall Community Association or the East Wall Housing Association,

²⁹ The vast majority of former dockers I spoke to agreed in this respect.

along with some activists of the other centres as well, are active in fighting for the communities' interests against the developers and investors. Others, e.g. the North Inner City Folklore Department, Radio Monto or Sandymount Community Services, as well as St. Andrew's Heritage Project, devote themselves to preserve the culture, the heritage and oral history of the dockland areas. Schools, local sports clubs and the parish churches also play a significant role in communal life and representation.

3.3.2.3. Case-specific conclusions

The current redevelopment of the former port-area of Dublin is a good example of how global transformation processes, in this case in the form of mechanisation and containerisation [and migration...] have a huge impact on local communities, their culture and every-day life. An area which used to be one of Dublin's most thriving working quarters gradually declined and fell derelict in the course of global changes, and entire communities who had developed a specific working-class urban dockland culture suffered – and still suffer – from social exclusion with regards to housing, education, employment and money, traffic, amenities, life chances and cultural respect. Many people feel stigmatised as criminals by the environment. These forms of social exclusion are particularly strongly felt in the direct neighbourhood of the newly developed IFSC area, where the presence of money and prestige is only too obvious.

For a long time, the specific problems of the area have not or only randomly been addressed by the Dublin authorities. Instead, the planners tried to move them out to the suburbs, and only when that failed and local self-organisation started to be successful began to take them into account. However, local initiatives, in the form of private endeavours and NGOs, have shown the potentials that lie in these areas. Unemployment rates have already dropped due to local education and training schemes, and a growing awareness of the uniqueness and value of the old dock culture provides many people with new self-esteem and confidence. Many recent publications which were based on local life stories, biographies and history, reveal the dock communities' self-image as working-class areas, who are proud of their past and heritage. Their culture, closely related to the docks, is perceived as part of the "real" old and working-class Dublin, in which life was characterised by hard but honest work, a rich and old culture and a close sense of community and communal spirit. Their traditional way of life, however, was brought to an end by globalisation (in the form of containerisation). While it cannot be brought back, it can and must at least be remembered and partly preserved for future generations in the course of the current redevelopment.

The transformation of the Dublin dockland area has just begun and will not be finished until 1012. Knowing the example of the London docklands, where private investment and interest shaped almost the entire redevelopment process and not even the river banks have public access, the local Dublin communities fight against this complete commercialisation.³⁰ They want to take part in the redevelopment and keep alive - at least in memory and architectural symbols - part of their culture. Their hope is to develop into a new thriving dockland area without boundaries between poor, old residents and rich newcomers, in which social exclusion will only be a term of the past.

3.3.3. Remaining questions for Phase II

The research for phase I could only provide an overview over the historical current and situation in Dublin. Many aspects need to be more deeply investigated during phase II:

³⁰ This comparison with the London Docklands was made very often by members of the local communities, e.g. I.3.

- More research has to be done on the local effects of global and city-specific structural changes. A general overview has been given in the description, but more details are necessary. For example: How do the communities differ? Are some areas more affected than others? Are different aspects of life affected in each community?
- Forms of urban subsistence and economic strategies have also only generally dealt with so far. Apart from the few details given above, more information on formal or/and informal ways of earning money have to be investigated. Particularly women's strategies need to be further researched in order to fight social gender-specific exclusion.
- Existing networks are also only superficially known. It remains to be investigated in detail who is and who is not involved in these networks, how exactly are networks maintained and for what purpose? On which levels do networks exist and how can they be used for new projects / the outcome of the entire EU programme?
- Little is known so far about drug addicts and homeless people. What are their subsistence strategies? How can they be included in new schemes?
- What effect do the relatively new dockland festivals (Monto Festival, South Docks Festival, Dockland Festival) have on the area and its population?
- Further investigation is also needed to get a deeper understanding of the inner-community boundaries, e.g. between flat residents and others. How do the current changes affect these boundaries?

3.3.4. Illustrations

1. Map of Dublin (taken from Liddy, 2000: 241)
2. Map of Custom House Docks Development site (taken from Malone, 1996: 69)
3. IFSC (photo taken by A. Wonneberger)
4. DDDA area (taken from DDDA, no year given: inner cover page)
5. Map: Dublin Port today (taken from Dublin Port, 2000)
6. Map: communities (City Quay: red; Westland Row: pink; Ringsend: yellow; North Wall: green; East Wall: bright blue; port-related North Inner City: purple; Monto: dark blue; Ballybough: dark blue, further north) (taken from the Map of Greater Dublin, Ordnance Survey Office, Dublin 1992)
7. Former gas site: only the chimney is left (photo taken by Wonneberger)
8. Gated luxury apartments (photo taken by Wonneberger)
9. Grand Canal Docks, the Millennium Tower (photo taken by Wonneberger)
10. Dublin City Moorings at the DDDA (photo taken by Wonneberger)

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Interviews / interview partners are numbered: I1 (Interview partner 1) etc.

3.4. Hamburg: Research Topics and Questions

Researchers: Prof. Dr. Waltraud Kokot; Angelika Hillmer

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3.4.1. Introduction

3.4.1.1. Die Freie und Hansestadt Hamburg (the Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg): Historical survey, port and city, globalisation, structural change, case specific problems and issues¹

Hamburg is Germany's biggest seaport city and one of the most important port cities in Europe. Due to its favourable economic-geographic location, Hamburg mainly profited from Germany's re-unification and the opening to Eastern Europe. By regaining its hinterland, Hamburg was able to reactivate its transit routes that had been interrupted during World War II. As an important traffic junction of North Germany and North Europe, Hamburg connects the Scandinavian, Baltic and East European countries with Western and Central Europe and some overseas countries.

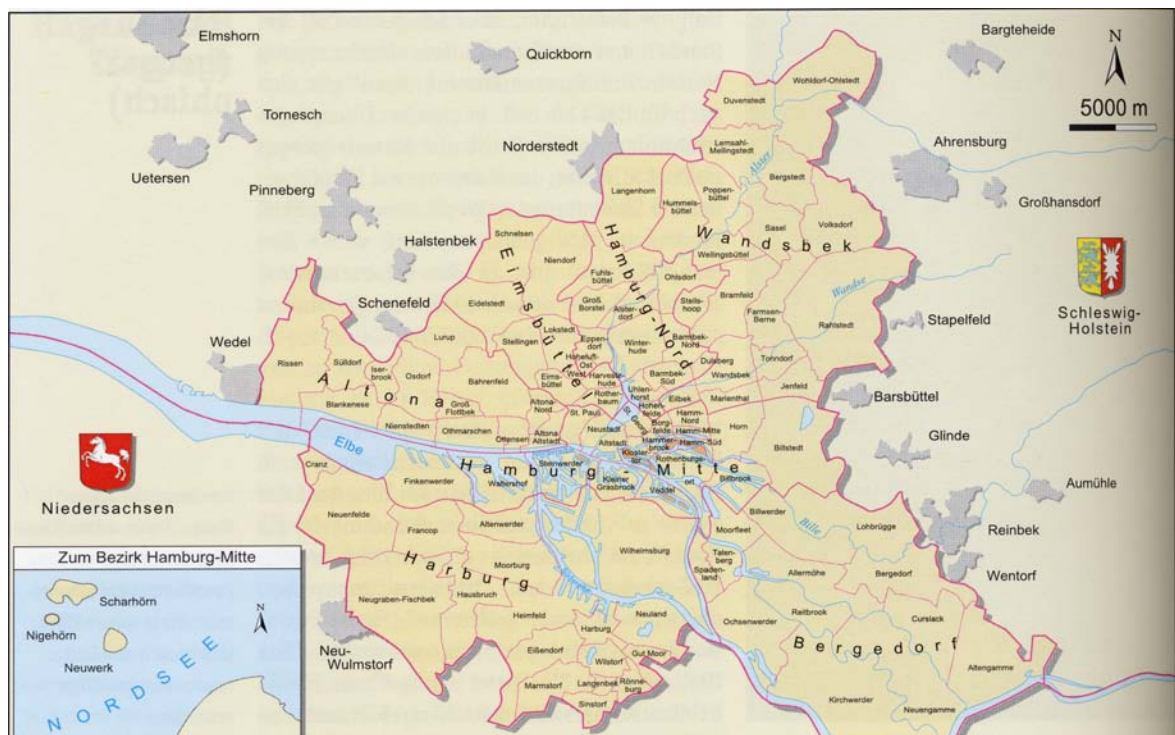


Illustration 1: Hamburg is subdivided into seven districts and 104 quarters.

The origins of Hamburg date back to the settlement of a sandy promontory in the lowlands of the *Alster* river in pre-historic times. Though situated more than a hundred kilometres upstream from the mouth of the Elbe river, its location on the northern banks of the Elbe, of the confluence of the *Bille* and *Alster* rivers, proved extraordinarily favourable for Hamburg's development into a trading centre. As a member of the *Hanse* (Hanseatic League), an association of predominantly North German merchant cities that had great influence mainly between the 13th and 15th centuries, Hamburg developed already in the

¹ The following exposition is based on Hamburger Sparkasse 2002: 14 - 59, 412 - 427, 458 - 473, 956 - 971, Kopitzsch / Tilgner ²2000: 31 - 35, 39, 66f, 108f, 141, 144f, 168, 169, 172, 188f, 193 - 195, 197f, 204, 217f, 223, 227 - 230, 241, 269, 271, 284, 307, 321, 327, 346, 382, 391, 444f, 460, 463, 464, 475, 483, 490f, 511f, 525, 538, Freie und Hansestadt Hamburg, ²2000 and F 8 (the data on the inner port of *Harburg* are specified in section 3.4.5 References).

Middle Ages into an economically successful trading centre within a network of trade relations reaching beyond its own region.

Since the Middle Ages, the liberties related to the conferment of the Charter of a City (1188) had been attracting an above-average number of immigrants to the Hanseatic City. Every enlargement of the city fortification into which Hamburg had been continuously investing, meant a constant gain in territory and led to a rapid increase in population: at the beginning of the 16th century Hamburg had about 40,000 inhabitants, by the end of the 18th it already counted 130,000, and in 1910 this figure first rose above a 1,000,000.

In the 19th century Hamburg was, like Bremerhaven, an important harbour for overseas emigration. Between 1838 and 1914 more than five million people, two millions of whom were East Europeans, mainly Jews, emigrated via Hamburg. After a long phase of decline in population between 1964 and 1987 the number of inhabitants has risen again to over 1,700,000. This increase is mainly due to immigration. Like other big German cities Hamburg is the preferred destination for immigrants. Most of the immigrants of non-German nationality are from Turkey. Since 1989 a strong increase of immigrants mainly from Eastern Europe has been recorded. This development did not only lead to cultural variety, but also to conflicts that occur not only between the different ethnic groups, but also in contact with the German population, mainly in certain quarters of the town.

Closely related to the increase in population were different phases of urban development, largely uncontrolled until well into the 20th century. During the 17th and 18th centuries residential areas were built for the working classes and the poorer strata of the population, the "Gängeviertel" (Kopitzsch / Tilgner ²2000: 172), along with areas with representative dwelling houses for the wealthy merchants.

In the course of redevelopment schemes and the beginning of rebuilding of the city after the Great Fire (1842), that had destroyed one third of the city, and the cholera epidemic (1892), the dwelling houses were torn down and replaced by office blocks, banks, administration and retail buildings. The formerly densely populated inner city round the Town Hall became the "Kontorhausviertel" (Kopitzsch / Tilgner ²2000: 284) and then the City. The construction of multilane streets like the *Ost-West-Straße*, built in 1963 in the course of the modernization of the traffic system, separated the areas near the port from the inner city.

Since the Middle Ages, the port has been the decisive factor for the development of Hamburg. For centuries, the city and the port formed a unity thanks to the possibilities of transshipment along the numerous *Fleete* (canals) in the middle of the city. In order to be up to the growing requirements of navigation since the 16th century, the port had moved, in several stages of extension, from its original location on the Alster, to the Elbe.



Ohne Stau gestaut

Das Verstaun der Ware in den Schiffen und den großen Lagerhallen war einst eine eher mühselige und zeitraubende Arbeit: Schauerleute schoben und hieften Kisten, Kästen und Säcke hin und her, um sie möglichst platzsparend unterzubringen. Container und Computertechnik haben die Abläufe rationalisiert und perfektioniert. Heute legen Stauplaner Be- und Entladungspläne per Computer fest. Der vorhandene Stauraum im Schiff wird damit sowohl unter den Gesichtspunkten der Effizienz als auch der Schiffsstabilität und der verschiedenen Entladeorte optimal genutzt und eingeteilt.

Since the 1970s Hamburg, like other seaport cities all over the world, has been affected by the consequences of structural change (containerisation of goods, acceleration of transshipment, mechanization / specialization of work routine, loss of port-based jobs).

As the port had spread out on the south banks of the Elbe river, owing to changing technologies of transshipment and an increasing need of expansion, the shutdown and exodus of companies on the north banks

Illustration 2: Stowing of goods today

left behind empty buildings and disused areas. There were, as well, basic changes relating to traffic companies: before World War I inland navigation had a share of 80% in the traffic of goods with the hinterland, since then this quota has continuously declined in favour of the railway and of lorries.

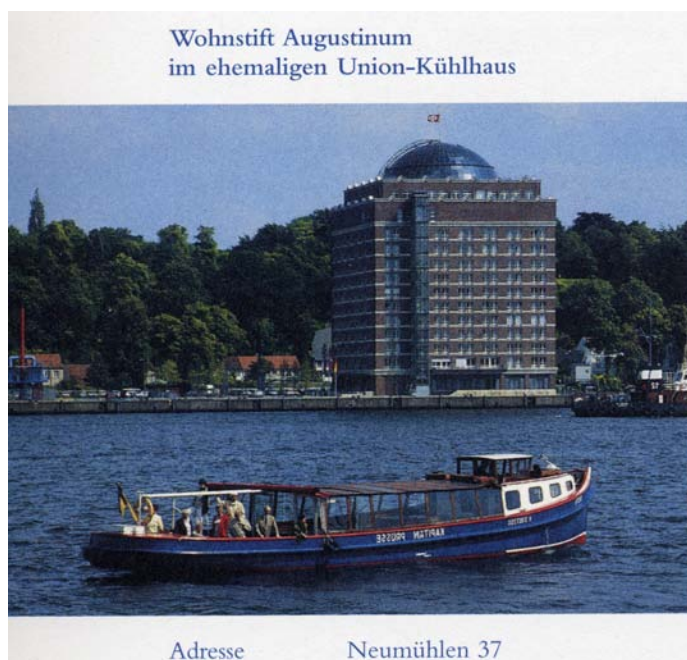


Illustration 3: The Augustinum institution for elderly people in a former cold-storage depot in Neumühlen

Between 1984 and 1992 a project group, *Elbufer*, was appointed by the City of Hamburg and put in charge of the development planning of a 6 km section on the northern edge of the port (from east to west: *Speicherstadt, Neustadt, St. Pauli, Altona, Oevelgönne, Neumühlen*) in order to revitalise the disused zones in the port and along the banks. Since then a number of single projects (*Perlenkette Hafenrand, Hafen-City*) have been planned und partly realized, through which the city and the port are to be re-united and city-adjacent port areas be integrated into the inner city (Freie und Hansestadt Hamburg ^{2000:7}). The (re-) integration of port and water into the city leads to changes in the structure of use:

the city-adjacent areas once used for port-oriented economy are now being developed for dwelling, working, cultural events and leisure time activities. These changes in use in the Hamburg port require amendments of the law. According to the effective legal provisions, dwelling is not permitted, neither in the port nor in the Free Port.

Changes of use can also be noticed in various port areas east of *Köhlbrand*². As the old port basins are no longer suitable for the requirements of modern city shipping, they are partly infilled for land reclamation or are used by a growing number of houseboat residents, as is the case in *Spreehafen*. Apart from that, disused waterfront areas and buildings with their old infrastructure (sheds, warehouses, cranes) are being more and more taken over by Hamburg museums and associations.

3.4.1.2. Case specific problems and issues

Recently, four ethnographic studies have been carried out in the Hamburg quarters of *Altstadt*, *St. Pauli* and *Harburg*. The main subject of research of all these projects was the social practice of local protagonists in the context of changes in the port-adjacent areas. The questions concerned forms of perception and appropriation of urban space, of urban representations and identities as well as everyday practices of the people affected.

The study entitled ***“Kultur der Obdachlosigkeit in der Hamburger Innenstadt”*** (*“The Culture of Homelessness in the Inner City of Hamburg”*, Kokot / Axster / Gruber 2002) centred on a group of homeless men in the main shopping area in the Altstadt quarter. The focal points of the research were the cultural resources, the organization of everyday life and the cultural knowledge of the group. The investigation concerned categories of identity, social organization, strategies of appropriation of urban space and the organization of daily routine – particularly in relation to the perception of security or menace in the street habitat.

“Homeless” in this context is understood as a social category that is not only characterized by a lack of housing, but is the end of a process of social exclusion that, in the long run, will form the self-perception and hence the identity of the persons affected.

The subject of the second study was: ***“Zwischen Mythos und Milieu? Wahrnehmungen und Konstruktionen von Bewohnern und Nutzern des Hamburger Stadtviertels St. Pauli zum Themenkomplex ‘Kriminalität und Gefahr’”*** (*“Between Myth and Milieu? Perceptions and Constructions of Residents and Users of the Hamburg Quarter of St. Pauli Related to the Issues of ‘Crime and Danger’”*, Proepper 2003). In the centre of this study were the residents and employees of a street in the port area of St. Pauli, Hamburg’s amusement and red-light quarter. The main questions of the research concerned, on the one hand, the terms of myth and milieu and the meanings and aspects associated with them, and, on the other, dealt with the experiences and perceptions of crime and danger and the everyday strategies related to them.

Milieu, in this study, is understood as metaphor for a group of protagonists who – bound into one or more networks – pursue legal and illegal forms of occupation, in the environment of red-light, amusement and tourist centres (pubs, prostitution, procuring). Myth is defined as a mental construction dependent upon time and position, that shows corresponding transfigured images and relations on a subject that was formed historically, are often reduced to elementary features, not necessarily correct, but not totally wrong either.

² Köhlbrand is the name of the 325 m wide arm of the Elbe river with its shipping lane between the *Süderelbe* and the *Norderelbe*. For further details see Kopitzsch / Tilgner 2000: 277.

The objective of a study also carried through in St. Pauli and entitled **“Gentrification in St. Pauli, Darstellung eines Veränderungsprozesses”** (*“Gentrification in St. Pauli. Description of a Process of Change”*, Lohse 2003), was to find out about the perceptions and points of view of the residents and employees of the same street (see above) concerning the processes of change in their quarter. The study investigated the problem if and how the developments that can currently be noticed in St. Pauli are related to gentrification. The study centred on the political and administrative influence of the City of Hamburg as well as on aspects and views of people living and working in this area. The questions were about local identities, about the protagonists / groups of protagonists taking part in the process of restructuring, about ideas of neighbourhood and urbanity as well as about potential fields of conflict in this context.

Gentrification, in this study, is understood as “[...] sowohl die physische Wiederherstellung verfallener Gebäude in innerstädtischen Wohnanlagen, als auch eine Verdrängung unterer sozialer Schichten durch mittlere und obere Schichten” (“[...] the physical rehabilitation of dilapidated blocks of flats in the inner city as well as the expulsion of lower social strata by the middle and upper classes.”, Dangschat 1988: 273, quoted from Lohse 2003: 3).

The fourth study entitled **“Der Harburger Binnenhafen: Strukturwandel und Revitalisierung”** (*“Harburg Inland Port: Structural Change and Revitalization”*, Hillmer 2003) centred on the process of change at Harburg inland port, situated on the banks of the Süderelbe. This former industrial site, that had been losing importance during the 1970s and 1980s, is currently being extended into a new location of technology for mixed use.

It was the objective of the study to get a survey on the changes and the current use of Harburg inland port, take stock of the protagonists / groups of protagonists with their respective plans and strategies, and to identify potential fields of conflict. There were selected contacts to the elite, to decision makers and to those profiting from the process of revitalization.

3.4.1.3. Fields of research: Protagonists and places

Homelessness in the city of Hamburg

The investigation centred upon a group comprising about 30 homeless or formerly homeless persons as well as on people close to the scene, who had formed up around a former funfair booth and a mobile toilet put up by the City authorities and a number of business people. They were no homogeneous group, but divided into different “nuclear groups” that could partly be localized by fixed abode and sleeping sites and a number of loose networks surrounding them. These groups mainly consisted of German men at an age between 30 and 60, hence little can be said about non-Germans and about women among the homeless.

The main area of research was *Mönckebergstraße / Spitalerstraße*, Hamburg’s main shopping streets, inclusive of the adjoining streets and squares, e.g. *Gertrudenkirchhof*.

The data basis of the present report are observation, conversation records and field notes, interviews with social workers (14), the police (5) and homeless persons (9), photos and footage along with maps and drawings made by the interviewees themselves.

Myth and Milieu in St. Pauli

This study centred on the protagonists who lived or worked in the area during the collection of data respecting who had been living or working there before. The area originally limited by *Wohlwillstraße – Talstraße – Silbersackstraße – Balduinstraße / Balduintreppe* was extended to include the adjoining streets.

The data basis for this interim report are 22 interviews with staff employed at social institutions and the police (12) and with residents or former residents (10), informal talks, notes and observation records, literature regarding the historical development of St. Pauli, grey literature und information from the press, film, radio and the Internet, 15 mental maps und approximately 180 photos.

Gentrification in St. Pauli

The investigation on processes of gentrification was concentrated, on the one hand, on the area *Wohlwillstraße / Talstraße*. Another focal point was on two *Terrassenhäusern*³ (terrace houses) in 67, *Talstraße*. The two buildings, about one hundred years old, are the property of the municipal housing society SAGA and were inhabited, at the time of data collection, mainly by persons with a very low income and by immigrants.

The data basis for this report are interviews with 13 residents and employees in the investigated area, observation and conversation records, literature on the history and current development of St. Pauli, data provided by the Statistisches Landesamt Hamburg (Federal State department of Statistics), mental maps, photos und grey literature (e.g. self-portraits and press footage).

Harburg inland port

This investigation centred on the persons and groups who play a decisive role in the process of restructuring or profit (or want to) from it. The partners interviewed were mainly representatives of the authorities (8) and the economy (7); other interviews were done with representatives of the press (2), the churches (3) and local associations (3).

According to the official plans (issued by the authorities) the planning area comprises a territory of 165 hectares, reaching from the south Elbe in the north, the railway line from Hamburg to Harburg (including the former Bundesbahn, i.e. German Rail, repair works) in the east and the railway line Harburg - Cuxhaven in the south as far as Sea Port 1 in the west.

The larger part of the area, located in the north-west (approx. 60%), is set out as port area with an accordingly defined use. In terms of planning rights, it is subject to the *Hafenentwicklungsgesetz* (Port Development Law) of 1982⁴ and thus in the province of the Hamburg Department of Economy. The remaining territory in the south-east, as part

³ Between 1860 and 1900 terrace housing was a typical architecture in Hamburg's fast growing suburbs. „Terrassenhäuser stellen als Hinterhofbebauung eine attraktive Wohnlage dar, gekennzeichnet durch die zentrale Lage, günstige Mieten und ungestört von Verkehrslärm“ („Terrace houses as backyard housing are an attractive residential location, characterized by their central location, good rents, and undisturbed by traffic noise“), *Selbstdarstellung der Gruppe Tal 67, Architektengutachten des Büro 123 Architekten Blumenberg & Stich*.

⁴ „Gesetz zur Regelung der Entwicklung des Hamburger Hafens. Das HafenEG legt die Grenzen des Hafengebiets fest und regelt die darin zulässigen Nutzungen.“ („Law for the regulation of the development of the Hamburg Port. The law determines the limits of the port area and the permitted utilization“.) For further information see *Freie und Hansestadt Hamburg, Behörde für Bau und Verkehr, Stichworte der Stadtentwicklung, Nachschlagewerk für Bürgerinnen und Bürger, Hamburg 2001: 21*.

of the urban area, is in the responsibility of the Building Department or subject to the Building Law Book (BauGB).

A large number of the protagonists interviewed on location are aware, just for professional reasons, of the limits determined by the legal responsibilities. In the opinions of most of the other persons interviewed (e.g. visitors to the Harburg Inland Port Festival on June 14/15, 2003) the legal situation is of no importance. This group of people consider the Harburg - Cuxhaven railway line the decisive border of the port: the area to the north of the rails / National road 75 as far as the Elbe river is designated as Harburg (inland) port. The borders to the west and to the east, however, are perceived differently: while for the one the seaports must be included, others only consider the present inland port as the actual Harburg port.

The data basis for this interim report are 23 interviews, 26 mental maps, 20 questionnaires, observation and memory records, information from the press, from television and the Internet, informal talks and notes, about 120 photos and a seven hours' footage (including five guided tours round the inland port, a film on the anniversary of an association called Jugend in Arbeit Hamburg e.V., and one on the Harburg Inland Port Festival on June 14/15, 2003).

3.4.1.4. Specific places of change

On the history of the city quarter of Hamburg-Altstadt⁵

Hamburg-Altstadt is Hamburg's oldest urban quarter. Its name is derived from the origin of the merchants' and tradesmen's settlement established around the year 830 near the Hammaburg (Hamm = old Saxon for "River bank" or "swamp area"). The mediaeval Altstadt (Old Town) became the seat of a bishopric and was united, in 1216, with the settlement around the new castle, the earl's Neustadt (New Town). In an imperial charter received in 1189 from Frederick I Barbarossa ("Barbarossa-Privileg", Kopitzsch / Tilgner

²2000: 49) that is celebrated still today as Hafengeburtstag (birthday of the port), the city was granted far-reaching trading rights which created the basis for Hamburg's lasting economic success.



Illustration 4: Celebration on the occasion of the birthday of the port

were the home of merchants and shippers, whereas the *Geest* parishes of St. Peter und St. Jacobi were inhabited by craftsmen and farmers. In the 17th century, in the course of

⁵ The following exposition is based on Hamburger Sparkasse 2002: 46f, 412 - 427 and Kopitzsch / Tilgner ²2000: 39, 49, 108f, 168f, 197, 217f, 241, 271f, 284, 327, 444.

the extension of the town, the city quarter now called Neustadt with the fifth parish of St. Michael, was built on the territory located west of the earl's new town.

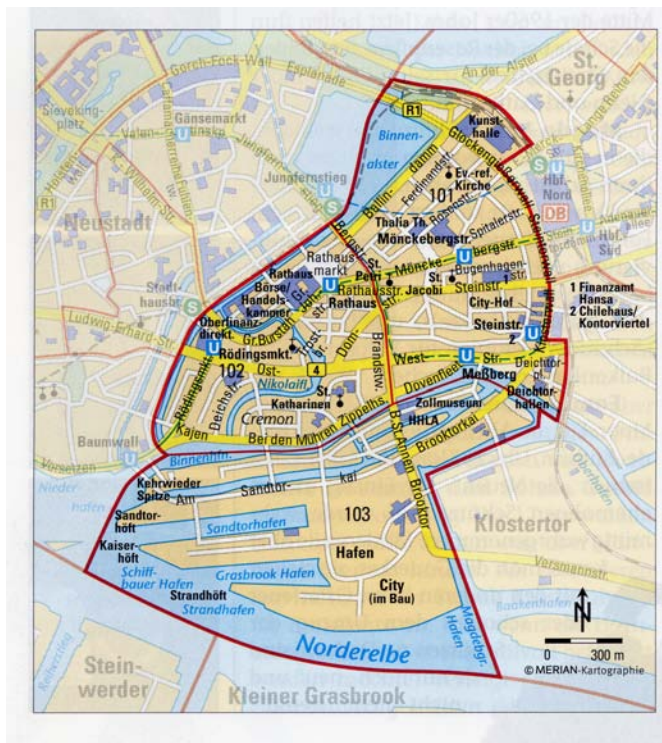


Illustration 5: Map of the Altstadt quarter

The Great Fire of 1842 brought about a fundamental change of the cityscape. The entire north east of today's Altstadt had been devastated and was re-built in a completely different form. The construction of the Speicherstadt quarter on the Brook island, "des weltweit größten Lagerhauskomplexes" ("the world's largest warehouse complex", Hamburger Sparkasse 2002: 426), as a result of Hamburg joining the customs union in 1888, also changed the face of the city: to make room for its construction, all residential buildings were torn down, and 20,000 people were displaced. By the end of the 19th century the changes in the Altstadt continued: upper middle-class villas and poor houses, commercial enterprises and warehouses disappeared and were replaced by offices and public buildings. Apart from the construction of dwelling houses in the western and

southern Neustadt, residential areas were built in the suburbs: "es entstand eine funktionsgegliederte Stadt" ("a functionally subdivided city was taking shape", Kopitzsch / Tilgner 2000: 109). Around the Kontorhausviertel built to the south of the Mönckebergstraße (1920) the Altstadt developed into a city with offices, administration and business buildings.

Today less than 2,000 people live in the Altstadt in two small residential areas covering a territory of 2.4 km², surrounded by office buildings, warehouses and parking decks. The Speicherstadt, put under preservation order and detached from the Free Port quarter in 2003, is going to become part of the HafenCity. It already hosts several museums and is the venue of cultural events. The former warehouse floors are being re-designed and increasingly used as office rooms.

The Altstadt quarter in statistics⁶

	the Altstadt quarter	the district of Hamburg-Mitte	Hamburg
Population			
Population (2001)	1 965	227 199	1 710 932
Germans	1 265	167 988	1 442 166
Foreigners	700	59 211	268 766
in % of the population	35.6	26.1	15.7

⁶ Data provided by the Statistisches Landesamt Hamburg (Federal State department of Statistics), 05/2003

Social structure			
People on social security (2001), % of people between 15 - 64 years of age	996 63.8	77 176 47.4	585 228 49.4
Unemployed (2002) % of people between 15 - 64 years of age	104 6.7	13 055 8.0	77 148 6.5
People on social welfare (2001) % of the population	169 8.6	24 084 10.6	117 431 6.9
Crime (2001)			
Acts against the law in total per 1000 of the population	9 375 4 771	81 462 359	318 528 186
Violent crimes per 1000 of the population	249 127	3 468 15	9 554 6
Theft per 1000 of the population	6 846 3 484	40 348 177	153 944 90

On the history of the St. Pauli quarter⁷

Originally called *Hamburger Berg* (Hamburg mountain), the Geest heights located to the west of Hamburg and its inhabitants had been subject to the jurisdiction of the Hanseatic Town since 1258. In the 17th century the settlement between the sister town of *Altona* (founded around 1530 and later Danish) and the Hamburg *Millerntor* grew steadily, by the construction of dwelling houses and the establishment of business (glassworks, oil mills, hemp processing) as well as other facilities unwanted in the Hamburg city area (train distilleries, tanneries, cemeteries, plague court). The construction of the ramparts (*Wallanlagen*) between 1616 and 1628 divided the Hamburger Berg: one part was included as a new town into the Hamburg city area; the other one remained outside the fortress as Hamburger Berg. The eastern parts of the urban approaches of the fortress reaching as far as the Elbe remained undeveloped as shooting space until their defortification in the 19th century (today: *Elbpark*, *Heiligengeistfeld*, *Planten un Bloomen*) and could only be settled in the west. While on the banks of the Elbe river business relating to shipping was established, the Geest heights increasingly developed into a nearby recreational area and amusement quarter for the inhabitants of the densely populated cities of Hamburg and Altona. The residents of the Hamburger Berg were workmen (*Reepschläger*⁸), harbour

⁷ The following exposition is based on Hamburger Sparkasse 2002: 956 - 971, Kopitzsch / Tilgner ²2000: 31 - 35, 144f, 188, 195, 282f, 382f, 391f, 451, Freie und Hansestadt Hamburg ²2000: 9 - 22, Lohse 2003: 6 - 12, 30 - 35 and Proepper 2003.

⁸ The name "Reep" stands for hemp rope made by ropemakers working in the roper's lanes. See also Kopitzsch / Tilgner ²2000: 391.

workers, day labourers and innkeepers, but there was also *indecent* or *dishonest* business with prostitutes and jugglers and a relatively high number of unemployed.

Since the 17th century it had mainly been entertainers and showmen that were settling down in the prospering place. An increasing number of bars, “eine jahrmarktartige Ansammlung von Holzbuden” (“a funfair-like accumulation of wooden booths“, Kopitzsch / Tilgner ²2000: 391) and brothels had sprang up around the so-called *Spielbudenplatz* alongside the *Reeperbahnen* (roper’s lanes). With the port expanding in the 19th century due to the growing importance of steamship navigation, the number of sailors and the variety of amusement establishments rose rapidly.

In the early 19th century the Hamburger Berg temporarily became important in the smuggling of British goods into the Hanseatic Town when the trade with England had collapsed because of the Continental Blockade (1806). With the French domination coming to its end in 1813/14, the Hamburger Berg was completely destroyed, but rapidly rebuilt as from 1815. In 1831/33 the location was awarded the status of a Hamburg suburb and given the name of St. Pauli after the church that had been built on the *Pinnasberg* in 1682. From 1839 the first, then wooden *Landungsbrücken* (landing stages) were built, followed in 1861 by a large fishery port with a wholesale fish market.

During the 19th century St. Pauli took in a steadily growing number of people, especially from the wage-earning and poorer sections of the population: in 1813 after their expulsion from Hamburg by the French, in 1842 after the Great Fire, and from 1870 in the course of industrialization. After the suspension of the Gate Blockade (1860) St. Pauli, mainly to the north of Reeperbahn, became a more and more densely populated quarter. The increase in population was accompanied by an intensive building activity, during which blocks with small flats were built, primarily for working class people. The backyards were built upon with terrace houses, stretched, flat buildings, in which people lived crowded together.

In 1894 St. Pauli, with a population of about 72,000, became a Hamburg quarter. It was mainly the lower social strata and emerging enterprises that were settling in the working class quarter. Around the year 1900 St. Pauli, due to this intense development, was almost completely merged with Altona. Characteristic of this period is a mixed use of dwelling, business, utilities (slaughterhouse, hospitals, poorhouses), sites related to port and navigation and, not the least, to leisure time and amusement. With the progressing development of sea navigation the businesses established in the port were, to an increasing extent, supplanted by transshipment facilities for passenger ships and fishing vessels.

Most formative for the image of St. Pauli and the life of its inhabitants, however, was its role as an amusement quarter. For centuries, the area in front of the ramparts, largely undeveloped until their defortification, had developed into a centre of entertainment for local people and foreigners with theatres, music and dance halls, ballrooms, pubs, menageries, brothels and similar establishments. Procuring and street prostitution came into being, accompanied since the twenties by drug delinquency and organized crime. That was when St. Pauli first acquired its reputation to be one Europe’s major crime centres.

Since the 1950s, the economic upswing of the post war period had brought an increasing number of visitors to St. Pauli, mainly sailors from Scandinavia. In the 1980s, however, the structural changes in the port and in sea navigation, left their marks on the amusement quarter: severely declining numbers of visitors to the *Kiez*⁹ led to a crisis in the sex and entertainment industries, the fear of AIDS intensified the economic decline. After a period during which drugs, heavy crime and violent distribution struggles in the procurers’

⁹ The name *Kiez* denominates the amusement quarter around Reeperbahn (the former roper’s lanes) including the adjoining streets. See also Kopitzsch / Tilgner ²2000: 269.

milieu were the formative features for St. Pauli, the establishment of a music and artist scene during the nineties gradually changed the image of the quarter that is currently attracting a predominantly juvenile clientele.



Illustration 6: Reeperbahn in St. Pauli

Since the 1970s a number of city development and renewal plans have been implemented in St. Pauli. Part of this was the restructuring of *Hein-Köllisch-Platz*, the development of the Elbe riverbanks and rehabilitation measures in the investigated area around *Wohllwillstraße / Talstraße*. This area

is characterized by a high standard of partly redeveloped old buildings and a variety of shops, pubs, cafés, restaurants, galleries and studios. Backyards are often built up with *Terrassenhäusern*¹⁰. Most of the shops on this section of the street are related to sex tourism. The parts to the south of Reeperbahn are almost exclusively dwelling areas.

In 1994 *St. Pauli-Nord* was included in the „Armutsbekämpfungsprogramm in Hamburg“ („Scheme to combat poverty in Hamburg“). Measures of redevelopment were carried out in the area to the north of Reeperbahn reaching as far as *Stresemannstraße*, accompanied by the putting forward of outline concepts for the development of the economy and employment in the neighbourhood. The establishment of enterprises and the creation of training facilities and jobs were supposed to counteract the “social and spatial split” by improving the housing and work situation of the population. Further to that, the scheme provided the safeguarding of low-rent housing and the support of new forms of living in the quarter. (Freie und Hansestadt Hamburg 1996: 4)

The structure of the population did not fundamentally change in 20th century: St. Pauli remained a residential area mainly for (port) workers, for the socially weak and, to an increasing extent, since the end of the 1980s, for immigrants. As to the development of the population, it can be said that after a short-term increase between 1987 and 1996 the number of people resident in St. Pauli has fallen below the level of 1987, a development accompanied by a process of rejuvenation. The share of immigrants, jobless and welfare recipients living in St. Pauli, often above average, also declined in comparison with Hamburg. Today about 26,000 people inhabit an area of 2.6 km².

¹⁰ See footnote 3.



Illustration 7: Map of the St. Pauli quarter

small cinemas on Reeperbahn are looked upon unfavourably. As the present occupants see it, these changes are not carried out for their sake, but for fully solvent future tenants. A positive view is taken, however, with regard to measures of redevelopment that do not change the original structure of residents.

Busy building and redevelopment activities can currently be observed in the investigated area. Most of the changes localized by the residents are going on in Wohlwillstraße and on the banks of the Elbe river, but are judged less "extreme" compared with those in *Schanzenviertel*, which, as many see it, is developing into a quarter for the wealthy.

A term frequently used in this context is „schick“ ("smart", Lohse 2003: 31), used as a synonym for new, expensive, "in" or "different" (in the sense of different from what is was like before). The construction of office buildings, with a newly built office block at Millerntor still uninhabited, the new building in Talstraße, the conversion of the slaughterhouse and the closing down of the

The St. Pauli quarter in statistics¹¹

	the St. Pauli quarter	the district of Hamburg-Mitte	Hamburg
Population			
Population (2001)	26 094	227 199	1 710 932
Germans	17 290	167 988	1 442 166
Foreigners	8 804	59 211	268 766
% of the population	33.7	26.1	15.7
Social structure			
People on social security (2001), % of people between 15 - 64 years of age	9 006 42.4	77 176 47.4	585 228 49.4
Unemployed (2002), % of people between 15 - 64 years of age	2 119 10.0	13 055 8.0	77 148 6.5
People on social welfare (2001) in % of the population	3 462 13.3	24 084 10.6	117 431 6.9

¹¹ Data provided by the Statistisches Landesamt Hamburg (Federal State department of Statistics), 05/2003

Crime (2001)			
Acts against the law in total	14 156	81 462	318 528
per 1000 of population	543	359	186
Violent crime per 1000 of the population	962	3 468	9 554
	37	15	6
Theft per 1000 of the population	7 310	40 348	153 944
	280	177	90

The banks of the Elbe river: For many St. Pauli residents, the Elbe river is an important place for leisure activities and recreation. In connection with the Elbufer development



Illustration 8: Business and office buildings on St. Pauli's waterfront

planning new dwelling houses, business and office buildings have been put up on St. Pauli's waterfront, so that the view of the river and the access to the water are considerably impaired. While the city expects the transition from a recreation area to a working area to have an effect of revaluation with positive influence on the quarter, the residents on the riverbank see themselves increasingly pushed aside by barriers and „Türsteher“ („bouncers“, Lohse 2003: 30). High rents and the general price levels in the shops indicate that it is, above all, a fully solvent clientele that is supposed to be spoken to here.

Wohllwillstraße: This is where the largest number of changes has been noticed. Within a few years several new shops, catering trade establishments (pubs, cafés) and an art scene with studios, galleries and exhibition areas were created, a development mainly related to „jungen Leuten“ („young people“), „Kreativen“ („the creative“), to „Ambiente“ („environment“) and „lifestyle“ that does not appeal to all inhabitants. The new bars and offers attract a new clientele to St. Pauli, people who don't live or work there – „die Fremden“ (the „strangers“, Lohse 2003: 32f).

On the other hand the offer of an institution like the „Deutsch-Ausländische Begegnungsstätte“ („German-Foreign Meeting Centre“) had to be severely restricted due to considerable cuts in their financial means. The closing down of the „vor ort stadtteilladen st. pauli nord e.V.“, founded in 1998 with funds from the „Scheme to combat poverty in Hamburg“, is also considered a serious loss, after the City stopped its financial support in 2002. The „Stadtteilladen“ had been doing a great deal for a neighbourly togetherness and had become an established organizer of the annual street party. The residents used it as a meeting point for initiatives, a place for social advice and as an office for the jobless to turn to.



Illustration 9: A gallery in Wohlwillstraße

Changes in the structure of the residents have also been stated. In two different terrace houses there was a significant change of occupants: immigrants with their families and elderly people had moved out, whereas young, mostly single Germans were moving in. Each change was accompanied by an increase of rent, so that many people can no longer afford a change of flat – formerly a fairly uncomplicated matter. Higher rents are also responsible for the large

number of *St. Paulians* that have moved away. Although there is an obvious increase in the birth rate, lots of families leave the quarter; for older children and juveniles there is hardly any offer for leisure time activities and there is fear that they might "go down" into drug addiction and violent crime.



Illustration 10: Map of the Harburg quarter

On the history of Harburg and Harburg inland port¹²

The settlement of Harburg developed in the early 12th century at the mediaeval „Horeburg“ (Sumpfburg, swamp borough) alongside a dam towards the Geest land located to the south. Repeated attempts made over centuries to make the trade and the port a persistent success all failed, mainly because of the near competitor of Hamburg. It was not until 1860 that Harburg experienced an enormous economic upswing by the establishment of large companies for the rubber and vegetable oil industries. The unification with *Wilhelmsburg* in 1927 made Harburg a metropolis that was incorporated into Hamburg in 1937 by the „Groß-Hamburg-Gesetz“ („Greater Hamburg Act“). Today about 198,000 people live in the district of Harburg on a territory of about 166 km², while more than 20,000 people live

in the Harburg quarter on a territory of 3.885 km².

¹² The following exposition is based on Kulturbehörde / Denkmalschutzamt 1999: 9 - 29, 72 - 98, Claußnitzer / Petersdorf / Sánchez 1998, Claußnitzer 1997: 186 - 190, Busch 1997: 7 - 19, Szczepaniak / Schubert / Ehlers 1991: 5 - 10 and Freie und Hansestadt Hamburg 1993.

Harburg inland port developed from the moats surrounding the mediaeval castle that were used for shipping and constantly extended. An actual port area, however, wasn't built until the castle was extended into a palace and later into a fortress.



Illustration 11: Harburg inland port today

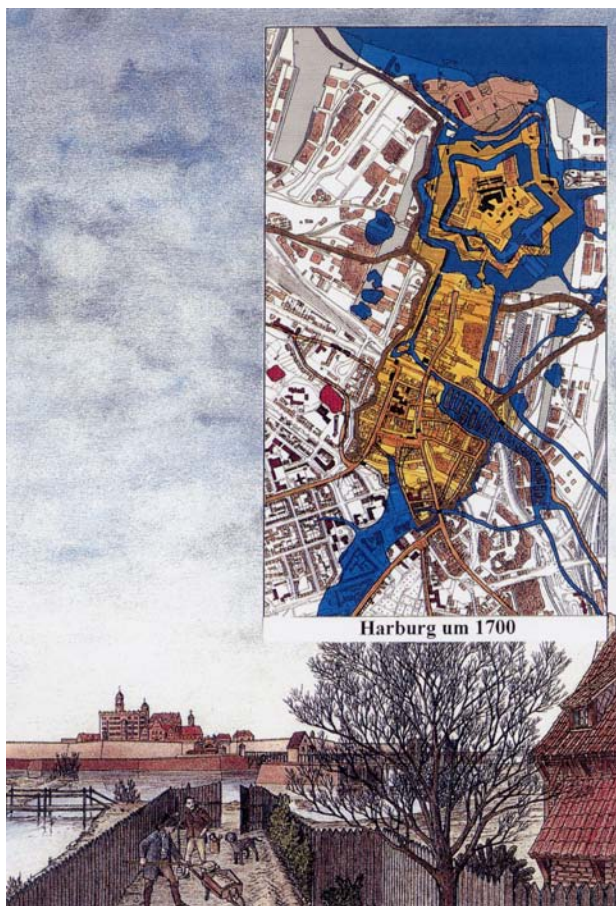


Illustration 12: Harburg and its port about 1700

Between 1845 and 1849 the fortress harbour was enlarged to a shipping harbour and connected to several railway lines (1847, 1872, 1881), which created the basis for the industrialization of Harburg. The railway lines separated the mediaeval old town centre of Harburg situated around the former castle from the new town located to the south.

When being associated to „Deutscher Zollverein“ (German Customs Union) in 1854, Harburg became a preferred industry location, especially for Hamburg-based enterprises. Until 1870, Harburg developed to become the headquarters of the entire German rubber processing industry and, until World War I, Europe's biggest oil industry location. In the surroundings of the two big industries, a large number of factories and supply companies were established. This process was characterized by an enormous demand for manpower: between 1855 and 1913 Harburg's population multiplied from about 8,000 to over 70,000. Very soon, in spite of different measures taken to improve the traffic infrastructure (1881-1893), Harburg inland port no longer met the increasing requirements of the harbour shipping and navigation.

Between 1904 and 1907 three sea ship ports to the west of Harburg were designed as open tidal ports on the Elbe river, followed in 1929 by a fourth port basin. Shipping in the inland port stagnated.

Due to the bombardment of the war-relevant industries, Harburg was severely devastated in World War II. After 1945, during Germany's recovery, intensive business activities came about which, in the 1960s, turned into a "lingering" exodus of companies. Since 1970 Harburg has been strongly affected by the structural change in the economy that has led to the loss of a large number of jobs in the industrial sector and above-average rate of unemployment.

In the mid 1970s Hamburg's future was, for the first time, linked with the development of its southern districts and quarters, the objective of this being the creation of a technology centre in North Germany. A first measure in support of this was the foundation of the "Technische Universität Hamburg-Harburg" ("Technical University of Hamburg-Harburg", TUHH) in 1978 and the establishment also of the municipal "Mikroelektronikanwendungszentrum" (Micro-electronic Application Centre, MAZ) in Harburg in 1990. Both these institutions have their seats in *Schlossstraße* in Harburg inland port area.

By the end of the 1980s plans for a revitalisation of the old town-castle-port area were developed, going back to a model already conceived in 1926, designating the integration of the inland port into the urban context. In 1990 the Senate's Commission for urban Development, Environment and Traffic started a development plan for that area. On grounds of legal responsibilities and questions of ownership, the plan was conceived as an open process into which both the public and the population affected were to be involved. In 1995 a framework of orientation (Master plan) was adopted, aiming at an urban-development "revaluation" by the stepwise transformation into a "mixed area of a new type" that includes living, user-oriented research, product-oriented service, offices, leisure and culture amenities (Freie und Hansestadt Hamburg 1993).



Illustration 13: The dock of the Jöhnk shipyard

With regard to significant changes in the inland port, the interviewees primarily mentioned the port economy, building activities and living as well as gastronomy and leisure time¹³.

Port economy: The biggest changes have come about by the closing down or the exodus of transshipment companies in the inland port. This has led to a considerable decline in shipping. Just one transshipment company and one shipyard are still visited regularly by ships. In some sectors of the inland port there

is, even today, intense commercial and industrial use. This has resulted in an immense increase of heavy lorry traffic that is considered an extreme encumbrance. On the other

¹³ The following exposition is based on statements in G 1 - 4, P 3 - 10, H 2 - H 7, M 1 - 7, I 1, I 3, I 6, I 9, I 14, I 16, I 23, F 1 - F 4 and F 6.

hand there are large disused sites that are felt to be „eyesores“ (F 2) as well as a number of buildings at different levels of dilapidation.

Waterside facilities of the port are used by bunkering companies and hydraulic engineering firms. Free areas on the water are used, for the most part, as storage space for forwarding agencies. Further to that, some sports boat and sailing clubs are to be found there.

Public authorities, e.g. the Office of Weights and Measures, the water guard, the Customs, the Port Office South are represented with administration buildings and ships. The technical workshop of the River and Port Authorities is also situated in Harburg inland port.

Building activities: In the city area of the inland port, changes are to be noticed mainly at two large building sites (silo, quay storehouse) and at the built-up areas already completed in the central zone of *channel harburt* (channel buildings 1 - 8) and at the so-called *channel tower*. There is hardly any change, however, in the actual port area. The Harburgers make critical statements, mainly with regard to the architecture of the new buildings and the demolition of a number of warehouses that were to be preserved as monuments of industrial architecture.



Illustration 14: The former goods station area with the channel tower

Living: Presently a total number of about 1,000 people live in the inland port, for the most part socially weak persons and those seeking political asylum, welfare recipients and, sporadically, even well-off people, pensioners and self-employed persons. They live both in the area defined as the port and in the city. With other areas in the Hamburg port having been infilled, the number of houseboats in the inland port has increased.

Gastronomy / leisure time: Several traditional sailors' pubs („Kap Horn“) have disappeared, followed by the prostitutes that used to ply their trade there. There is some prostitution left in special establishments in three streets, and there is a Swinger Club. These days the older pubs and port snack bars are frequented mainly by lorry drivers and building workers. In the surroundings of channel harburt several restaurants, some expensive, have been established, which are frequented mainly by the personnel employed in the new technology and new media business.

The Harburg quarter in statistics¹⁴

	the Harburg quarter	the district of Harburg	Hamburg
Population			
Population (2001)	20 195	198 400	1 710 932
Germans	13 978	158 663	1 442 166
Foreigners in % of the population	6 217 30.8	39 737 20.0	268 766 15.7
Social structure			
People on social security (2001), % of people between 15 - 64 years of age	7 081 48.0	63 997 48.2	585 228 49.4
Unemployed (2002) % of people between 15 - 65 years of age	1 396 9.5	10 917 8.2	77 148 6.5
People on social welfare (2001) in % of the population	1 757 8.7	17 512 8.8	117 431 6.9
Crime (2001)			
Acts against the law in total per 1000 of population	33 429 1 655	55 186 278	318 528 186
Violent crime per 1000 of the population.	311 15	1 066 5	9 554 6
Theft per 1000 of the population	4 411 218	17 018 86	153 944 90

3.4.1.5. Protagonists in the process of change

Homelessness in the City of Hamburg

Various welfare organizations, supported by different institutions, commit themselves to homeless persons in Hamburg. One of the most important contributions is made by *Hinz & Kunzt*, a project that is meant to offer "help for self-help".

Hinz & Kunzt¹⁵: Hinz & Kunzt is a street magazine designed by homeless people and journalists and is sold on the streets. This non-profit project was brought into being in 1993 by the then pastor of the Land's church and head of the „Diakonisches Werk“ (Di-

¹⁴ Data provided by the Statistisches Landesamt Hamburg (Federal State department of Statistics), 05/2003

¹⁵ The following exposition is based on the information taken from the Internet Homepage www.hinzundkunzt.de (July 24, 2003) and from the present project information.

aconate Works) in Hamburg. Its partners are the Diakonisches Werk and the „Patriotische Gesellschaft (Patriotic Society) of 1765“.



Illustration 15: The recreation room of Hinz & Kunzt

Hinz & Kunzt employs 15 persons who work mainly as part-time employees. The project is financed from the sale of the magazine, from advertisements and donations. Anyone of no fixed abode can become a seller and will keep a share of every paper sold for himself. The articles published in the magazine deal with various Hamburg issues and are written by journalists. In a section called „Forum“ homeless people can publish articles of their own. The sellers must abide by certain rules concerning drug consumption during the time and place of sale and begging.

The project's target is to create contacts between the homeless and other people by selling the paper, to make the problem of homelessness visible, to comprehend the reality and to offer to the persons concerned a way to regain self-consciousness and extra income. Further to that, Hinz & Kunzt gives individual assistance in helping break through the „Teufelskreis aus Wohnungs- und Arbeitslosigkeit, Sucht und Einsamkeit“ („vicious circle of homelessness, unemployment, addiction and loneliness“, Internet Homepage www.hinzundkunzt.de, July 24, 2003). Social workers help them in case of illness, in the search of a place for therapy, a room or a flat, in dealing with the authorities etc.

Hinz & Kunzt lobbies for the persons concerned with public relation work being another focal point of their activities. By special campaigns and in cooperation with the media it makes people aware of the problems of the homeless. They are in contact with political institutions, the police, social institutions, schools, associations, business people and the administration.

Gentrification in St. Pauli¹⁶

The „alternatives“: Studies have shown that processes of gentrification are often set in place by a group of „pioneers“ belonging to the alternative scene that is moving, on grounds of the low rent, to dilapidated inner city working class quarters. The „alternatives“ are not any better off than the established population (Dangschat / Friedrichs 1986: 11, quoted from Lohse 2003: 4), but they are, as a rule, younger and have better qualifications. They bring about a change in the infrastructure of the quarter, characterized by new shops, pubs, cafés and galleries and not least a change of image, which, in its turn, has an influence on the demands in the housing market to the effect that solvent people move in and „revalue“ the quarter. House owners begin to make investments, repair and revaluation measures make the flats even more expensive. By converting lots of smaller flats into a few large ones, the number of flats in the quarter decreases. The old-established occupants, along with the people who originally revitalised the area, the „alternatives“, can no longer afford to pay the new rent and have to leave the quarter.

Die Freie und Hansestadt Hamburg, municipal authorities and offices: Due to the declining importance of the port as an employer, the exodus of younger and better-earning St. Paulians moving to the outskirts and the changes in the social structure resulting from this, a number of schemes for the urban renewal and social and economic de-

¹⁶ The exposition is based on Lohse 2003: 35 - 40.

velopment have been put on their way since the 1970s. Through city-owned societies (SAGA, STEG, see below) and selected supplies or cuts of financial means the city has a decisive influence on the changes going on in St. Pauli.

The group „Tal 67“: Since 1998 SAGA, the municipal housing society, has been the owner of the terrace houses in 67, Talstraße. Unoccupied flats were not let again. SAGA justified their plans to tear down the buildings by referring to aspects of economic efficiency, which excluded any redevelopment, because of their bad state of repair. The new building then planned does not provide any council flats. After SAGA had increased the rent and then demanded the occupants to move out, the group *Tal 67* was formed in 1999 in protest against these plans and in order, at least, to preserve one building of better fabric.



Illustration 16: Terrace houses in Talstraße

The group consists of about 20 persons aged between 20 and 50. Some members of the group live in the buildings, about half of which are inhabited by immigrant families. The members pursue different occupations (musicians, trainees, social services, traders). They are culturally and politically active in the quarter and mainly pursue three objectives: the integration of the present occupants into an alternative housing

the preservation of affordable housing space as well as of the natural ~~subjective~~ neighbourhood that has proved to work out very well. Further to that, the group is interested in the preservation of the historical building fabric that is typical of this part of Hamburg.



Illustration 17: Protest banner in Talstraße demanding affordable housing space

The Owners: Although in St. Pauli some buildings have been redeveloped and modernised in the past few decades, there are still lots of buildings that are out of repair and poorly equipped (e.g. without bathroom or heating). In a number of them, as in 67 Talstraße, no investments have been made for ten years. In the view of many inhabitants, the intentional neglect and the subsequent increase of redevelopment cost is the reason for the owners to tear the buildings down and have them replaced by new ones with an accordingly higher level of rent.

According to statements made by the residents, municipal societies like SAGA and the STEG, the society for urban renewal and development, take part in this process by encouraging the establishment of artists and creative people, at the same time complying with the wishes of gallery and

studio owners who would like to see an art mile in Wohlwillstraße.

Business people and artists: The owners of the new shops, as well as those of the galleries and studios, are also involved in the changes going on in St. Pauli. Their merchandise is mainly used by young people and by people from other parts of the city, so that more and more "strangers" appear in the quarter. Despite the complaints made about an alleged lack of opportunities for resident children, the painting courses offered, for example, are not used by young St. Paulians, but by children from other quarters like *Eppendorf* or *Hoheluft*. The „Hanseatische Akademie für Marketing und Medien“ ("Hanseatic Academy for Marketing and Media") and its students will also attract a clientele, which is non-resident in the area.

"Strangers" and "Others": Among the protagonists in the area investigated are also visitors from other quarters and quarters called "others", "yuppies" or "strangers". They are attracted by the changing infrastructure and a new streetscape, contributing to the change by their mere presence. "Being different" is defined mainly by outward aspects:



Illustration 18: Protest banner in Wohlwillstraße

"strangers" are "smarter", have "lifestyle" and more money than St. Paulians. They are noticed as apolitical and considered members of a "leisure time society" whose favourite occupation is attending the new shops and restaurants and who are, due to their higher income, in a position to spend more there than the inhabitants of St. Pauli. They represent a menace to the inhabitants, for it is because of them that traditional pubs and shops are disappearing and buildings like the terrace houses are torn down. It is them that freehold flats are built for and

old buildings are redeveloped. And it is for the „others“ that public space, that had formerly been accessible to everyone, is blocked off (Lohse 2003: 39).

Police: In the residents' opinion the police are more present in the streets and in certain squares than before. They also check identity documents more often and, in case of demonstrations, penetrate more into side streets than they used to do. Some see this strategy as a menace directed against the "leftist scene" (Lohse 2003: 40).

Harburg inland port

The area of Harburg inland port is of particular interest to certain circles: to the Freie und Hansestadt Hamburg with their competent authorities, for the Hamburg-based companies, for the TUHH and the MAZ (see below) and for different associations, groups and investors. In the conflicts on the revitalisation of the inland port, the conditions of ownership in the area are of decisive importance: while the territory designed as port area is owned by the City, the zone defined as city area is, for the most part, privately owned, mainly by the Deutsche Bahn AG.

Die Freie und Hansestadt Hamburg, municipal and district authorities and offices¹⁷:

The City of Hamburg is, on the one hand, interested, according to their concept of „Hamburg – wachsende Stadt“ („Hamburg – a growing city“), in supporting Hamburg as a technology location and in the creation of additional, centre-adjacent and attractive housing areas. Parts of these are, above all, the areas on the water. On the other hand, companies related to the port-based economy and the jobs they provide are also to be protected and secured in the long run. A third institution worth mentioning is the Kulturbehörde (Department of Culture), that is particularly interested – as are the curators of the *Harburg Helms-Museum* – in the area on both sides of *Schlossstraße*, the town's mediaeval centre.

Technische Universität Hamburg-Harburg (Technical University of Hamburg-Harburg, TUHH)¹⁸:

The TUHH has proved, in the view of the city, an excellent factor of location for both Hamburg and Harburg. Practical orientation, proximity to the economy and stimuli for the development of new technologies has helped create new jobs in the surroundings of the TUHH.

In order to safeguard and further develop the TUHH, additional areas and buildings for offices, institutes and intense technological use are planned in the inland port.

Mikroelektronikanwendungszentrum (MAZ), TU Technologie GmbH (TuTech)¹⁹:

The MAZ (now channel business services, c.bs, and MAZ level one) was founded in 1990 by the Freie und Hansestadt Hamburg. Its target was to develop, in close cooperation with the TUHH, new high-tech products as far as their introduction into the market and to create new jobs. Until the year 2000 ten new firms with 500 employees had originated from the MAZ.

The TuTech was founded in 1985 as a 100% subsidiary to the TUHH and, since 1992, has existed as a commercial and professional service company in the field of technology transfer.

Until today, 70 high tech firms with about 3,000 employees have come into being in the surroundings of the TUHH, the MAZ and the TuTech. They are, for the most part, resident in the area of channel harburg with its new buildings (see below). All of these institutions are much supported by both the Freie und Hansestadt Hamburg and the district of Harburg. In this context the inland port plays an important role as a development area for the interests of the TUHH and the TU-near business.

The „**Wirtschaftsverein für den Hamburger Süden e.V.**“ (Economy Association for the South of Hamburg)²⁰: Founded in 1947, attending to the interests of Harburg- and Wil-

¹⁷ The following exposition is based on B 1 - B 5, F 1 and F 2, Cohen 1992 - 1996, Cohen 1993, Freie und Hansestadt Hamburg 1999 - 2002, Freie und Hansestadt Hamburg 2000, Kulturbehörde 1989, Lüth 1992, I 1, I 5, I 17, I 20 and I 22.

¹⁸ The following exposition is based on I 10.

¹⁹ The following exposition is based on I 10, I 11, I 12, on various brochures about public / municipal and private support programmes, on various contributions in a monthly edited local information (*Up2date* January, February, March, April, Mai, June 2003), on newsletters about *trainings & events* (1. and 2. quarter 2003), as well as on a magazine entitled *channel view*, which has been annually edited since 2000 (Vol. 1, 2 and 3). Furthermore, some newspaper reports have been included: Becker, Wolfgang, Harburg steuert den Wissenstransfer, in *Harburger Anzeigen und Nachrichten* (HAN), 30. April 2003, Hillmer, Angelika, Im Angebot: Forschung aus Hamburg, in *Hamburger Abendblatt*, 6. Mai 2003.

²⁰ The following exposition is based on WV 1 - 6, I 5, I 6 and I 14.

helmsburg-based enterprises, in the beginning this body represented only the traditional industry and trade companies. In the course of the structural changes in Harburg inland port and a change in the structure of their members, the association is now committed to the conversion into one of service and technology-orientation.

channel harburg e.V.²¹: *channel harburg e.V.* was founded in 2000 as a body representing the interests of firms and institutions in the so-called “channel harburg area”, a 4-hectare central area of the inland port. Representatives from politics, from the administration, the economy and the sciences are members of the advisory committee. The member firms are mainly active in the high-tech sector.



Some of the goals and tasks of the association are location marketing and public relations, further, the promotion of the economical and urban development in the inland port by establishing high-tech companies from the surroundings of the TUHH and the (former) MAZ. In addition, the development and maintenance of networks between the persons employed at channel harburg and the organisation of cultural and other events.

Illustration 19: Some of the channel harburg companies

Investors²²: As the main investor in Harburg inland port, the firm of H.C. Hagemann (established in 1869) and their managing partner and sole owner Arne Weber play a particular role. Apart from the TUHH and the MAZ, he is considered the initiator and engine of revitalisation in the inland port.

Meanwhile the Weber group has acquired large areas of land in the inland port. As the owner of the channel buildings (1 - 8) and the channel tower they are one of the big property-owners and hence landlords in channel harburg.

Personally or through his firms, Mr Weber is represented in a large number of associations, representative bodies and working groups: he is, for instance, a founder member and Chairman of the Board of channel harburg e.V., chairman of the building and industry association, member of the „Arbeitsgruppe Harburger Binnenhafen“, (“Harburg inland port workgroup”), and his firm is a member of the Economy Association.

²¹ The following exposition is based on C 1 - C 7 and two newspaper reports: Knödler, Gernot, Work, live, yacht, in TAZ Hamburg, 7. Januar 2003 and (goe), Channel Citadelle Hamburg, Olympiabesuch mit dem Boot, in Immobilienzeitung, 16.1. 2003.

²² The following exposition is based on I 7 and numerous publications in the newspapers and information edited by the channel harburg e.V. (see above).

With his countless private initiatives (e.g. the opening of a star restaurant in the inland port, the acquisition of the *Vogelsand* lighthouse and the former seaside resort ship *Seute Deern*) Mr Weber gets quite frequent mention in the Hamburg and local media. It was mainly the press that lay the foundations of his reputation as a somewhat mad, but inspired „Mr Harburg“, and paid special attention to his plans in the inland port. His latest idea, the Harburg *China Tower* project, was looked on favourably in Harburg, whereas in Hamburg it was received with a great deal of reservation and even criticism, as a China trade centre has already been planned for other locations, e.g. the Hafen-City.



Illustration 20: Three of the channel buildings and the former seaside resort ship *Seute Deern*

Die Kulturwerkstatt (Culture Workshop) **Harburg e.V.** (KWH)²³: The inland port-based association, founded in 1983, originally made it their business to bring life into the concept of „Arbeiterkultur“ (worker’s culture), falling back on experiences of their own. Apart from a wide range of events, workshops and courses, the most important and most prestigious project is the organisation and realisation of the Harburg Inland Port Festival that has taken place annually since the year 2000 and receives attention, even beyond the region.

The KWH vehemently and publicly supports the preservation of cultural monuments from Harburg’s industrial age.

3.4.2. Social exclusion and urban subsistence

3.4.2.1. Protagonists / Groups: A short profile, reasons for selection

Though homelessness is a phenomenon that can be noticed in every German metropolis (Hamburg, Cologne, Berlin), Hamburg has acquired the reputation of being the “capital” of the homeless. Groups of alcohol or drug addicted homeless persons appear in different places and in several districts and quarters. There is, however, a certain concentration in the business quarter associated with the main shopping streets. A specific form of living and housing, on the verge of homelessness, is being practised by the „Bauwagen“ (Builders’ Wagons) communities who, in relation with their political protest against their expulsion, have developed forms of self-organisation.

²³ The following exposition is based on KW 1 - 10, on the self-representation of the Kulturwerkstatt and its course programmes (January / February, March / April, Mai / June 2003), the brochures about the Harburg Inland Port Festival 2002 and 2003 as well as on F 5 and F 9.

Today it is mainly economic migrants from east and southeast Europe, as well as legal and illegal asylum seekers, who come to Hamburg. They are temporarily looked after on houseboats and work, for the most part, in the informal sector (construction, gastronomy, housework). According to official figures the number of stowaways among the illegal immigrants who come to Hamburg via the port amounts to about one hundred per year. They get arrested and are, at a rate of 90%, sent back to their homelands or countries of origin. The number of unrecorded cases is supposed to be three times as high.

For some years there has been a significant increase of prostitution from Eastern Europe women working legally and illegally in Hamburg's red-light quarter of St. Pauli. Among the homeless persons, too, there are a considerable number of eastern European immigrants, mainly from Poland. Because of their precarious legal status, so far it has been impossible to collect sufficient data about this group.

3.4.2.2. Specific forms of social exclusion, conflict potentials

*Homelessness in the centre of Hamburg*²⁴

Homeless persons see themselves divided into three different groups, which are characterized by certain features: there is, for instance, a fundamental distinction between those who stay out in the open, even in winter, and those who have a flat or emergency accommodation. A particularly sharp distinction is made, conceptually as well as practically, between alcoholics („Alkis“) and heroin addicts („Junkies“). Another clear distinction is made between „German“ homeless persons and the „Poles“, who also include other eastern Europeans. Both the „Junkies“ and the „Poles“ are considered a menace and are held responsible for the bad image of the homeless held by the public. There are very few isolated contacts with these two circles.



Illustration 21: Homeless men in the centre of Hamburg

Hierarchies within the groups are not very distinctive. In conflict situations the groups get split up. There is authority only with the elder and the more experienced, who also serve as mentors to newcomers or the younger ones.

To be accepted in a group and be able to enter into and maintain relations largely depends on the compliance with the social rules, which are the basis for living together in the streets. Important

norms and values are related to the respect for the territory and the possessions of others. A violation of these rules, as well as misbehaviour which is detrimental to the group, can lead to exclusion. Above all, generosity is important.

²⁴ The following exposition is based on Kokot / Axster / Gruber 2002: 22f, 24f, 26, 28f.

Conflicts like spontaneous outbreaks of violence within the group mostly arise from the consumption of alcohol. Normally, excluding the dissidents, or forcing them to move solves longer disputes. Open conflicts with representatives of the "normal" world, however, are comparatively rare. The relations with the security services of the shops are, as a rule, said to be satisfactory – there is mutual recognition: toleration by the business people and the security staff as a reward for order on the sleeping sites and orderly conditions.

Gentrification in St. Pauli²⁵

An example for the urban renewal and development schemes mentioned above is the restructuring of Hein-Köllisch-Platz. In 1974, first there were preparatory investigations for a redevelopment of the area, which were then not realised until into the eighties. Regardless of the residents' criticism, entire streets were removed and the buildings torn down. So, when the work was finished, a completely new streetscape had evolved. Another example is the development plan for the banks of the Elbe river between Neumühlen and the Speicherstadt: the measures for restructuring the quarter are mainly seen as an investment for the tourist industry, while in the view of the residents, the problems of St. Pauli are neglected.

Resistance and conflicts in the area investigated mainly occur between house owners and tenants, in the concrete case between the group Tal 67 and SAGA. A rent increase and the demolition or re-building of flats, in anticipation of future high-income tenants, are rated as a strategy of expulsion and considered a menace for existing neighbourhood structures.



Changing facilities offered by shops and restaurants, the formation of an art scene and the new clientele attracted by it, however, are judged less unanimously. While some of the people interviewed expect this development to have positive effects on the quarter and their neighbourhood, others dissociate themselves from the "strangers" and from what is „strange to St. Pauli“.

Illustration 22: Protest banner of the group Tal 67 emphasizing neighbourly relations

Another repeatedly mentioned daily conflict potential between residents, shop owners and tourists lies in the shortage of parking space in the area.

²⁵ The following exposition is based on Lohse 2003: 9, 10, 40 - 43.

Harburg inland port²⁶

Conflicts in the inland port occur between the different protagonists / groups of protagonists as well as within some of the groups.

There are internal disputes between the Hamburg Departments of Building, of Economy and Labour and of Culture on the one hand and curators on the other. Both sides pursue opposing goals and strategies and try to defend, or even enlarge, their spheres of influence. While the Building Department and the local Building Authorities mainly want to create, on the inland port territory, a business and housing environment attractive to future investors and employees, the Department of Economy with the River Port Authorities' Engineering Office consider the stock of companies, related to the port economy and the jobs they create, are considerably endangered by these plans. The curators, for their part, complain about the fact that their demands for the protection of excavation areas are turned down at just the moment when the Senate gives priority to their economic interest.

This clash of interests between the Departments, which regularly meet with a lively response in the Hamburg and local press (e.g. Harburger Anzeigen und Nachrichten), can partly be attributed to the complicated regulations of legal competence in the Hamburg port, part of which is Harburg inland port. Any change of use is therefore only possible after an amendment of the law.

The First Mayor of the Freie und Hansestadt Hamburg has intervened in these conflicts. By suggesting to take the *Schlossinsel* and other plots of land out of the area of responsibility of the Department of Economy (River Port Authorities' Engineering Office) and to designate them for "high value" commercial use, service and housing, he has even stimulated the discussion.



Illustration 23: Protest poster against the demolition of historical buildings in Harburg inland port

The rapid implementation of the existing development plans has reached a deadlock, as the owner of the largest territories, the Deutsche Bahn AG (German Rail), has difficulties in marketing its real estate. Especially the representatives of the city's authorities and committees are of opinion that Deutsche Bahn AG, itself, is responsible for the delay and that the disused areas impede complete development planning for the inland port. It is not least for this reason that the current discussion centres on the remaining areas in the harbour's special area (*Schlossinsel*), that include the conflict potential mentioned above.

The Wirtschaftsverein für den Hamburger Süden (Economic Association for the South of Hamburg) e.V. also has to struggle with internal problems. After an initial strategy that mainly had an eye to the interests of the established traditional industries and trade companies, the association, in the course of the process of structural change, have adjusted themselves to the changed conditions. Today, they attend to the area's conversion

into a service and technology oriented location that is to take on the function of a modera-

²⁶ The following exposition is based on I 1, I 2, I 5, I 6, I 14 und I 22.

tor, mediating between the established industrial companies / the harbour economy, the new users and the city planners.

A special role is played by the construction firm of H.C. Hagemann, particularly by its owner and managing director Arne Weber. As a big private investor, who has considerably influenced the structural change in the inland port, Mr Weber pursues goals and strategies of his own that collide with other interests. He is said to have disregarded valid regulations for the preservation of ground monuments in relation with one of the channel buildings and, moreover, has put through modifications of existing building regulations to accord with his own ideas.

Further to that, there are conflicts between Arne Weber and members of the Kulturwerkstatt (Culture Workshop), who reproach Weber with arrogance, ruthlessness and big landowner's manners in inland port affairs.

3.4.2.3. Specific form of urban subsistence / economic strategies

*Homelessness in the city*²⁷

Everyday strategies: The daily life of the homeless requires an enormous amount of organisation and is influenced by a number of different factors, both external and individual. There is the provision for basic needs, in the first place, such as sleeping, eating, medical and body care. Of great importance are the supply and consumption of alcohol and social contacts.

Certain procedures of the daily routine are preset by calling on different care organisations. Most of the homeless persons regularly use the stationary or mobile facilities in order to eat, have a shower or do the washing, maintain social contacts or use the possibi-



Illustration 24: Homeless men together with the researcher M. Gruber at their sleeping site ("pitch") in the entrance of a shop

ties of social care schemes. Homeless people living in the city centre are subject to a weekly routine that is determined by the opening hours of the shops. On weekdays they have to abandon their sleeping sites, colloquially „Platte“ ("pitch") in the entrance areas of shops and cannot return there until they close. There is also a fixed monthly routine determined by their receiving various forms of (social) benefits and the consumer habits resulting from this.

An essential element in the discourse of the homeless is the issue of "work". Some homeless persons, being granted social benefits, have a small monthly income. A large num-

²⁷ The following exposition is based on Kokot / Axster / Gruber 2002: 13 - 31.

ber, however, depend on various social care facilities completely and on their own work. Work is defined as different ways of earning some extra money. One of the most important is the sale of their magazine Hinz & Kunzt, that is organised by the institution of the same name. Further to that, Hinz & Kunzt offers basic social care, free coffee and tea, and a limited variety of old clothes and donated food. The "housing pool" offers help to find a flat. Like selling their paper, begging, too, is considered legitimate work. There is reluctance, however, to accosting people in the street ("cadging"), which is practised only when there is a great tightness of money. There are quite different ways of earning money. They are influenced by various factors: the season, weather conditions, the location, the presence of a dog and visual appearance of a homeless person.



Illustration 25: At work

Homeless people spend the most part of the day in a group. There are fixed meeting points that are daily attended by members of the central group and a different number of visitors. Common drinking is an essential part of these meetings.

With regard to the potential threat to the streets, the city centre of Hamburg is consid-

ered a relatively safe place. This depends both on the presence of dogs who are, as companions and protecting animals, essential members of the group, and on good contacts to the local police station. Life in public space is more dangerous for women than it is for men. Aspects of security and discreetness, e.g. in the choice of a sleeping site, are much more important for women.

Social organisations, categories and identities: The persons interviewed in the study refer to themselves as the "homeless" or "formerly homeless". Their belonging to these categories is defined by their living on the streets or in emergency accommodation and their taking part in common forms of daily routine like begging and the common consumption of alcohol. Lots of homeless persons are fully aware of their dependence on alcohol and consider themselves as unstable. The path into homelessness was experienced by all of the persons interviewed as a turning point in their biographies and a blow. The decision to live a life on the street is not taken willingly. To be homeless requires new knowledge, new strategies and values that have to be acquired and practiced within a short period of time.

Inside fixed central groups and between other groups there are relatively close social networks, often related to certain territories. The relations between these groups are confined to loose acquaintances and occasional common drinking. There is, as a rule, no more contact to the "normal" world or the life "before".

Solidarity and mutual help are of high value. The relations inside the social networks are of different intensity. For the central group members, who also understand themselves as

a "family" or "tribe", the group is of high emotional importance. Common chatting, under-

taking and, above all, common drinking are essential and binding factors in this context.



Illustration 26: Homeless men at a square, where a mobile toilet and a container for the depositing of luggage have been put up

group (toughness, virility, excessive drinking rituals, readiness for violence, misogynistic talk etc.) are bound to conceal their style of life.

Close relationship inside the central groups, a form of common household, can exist between two or, occasionally, three males who share their sleeping site, their food and even money and who jointly organize their daily routine. Homosexuality, however, is a taboo. Males who can-

not or refuse to adopt the behavioural pattern prevailing within the



Illustration 27: Homeless man with his dog at his sleeping site ("pitch")

There is special friendship towards dogs: not only are these animals important means of work (when begging they increase the readiness to make a contribution), they also grant protection against assaults and give warmth. Above all, they are comrades for whom responsibility has to be taken on.

Values, convictions and personal life models:

Although nearly all partners in the conversation deny any religious ties, spiritual orientations or a personal practice of

belief, most of the talks and biographic relations reveal a set of values and norms. The centre of these is the desire for more stability in personal relations and life conditions. Dignity and respect are central issues in all conversations and interviews. The hardship of and the exposure to daily life in the streets are felt, mainly during the first days and weeks, as disgraceful and a threat to the identity. Homeless persons try, as long as possible, to maintain an impression of normality. Shame about the "descent" into homelessness eventually leads to leaving the familiar context of life and to seeking protection in the

anonymity of a big city. The personal ties with the "old" life are reduced or completely broken, the world of the homeless, as a social form of organisation, becomes the main source of social relations. New values and behavioural norms have to be learned. This also applies to new strategies that aim at maintaining an awareness of personal integrity and dignity.

Reception and acquisition of public space: An important issue in the context of getting to know about the characteristics and the advantages or disadvantages of certain sites in public space is the choice of a suitable sleeping site („Pitch“). Different preferences can be noticed: some have a special liking for remote, hidden places that guarantee a high amount of privacy and security. Others feel that security is achieved rather on centrally situated sites with a high police presence. Some regard as important the vicinity of support facilities, potential customers and the question whether the sleeping pitch has to be cleared during daytime.

Groups and networks are identified with certain territories. The social distinction between „Alkies“ and „Junkies“ or „Homeless“ and „Poles“ also becomes evident in the reception and acquisition of public space.

Even if the places change in the course of the personal life history, the range of mobility of the persons interviewed is relatively small within Hamburg and is structured by care facilities and personal relations. Their being attached to certain places is a noticeable feature; sleeping pitches are often occupied for years. Single groups are identified in relation to their territory.

Myth and Milieu in St. Pauli²⁸

Local and linguistic distinctions: Related to the self-perception of the inhabitants of St. Pauli, who refer to themselves as "St. Paulians", are oppositions and limitations on different levels. Part of these are categories of both inclusion and exclusion, such as inside – outside, above – below, we – them, then – today, dangerous – safe and even clean – dirty which describe street borders, environmental and quarter borders, social borders and / or ethnic borders. At the same time, they are related to devaluations and revaluations.

Assignments and distinctions are often related to the social structure in the quarter: persons from the circles of pimps and drug dealers are to be found as "kings" on the one end, whereas homeless persons are on the lower end of the vertical line. Reeperbahn is seen, by a great number of persons interviewed, as the dividing line between the two areas: "over there" is seen as something strange and dangerous, "over here" as familiar and safe. The confrontation of "dangerous" and "safe" is mainly used when describing crime and milieu and is, further to that, of gender-specific importance: males are identified with power and the exercise of control, females with powerlessness and being under control.

Insights: The picture St. Paulians give of their quarter, combines their own experience, attitudes and points of view with representations construed and reproduced externally. The quarter is considered, on the one hand, more colourful, more lively, more versatile, and, above all, more tolerant and traditionally cosmopolitan than others, and is therefore looked upon as sympathetic and worth protecting. St. Pauli is, on the other hand, a socially focal point with a share of immigrants high above average, threatened by social problems and a "stepchild" of the city. Poverty, unemployment, violence in public and within families, the negative influence of the environment on children and juveniles, the

²⁸ The following exposition is based on Proepper 2003: 37 - 58.

isolation of aged people, alcohol and drug abuse are some of the categories that influence general perception.



Illustration 28: Social meeting point in Silbersackstraße

St. Pauli's image has been improving over the past few years with the establishment of a music and arts scene, the crisis in the sex business and the decline of violent struggles for power in the pimps' circles, although adventure, sex, alcohol, delinquency and violence have remained determining components of the St. Pauli myth down to the present day.

People who have been living in St. Pauli for a longer time are regarded as "belonging" to it, whereas tourists are looked upon as "outsiders" and an encumbrance for the quarter. Within a closed circle exists another inner area, a "closed", more or less "criminal red-light milieu" based on the predominant business of sex and prostitution.

Media image and myth: St. Paulians blame certain media for the persistent "reputation" of St. Pauli and reproach them for their one-sided, exaggerated, distorted and exotic reports that associate the quarter with red-light milieu, immigrants and pimps, delinquency and sex. TV series, cinema movies and various reports even in renowned magazines and on certain TV channels are also seen as doing their share in the distorted coverage that is trying to sell St. Pauli as dirty and dangerous, but at the same time glittering and exciting.

There is a very high degree of congruence between the image created in the media and the features of a myth. The inhabitants, however, do not recognize themselves in this kind of representation. As they see it, the quarter is being reduced to few features like Reeperbahn, whereas "normal" residents, students and families, the co-residence of so many different nationalities and the social problems do not seem to be worth mentioning.

Crime and milieu: The questionnaires on the issue of crime show that the cultural knowledge about criminal practice is fed by different sources such as observations and personal experience, but also from myths and assumptions.

Experts have, for more professional reasons, more profound knowledge particularly in the field of heavy delinquency than „normal“ residents whose perception is limited to minor crime or the "fringe areas" of milieu crime. According to the survey, most St. Paulians from time to time are in contact, more or less directly, with crime. In constructing their reality, people mix up personal experience with media coverage, and both form the basis for suppositions concerning the non-observable fields of crime.

In St. Pauli, the term "milieu" is primarily used in connection with the metaphor "red light", with sex and prostitution. Milieu is understood by some of the people interviewed as a

clearly defined social area inside St. Pauli, as a world of its own to which there are only few points of contact. Other residents of St. Pauli see themselves as living right in the middle of this milieu, with no borders, but places that have become its favourite locations (brothels, sex shops, pubs, clubs, casinos, flats, backyards, staircases, underground stations etc.).

The protagonists of the milieu are predominantly male, organised hierarchically and mainly interested in the maximisation of profits. Within the surroundings of prostitution, there exist other illegal branches of economy. Milieu consists of a number of groups, networks, families or conglomerates between which there is competition and struggle for distribution.

Access to this area requires specific cultural knowledge of the milieu as well as contacts, acquaintances and the confidence of an insider. Being hard to observe, it is enclosed with a myth partly created by and in the interest of the milieu itself.

Dangers, threats and safety: As a distinctive result of this field research it can be stated that both inhabitants and users of St. Pauli, in their large majority, feel safe as long as they observe certain measures of security, and do not consider their direct environment dangerous.

Nevertheless they mention a number of potential threats. The source of danger referred to most frequently is the omnipresence of violence. The biggest threat felt, subjectively, seems to emanate from the large number of drunken visitors whose latent physical violence is hardly assessable. Elderly people feel threatened mainly by groups of juvenile immigrants. Violence often occurs within the different groups (juveniles, prostitutes, ethnic groups), but means no danger to non-members.

For women the permanent presence of people in the street seems to constitute a factor of security and a protection against assaults.

In the interest of a peaceful co-existence between members of the milieu and other St. Paulians, certain precautions and behavioural rules are of great importance. The perception of crime and the suppositions about the milieu require, above all, non-interference, a "correct" dealing with the scene and the tolerance towards alternative forms of life that is typical of St. Pauli, and often referred to, mainly by young people.

The residents do not really consider the "big" crime, the "wars of the pimps" and similar mythic elements of organised crime as a menace. Many, however, look upon the social problems as an essentially bigger threat. They experience St. Pauli as a place where people are threatened by poverty and destitution, by waste and squalor left behind by tourism, by neglect, alcohol and drug abuse, isolation and anonymity, homelessness, noise and gentrification.

Gentrification in St. Pauli²⁹

Though the number of inhabitants has been declining since the end of the 19th century, St. Pauli, today, is still one of the most densely populated quarters of Hamburg, with a high number of old buildings in a bad state of repair. But, due to the building density, there were especially close neighbourhood relations. An "extraordinarily high rate of communication" (Schmidt-Relenberg u.a. 1972: 56, quoted after Lohse 2003: 8) and the close social relations are still regarded as characteristic of the quarter. Many residents

²⁹ The following exposition is based on Lohse 2003: 42f.

refer to their area as a village and have all their family, friends and acquaintances in St. Pauli.

Neighbourhood and social relations are mentioned, time and again, as central issues of the interviews. The group Tal 67 addressed themselves to lawyers, to the Lawaetz Foundation and to architects to make alternative and – by offering contributions from own resources – more cost-effective proposals to the Hamburg Building Department. The argumentation in the dispute with the city-owned housing society SAGA about the maintenance and redevelopment of the buildings emphasizes the intact social structures and the excellent neighbourly relations in the quarter. The group's intention is to support integration and social cohesion to help people cope with the problems in their neighbourhood or even to avoid them. The community and assembly centres provided in the housing project are supposed to be made available to other groups as meeting points and are expected to have a stabilising and positive effect on the quarter in general. Public relations work, aimed at arousing support by the residents, is another essential component of these activities.

3.4.3. Self organisation and forms of representation

3.4.3.1. Networks, NGOs, other forms of representation

In phase I of the project several groups and organisations have been identified and contacted, who have been described more precisely in the section of protagonists. They are, themselves, committed in the field of homelessness in the city centre of Hamburg, are affected by processes of gentrification in St. Pauli and take part, on the level of city planning, in the development and revitalisation of Harburg inland port.

Beside these groups participating in phase I, further protagonists get involved who work mainly as advisors:

- the "houseboat group", an independent group in the port of Hamburg supporting refugees
- the station's mission, an institution engaged in street social work in the inner city of Hamburg
- the „Davids-Wache“, a St. Pauli police station
- the Kulturwerkstatt Harburg (Culture Workshop in Harburg, see above)

3.4.4. Case specific conclusions

As one of the biggest port cities in Europe, Hamburg is particularly affected by the global structural change that has fundamentally influenced the relations between the city and the port. The consequences of these changes do not only become evident in the decline of port-based jobs, but are also reflected in the urban concepts for the revitalisation and change of use of port areas that have fallen derelict. Since the 1970s there have been processes of sub urbanisation in Hamburg. With the younger and fully solvent strata moving out to the adjacent rural areas, the city has suffered from losses in tax returns and purchasing power. District and quarter-related measures of redevelopment and promotion were supposed to halt this development. The creation of housing and work areas in the vicinity of the port and the waterfront is expected to attract a well-qualified, fully solvent upper middle class clientele mainly employed in the New Economy or New Media business. As a consequence of this, processes of gentrification are to be noticed both in former working class quarters (Altstadt, St. Pauli, St. Georg), and in the traditional residential areas of the middle class (Eppendorf, Uhlenhorst).

Homelessness in the City centre of Hamburg³⁰

Hamburg has a comparatively broad variety of facilities and care that can undoubtedly be regarded a strong point of the Hamburg politics of the homeless and as a model for other big cities. This does not mean, however, that the situation of the homeless is a pleasant one. All persons affected regard homelessness as a heavy blow of fate. Many are the victims of economic restructuring measures in the old and new Federal States. Efforts to structure their daily routine, to get themselves "domiciles" as well as the discourse inside the group on hardship and virility can be seen as attempts to retain a supportable degree of personal dignity within a life led on the edge of a socially acceptable existence. The striking thing about this is that dominant values of the society are not categorically refused, but adapted to circumstances. This applies to the discourse on begging as "work" as well as to rituals of virility and racist attitudes.

Some central requests of homeless persons are for a larger number of low-level facilities like the „Bude“ (hut) in Gertrudenkirchhof (toilet, washrooms, luggage rooms), also for other groups of homeless persons, access to self-determined forms of housing (also with a dog) and individual social and psychological care that takes into consideration the personal backgrounds and needs.

The target of further research is to investigate the situation of homeless women and non-German homeless persons.

Myth and Milieu in St. Pauli³¹

Both statistics and experts confirm that St. Pauli is, above all, a quarter that faces considerable social problems. Due to tourism with its high number of visitors and the financial transactions related to it, an environment of various criminal-economic activities has been established in the context of sex and prostitution.

A large number of the persons interviewed who live and work in St. Pauli are able to identify clear features of a myth that qualifies St. Pauli as a dangerous and a criminal red-light and amusement quarter. Many put the blame for this on the media who show little interest in the "normal" residents, in what is experienced as positive, or in the social problems of the area.

Knowledge about and experience with crime are influenced by the St. Pauli myth that is thoroughly commented on critically. The residents' assumptions on dangers in general and the milieu in particular are formative factors in the process of developing and practising rules for "appropriate behaviour".

Gentrification in St. Pauli³²

The investigation on the changes in a street in the quarter of St. Pauli shows that gentrification, in the sense of the above definition, occurs on different levels in the port-adjacent areas. The redevelopment and new building measures carried through contribute, on the one hand, to the preservation and creation of housing space, on the other, however, they are supposed to appeal to high-income occupants. This has a lasting effect of change on the level of rent, the social structure and the infrastructure of shops and restaurants. Low-income tenants fear they may not be able to pay the higher prices and see themselves compelled to leave their flats and the quarter, often after years of insecurity. This gradually destroys established neighbourhood structures

³⁰ The following exposition is based on Kokot / Axter / Gruber 2002.

³¹ The following exposition is based on Proepper 2003.

³² The following exposition is based on Lohse 2003.

ally destroys established neighbourhood structures and social relations. Further to that, there is a process of exclusion from public space when increasing building activities at the harbour front prevent the old-established population from having access to the Elbe river, a nearby recreational area.

The city of Hamburg contributed considerably to this process. Framework concepts (like, for example, the project group Elbufer or the Scheme to eliminate poverty) that provide for the involvement and participation of local protagonists and initiatives, fail to reach larger sections of the population. By the measures taken, the city expects the residents' social and economic life conditions to improve and stabilize, and to eventually have positive effects for the whole quarter. The residents, however, criticise the strategies of municipal housing societies like SAGA as exclusively determined by economic factors that completely ignore urban development, historical, ecological and social aspects.

Protest movements have had a long tradition in St. Pauli. Between 1981 and 1995 the squatting of several dilapidated buildings in *Hafenstraße* grew into a genuine political affair. The protest was successful in that the buildings were sold, at a "political price", to a cooperative called „Alternativen am Elbufer“ (Alternatives on the Elbe riverbanks, Kopitzsch / Tilgner ²2000: 195). A current example for the potential of self-help and self-organization in this quarter is the group Tal 67. Their well-organised and publicly effective protest against the demolition of the terrace houses and the exclusion of the residents mainly goes back to the targets and arguments of the city when, on the one hand, it emphasizes the problems of the quarter and, on the other, refers to the good neighbourhood relations in the terrace houses.

It is intended to follow the future activities of the group in their conflict with the municipal authorities and institutions.

Harburg inland port

Harburg inland port is currently going through an initial phase of gentrification. In this process both the existing, legally fixed borders of the area and the spheres of influence of various Hamburg authorities, but also of individuals, institutions and interest groups play an important role.

The new utilization of conversion areas and the planned increase in the share of housing in this area affect, on the one hand, the currently resident population, the preferred target group "für ein solches Milieu von Industrieromantik und maritimer Lebensqualität" ("for an environment of industry romance and maritime life quality") being an "unkonventionelle Mittelschicht z.B. aus der New-Economy, New-Media oder dem universitären Umfeld" ("unconventional middle class from e.g. the New-Economy, the New-Media or the surroundings of the university")³³. In the short or medium-term run an exclusion of the current residents (tenants as well as owners) is likely, due to the rent increase and the pressure for redevelopment.

This will primarily affect the currently existing industry, trade and service enterprises. Especially, noise-emitting companies fear that the vicinity of housing and working in the inland port area will result in increasing restrictions of the work routine and the eventual removal or closure of their companies.

³³ PPL, Planungsgruppe Professor Lage, Städtebaulich-freiraumplanerisches Gutachten Harburger Binnenhafen, Rahmenplan „Kaufhauskanal“, Zwischenbericht Stand März 27.03.03: 3.

The investigation has shown that the political, administrative and economical elites involved in the structural change have considerable influence on the social inclusion, as well as the exclusion, of certain groups of the population.

Taking a closer look at the decision-makers in the process of gentrification contributes to making the different concepts, targets, strategies, networks and structures of decision as well as contents and discourses transparent and utilizable for the development and implementation of national action plans.

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The data on Harburg inland port are specified as follows:

Interviews are numbered as follows: I 1 (Interview 1) ...

Internal documents of the public authorities are numbered as follows: B 1 (authority 1) ...

Internal documents of associations are numbered as follows: WV 1 (Wirtschaftsverein Harburg-Wilhelmsburg) ..., C 1 (channel harburg) ...

Films are numbered as follows: F 1 ...

Questionnaires are numbered as follows: G 1 ..., P 1..., H 1...

Mental Maps are numbered as follows: M 1 ...

3.5. Social Exclusion and Inclusion in the Port, the Port-quarter and the Seaside Promenade. Street Vendors in Thessaloniki, Greece

Researcher: Salinia Stroux, University of Hamburg, Germany

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3.5.1. Introduction

This report is the result of three months preliminary fieldwork in Thessaloniki, Greece, conducted in March, April and June 2003. Four research areas were chosen through an interwoven process of approaching the field simultaneously through the actors¹ and the subject related space². These areas have all undergone a series of spatial changes since the 1980s, mainly caused by local and national politics, urban development projects, city-planning and multilevel changes in the economy. By observing world-wide developments of port cities one can recognise parallels between their urban structure and area utilisation plans. In the frame of this research on port-cities in the EU, the focus lies especially on changes through waterfront-development or other (port related) urban projects, that cause or support forms of exclusion or inclusion of certain population groups, e.g. through the privatisation of public space. In Thessaloniki, as the survey found out, one major group of actors affected by this latter process are street vendors and it is this group that will constitute the main focus of this report. A deeper insight into their situation is offered here by way of a short comparison of two groups of vendors, who have the legal status both of asylum seekers and illegalised workers. They are categorised here analytically by their place of origin as “the Afghan vendors” and “the African vendors”³. What they have in common is that they represent on the one hand self-organised and self-supporting networks supplying job opportunities in a coun-

¹ The socially excluded or included and the agents of exclusion.

² The port and port related areas.

³ This analytical categorisation goes back to their organisational structure, which has its basis in their place of origin.

try with – compared to other European countries – high unemployment rates (approx. 11 %). On the other hand, it is this same employment that excludes them because of the illegalised status of their work which has also given rise to the authorities introducing policies to separate them from the rest of the society. Against the background of an overview of the street vendors of Thessaloniki in general, the comparison of these two groups can help form an analysis of both the positive and negative aspects of working as a street vendor.

There is an abundance of actors of exclusion and inclusion in Thessaloniki. This research will offer an insight into the situation of former port workers, now working in other economies; the transformations in former port quarters and into the situation of street vendors using the sea-side as a workplace.

The main-subject of this report are the street vendors, that is former Greek port workers, migrants, asylum seekers and political refugees. This profession offers at least some opportunities for inclusion to a variety of “excluded” people, but being an illegalised employment, it is becoming more and more problematic due to the privatisation of public space and through gentrification processes.

The vendors are attracted to the seaside because of its recreational function for the city inhabitants and tourists who enjoy the port as background scenery. Additionally, they are connected to the port because they obtain their wares from through the wholesale trade of the Chinese diaspora located in the area. Visually, they contribute to a port city image as itinerant market traders traditionally connected to the port.

3.5.2. Thessaloniki: Port and city

Thessaloniki, built in 315 BC at the north-western shore of the *Thermaikos* Gulf, has approx. one million inhabitants, nearly 10 % of the Greek population, making it the second largest city in Greece, metropolis of northern Greece and capital of the Greek province of Macedonia. It is situated at the crossroads between Europe and Asia connecting the European Union with the former Eastern Block and the Orient. For this geopolitical reason among others the port has always played a major role in aspects of trade and migration.

In 1953 the Thessaloniki Port Fund and the Board of the Free Trade Zone merged to one new body named Free Zone and the Port of Thessaloniki. The port now started to move west and was extended. During the 1960s the city underwent a construction boom and in the meantime a series of industrial units moved into the region. As a result the port became more specialised on the transportation of raw materials and industrial goods. In 1970 the organisation called Free Zone and Port of Thessaloniki was renamed to Thessaloniki Port Authority and in 1999 it was incorporated in the form of a public S.A.⁴, a private-sector company with listings on the Athens Stock Exchange. The thrust for privatisation came from the Greek government's integrated national port policy, which had the conversion of the two main national ports of Piraeus and Thessaloniki into private-sector companies as a central goal. Other characteristics of the statutory framework include the establishment of a Secretariat General for Ports and Port Policy and of a Port Planning and Development Committee; the conversion of port funds at ten major ports⁵ in Greece into private-sector companies; the concession of management of remaining port funds throughout the rest of the country to local

⁴ Thessaloniki Port Authority SA 2002: <http://www.thpa.gr> (22.07.02).

⁵ The ten ports following the examples of Piraeus and Thessaloniki are Alexandroupoli, Kavala, Volos, Rafina, Lavrio, Elefsina, Patra, Igoumenitsa, Corfu and Heraklion. They are categorised as national ports while Piraeus and Thessaloniki are the major trans-European ports. All resting ports are summarised as peripheral ports (1 250 in numbers).

and interlocal government authorities; the reorganisation of the structure, function and personnel of the Coast Guard and the creation of the Greek Ports Association⁶.

Following the redefinition and opening of European borders in the 1990s, the port of Thessaloniki has regained its hinterland of the Balkans and former Eastern Block and the former transit routes have been revitalised. That is the reason for the Thessaloniki Port Authority promoting the harbour by saying that: "in the Balkans all Corridors lead to the Port of Thessaloniki"⁷.

Another indication of the particular role of Thessaloniki in the Balkans is the settlement of the Balkan Trade Centre and the headquarters of the Black Sea Trade & Development Bank in town. This institution was established in 1998 and is formed by eleven member states⁸. In fact many companies from south-eastern Europe became more oriented to Thessaloniki since the opening of the Balkans. That is also the reason for Thessaloniki and surrounding areas becoming the site of big shopping malls and the first choice of international companies before Athens, because there is a steady flux of shopping tourists from the Balkans coming only for this reason. Today Thessaloniki is the second major transit port of the country handling nearly half of the Greek exports. It handles cargo worth 6% of GDP annually, which is approx. 40% of GDP of the Central Macedonia region. Annually 15 millions tones of cargo are traded (7 million tones of general cargo and 8 millions are liquid fuel). Simple and heavy shipments are serviced at the conventional terminal from and to European, Asian, African and American countries as well as transit shipments to and from the Balkans and the Black Sea. Most arriving ships are flagged as Greek. Two thirds of the ship arrivals are international, one third domestic. The personnel of the Port Authority has been declining slowly since 1995 and in 2002 there were 459 employees and 256 dockers. The main cargoes handled are grain, iron, tin, rice, tobacco, ores, minerals, fertilisers, timber, cement, chemicals, crude oil and refined products.

With 3 342 138 tonnes in the seaborne traffic of conventional cargo (of Thessaloniki Port Authority) and a total of 233 909 TEUs⁹ of container traffic (176 833 loaded, 57 026 empty) in 2001, the port of Thessaloniki, although being one of the smaller international ports, has become a hub for the EU connection to the Balkans and the Black Sea. The engagement of big transport companies like MAERSK, MSC, P & O and Sarlis-Angelopoulos (Young Ming Lines, Canmar, CCL and Ellerman)¹⁰ symbolises its importance. From 1997 until 2001 around 3 400 ships passed the port of Thessaloniki annually (approx. 1 100 domestic and 2 300 international). The passenger traffic of the same period constitutes a steady 250 000 travellers a year¹¹. It mainly connects the city to the Greek islands, but there is also an upward trend in cruise ships. The statistics show just a little annual growth of the port economies (container and conventional cargo) since 1997, but it was the last 30 years that have been a period of great change, as container shipping became more and more relevant. Still the conventional cargo did not disappear. The main bulk cargos are ores, scrap and agricultural products while general cargos contain mostly iron and steel products. The port economies are today organised mainly by the Port Authority of Thessaloniki – a private stock company where 25 % of the shares are offered to the public. The Free Zone of the port is since

⁶ Hellenic Republic Ministry of Mercantile Marine 2003: National Shipping Policy. In: <http://www.mmm.gov.gr/mmm/politics/ports/structure/en/index.asp> (28.03.2003).

⁷ Thessaloniki Port Authority SA 2002: Handbook. Thessaloniki.

⁸ Which are: Albania, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Bulgaria, Georgia, Greece, Moldavia, Romania, Russia, Turkey and Ukraine (www.bstadb.org).

⁹ TEU: Twenty Feet Equivalent Unit, which is one standard container.

¹⁰ In 1998 Maersk was the biggest company, P & O Nedlloyd third, Mediterranean Shipping (MSC) fourth (see also Schubert, Dirk (ed.), 2001: Hafen- und Uferzonen im Wandel. Analysen und Planungen zur Revitalisierung der Waterfront in Hafenstädten, Anhang, Berlin)

¹¹ Thessaloniki Port Authority SA 2002: Handbook. Thessaloniki.

1995 one of 27 of the European Union operating under special customs code. Thessaloniki is also part of the “translognet project” which connects the port to others in Greece and the Mediterranean, and it is a member of international organisations like ESPO and MEDCRUISE.

The port is changing physically and economically. One group affected directly by those transformations are the port workers like dockers, transportation workers (coach drivers) or salvage and towage sailors. While the sailing profession has been traditionally passed by through family ties the new circumstances of a globalised sea trade paralleled by developments like the containerisation have changed the structures of the work and increased the educational expectations of the employers and the quantitative demands for professionals. The structures of traditional sailor’s families slowly disappear now and the crews become internationalised as the interest rates in this profession decrease. At the same time the port professions have been professionalised, e.g. the first salvage and towage workers were the fishermen of Thessaloniki who knew the sea in the area best. Now specialised employees have entered the job market. Other traditional port related crafts have disappeared totally. Two examples are the *Chamalides* (porters)¹² or coach drivers, who were managing the transportation of the goods until approx. 20 years ago. They drove them from the port to the warehouses or directly to the shops. Today the people who have been working in the port before have to or want to find new job opportunities. An assimilated but ongoing old profession is the coach driving, which has moved from the port to the sea promenade and is now a tourist attraction, also being used as background for weddings.

Situated at the south-eastern borders of the European Union, Greece, especially the eastern part of the country, acts as a central entry point for immigrants coming to the EU through Turkey or Bulgaria. People arrive in Thessaloniki from the Greek Islands or passing through the north-eastern borders trying to realise their hopes of a better life. Since Thessaloniki has been cultural capital in 1997 it tries to promote the multicultural history of the city pointing to the long tradition in coexistence of different nationalities. Offering refuge for the Sephardic Jews from the Iberian Peninsula at the end of the 15th century and being a general attraction point for other refugees¹³, economic migrants like trade-diasporas and travellers, Thessaloniki has a distinct multicultural history¹⁴. Newly planned tourist sightseeing walks use this history as a focus of public image-construction. One example is “Thessaloniki, the European City”.

It is in the past ten years that the numbers of immigrants – now coming from Asia, Africa and the former Eastern Block – are increasing again and this is also the *raison d’être* of many NGOs. For the huge groups of immigrants passing in from the borders of the EU and entering Greece, “this country is like waiting for the final judgement where God decides whether one goes to heaven or to hell”, as put by an Afghan refugee living in Thessaloniki.

During the past two decades, Thessaloniki has been undergoing a period of physical change with the goal to improve the whole image of the city for political (EU membership), cultural (cultural capital 1997) and economic (e.g. tourism) reasons. In preparation for the 1997 cultural capital Thessaloniki served as a canvas for different projects like the preservation of the upper city, the utilisation of modern period architectural heritage, the “freeing” of the city’s

¹² The bulk carriers were traditionally Jews.

¹³ A refugee is an individual who „finds himself outside the country whose citizenship he has, for justified fear of persecution on the grounds of his race, religion, nationality, participation in a particular social group or because of his political convictions, and cannot return to his country because of this fear“ (Geneva Convention of 1951). Asylum seekers are those refugees who ask to be granted asylum as refugees.

¹⁴ It should be noted here that the author is not agreeing with such a purely theoretical distinction between refugees and economic migrants. For this reason the talk in the following text parts will be as often as possible of migrants or immigrants as generalising terms. Only when the legal situation of people is relevant for the context those categories will be used.

monuments and distinct projects in the regional municipalities etc. Amongst other things the *Modiano* marketplace and the *Ladadika* area were to be restored and preserved. The physical change of the city is mainly characterised by the development of a multicultural city image and the upgrade of the historic centre, e.g. by the Urban Pilot Project funded from 1989 till 1993 and prepared by the Organisation of Thessaloniki for the Master Plan Implementation and Environmental Protection, which was set up in 1985 by the Greek ministry of environment. The specific project was focused on the “regeneration and development of the historic commercial centre of Thessaloniki” with the principal strategic objectives being the “restoration and appropriate exploit for cultural and tourist purposes, the historic fabric and profile of the area, and the stimulation of traditional and new economic activities by designating old listed buildings with new uses that respond to modern economic needs”¹⁵.

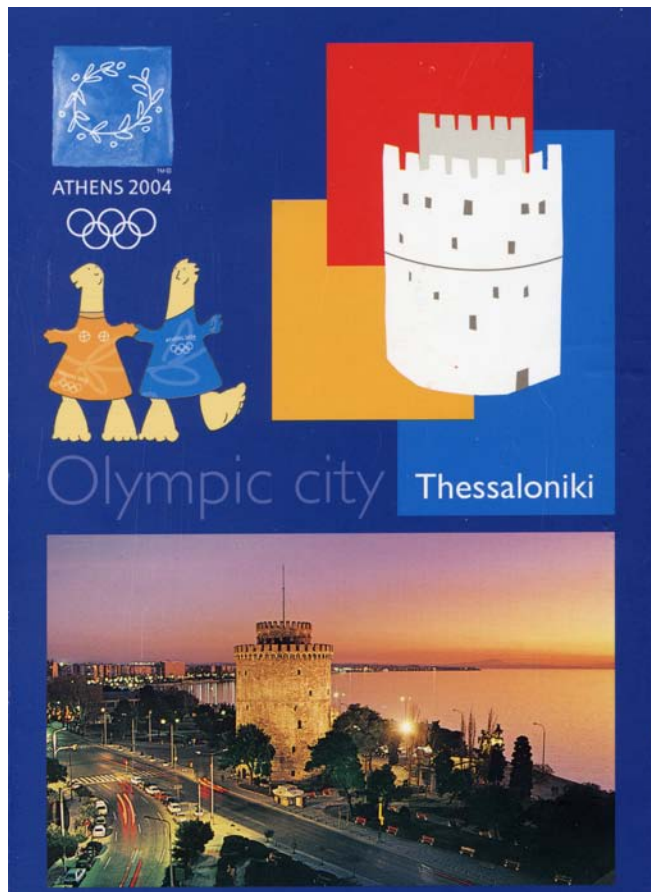


Illustration 1: Postcard promoting Thessaloniki as Olympic city of 2004

The upgrading of the historical centre continues. In 2003 new plans again foresee a 4,4 million Euro investment by the local government in different spatial projects – including the *Ladadika* area¹⁶. These strategies of urban transformation result in the displacement of many inhabitants that used the public space before, excluding the local community. Various stages of gentrification processes can be observed in the centre in general and specifically in the port, the *Ladadika* and the extended port related area in the west of the courts, namely the Region of *Lachanagora*. Special plans for the latter region contain amongst others also the further opening of the port area to the public. One objective is the re-development of a port-city relation. In general the whole western region is part of the two wider projects: one of *Lachanagora* and the other of the western bow of Thessaloniki, which are the basis of the upgrade in this part of town. Since twenty years the idea of a tunnel to take over the burden of traffic jams at the seaside promenade is in discussion. Although these plans have been tossed about for years, town-planning projects still play with this idea. In the near future the central *Agora*, containing the markets of *Modiano*, *Blali* and

Kapani, will also undergo changes as pointed out in the headings of the 2003 newspapers. These areas represent the heart of the city so their restoration amounts to a general upgrade of the historical centre¹⁷. This has the greatest impact on groups like street vendors, addicts and the homeless.

¹⁵ Centre of Culture for the 21st Century: http://www.hri.org/culture97/eng/h_polh_etoimazetai_1html (26.04.02) and Thessaloniki project presentation: http://europa.eu.int/comm/urban/casestudies/c016_en.htm (26.04.02)

¹⁶ Ζουκα, Βαρβάρα 2003: 4,4 εκατ. ευρώ για παρεμβάσεις σε όλη την μολη. Σε: Μακεδονία (02.04.03): 18.

¹⁷ Κανιτσακη, Ντονιας 2003: Ιδου το νεο προσωπο του ιστορικου κεντρου της Θεσσαλονικης. Σε: Μακεδονία της Κυριακης 15.06.03: 36–37.

To summarise the background, it is important to underline the global and national processes influencing the developments of Thessaloniki as a port city. This is exemplified in the restructuring of ports and port economies, due to the emphasis on containerisation in the sea economy. Additionally, a de-concentration of port functions paralleled changes in other port cities. A further important development was the opening of the former hinterland of Thessaloniki, a process growing out of the political changes in the former Eastern Block and the transformation of the Balkans. Thirdly, the EU and her policies have been a major influence. The Schengen Treaty in particular had a great impact on the situation of the immigrants in Greece, giving rise to the development of external and internal buffer zones, where immigrants can be prevented from entering the EU in the first place. Furthermore, Thessaloniki's role as an urban tourist magnet for Greece has been important. In order to secure Thessaloniki as a venue for the Olympic games 2004, and through attempts to draw EXPO 2008 to the city, tendencies to create an appropriate representation of the town have been progressively strengthened. And finally, Thessaloniki's selection as European cultural capital for 1997 provided a ground for great transformation plans that have already been achieved.

3.5.3. The research areas

Four different areas were selected for this preliminary study. Each has its own distinct connection to the an aspect of the port: The port itself as an economic space of harbour crafts



and now also being used as cultural space; Ladadika, the former port quarter which is now being transformed into a entertainment area; *Paralia*, the seaside promenade, belonging in former times to the port and as mainly connected through the scenery and image to the port and finally the downgraded port-related area between the harbour and the railway station which is now undergoing a gentrification process. The following chapters detail the processes of exclusion and inclusion in the four areas.

Illustration 2: Map of Thessaloniki showing the four research areas: the seaport (1), the old port quarter Ladadika (2), the seaside promenade Paralia (3), and the port-related area between the harbour and the railway station (4)

3.5.3.1. The port

The port area covers an area 1 250 000 sq m, and contains six piers. The first three of these are outside of the Tax Free Zone. The sixth and last pier is partly used for container shipping. There are fourteen port gates, but three are used only by visitors. The first pier is character-

ised these days by former warehouses now used for cultural purposes and as the main offices of the Port Authority, the Port Masters Office, the Port Police and a Nursery School open to the employees of the port and inhabitants of the city centre. The responsible Port Authority describes the new cultural development and opening of the first pier as a “significant contribution to the cultural affairs of the city”.



Illustration 3: The port and the recently built cinema museum

Through their initiative warehouses have become exhibition areas, concert halls, cinemas and coffee bars. A mixture of private individuals, public entities and the port economies use the area surrounding the first pier now. The Museum of Cinematography, Photography and Modern Art moved to the port-scenery of the most eastern pier. Today a variety of cultural activities take place in the port. One example is the annual film festival, which attracts the public to the otherwise unused port area for one

month of every year. There are also plans to build hotels and restaurants at the first pier that will reinforce this development.



Illustration 4: Traders in the port quarter

As a result of international processes, many changes in the spatial structure and use of space have taken place. The functional changes in the port and port quarter caused by the emphasis on containerisation and global transformations in trade and shipping structures have displaced parts of the former clientele and working population in favour of others. The de-concentration tendencies moved the port more and more to the west and out of the city. Ships had to move more to the west, as

water closer to the city was insufficiently deep. As a result, people tended to forget the traditional port, partly because it no longer plays a major role as employer. While the port facilities and industries move west, the first pier, which is also the nearest to the city, becomes transformed into a recreational and cultural space containing museums and a cafe bar. According to the plans of the port authority (OLTH) the changes will continue with the opening of a luxury restaurant and the construction of a hotel at the same pier.

In summary, three types of social exclusion can be observed in the port:

- Limited information provided to the general city population about possible uses of the port area leads to restricted access for a few selected inhabitants or tourists.
- Some of the more traditional port economies don't exist anymore (e.g. horse cart drivers), so jobs are lost.
- The ongoing port economies are expelled from the city centre and thus become alien to the general population of Thessaloniki.

3.5.3.2. Ladadika: The old port quarter

The Ladadika area is situated in the eastern part of the Byzantine port which was founded by Alexander the Great. This traditional port quarter has undergone several gentrification processes, of which the most intense period began in the 1980s. As a result, the purpose and use of the area changed, followed by a physical restructuring. The former port quarter has changed its face radically from a central trade and market area and renowned red light district to an entertainment area with bars, restaurants and coffee shops. Now, all that remains of former times are the partly renovated old houses, some old street names and few small businesses left reminding one of the old port district.



Illustration 5: The old port quarter Ladadika

Only the ongoing presence of some ship supplies and fishing trade shops, the offices of the shipping agencies, the pensioners association of sailors and some preferred *tavernas* of port workers, sailors and shipping agents point to the remaining connection between the Ladadika and the port. Most old shops have closed or moved out of the area. A direct port connection is evident only around the streets *Kountouriotou* and *Ioanou Dragoumi*.

Today, the gentrification processes are still going on. New houses are built, old ones are restored, and the whole area is being transformed. A key agent of this ongoing transformation is a group of private investors, who have the goal of transforming the area so that it becomes more attractive to tourists and the entertainment facilities improve.

The name Ladadika is a historical one, *ladi* is the Greek expression for oil. In former times, around the 16th century, the area with its Egyptian market was characterised by trade focused on goods like oil, olives and wheat coming from Lesbos, Volos, Amfisa and Kalamata. The smell of oil and olives was characteristic. In the first decade of the 20th century nautical and trade companies settled in the district and the area became known for its prostitutes and brothels. The women came from all ports of the Mediterranean.



Illustration 6: Marine supplier

As the only part of the original city centre, and the central business and economy district not being affected by the great fire of 1917, it remained as a small memorial area where time seemed, at least materially, to stand still. When the foreign armies left after World War I, the original customers were gone and a new form of brothel was born. Groups of prostitutes organised themselves into “houses”, until this form of co-operation was forbidden in 1952.

The civil war of the 1940s

and its consequences in organised prostitution gave the area the negative connotation. The area gained a bad image as only a few cheap prostitutes worked the streets and in the downgraded houses called *kalderimitzoudes*¹⁸.

In the 1960s spatial changes and especially the street works at the *Tsimiski* and *Salaminas* deepened the gap between the Ladadika area and the rest of the centre. In the decades from the 1950s to the 1970s the whole of Greece was marked by a development of spatial change, where older houses were torn down, the ground was sold and former owners were relocated to flats in the new type of high-rise buildings. In Thessaloniki, the massive construction of these typical Mediterranean apartment buildings furthered the spatial separation of the Ladadika area by increasing the visual contrast between the remaining old houses and the rebuilt surroundings. In the meantime, the area of the Ladadika still continued to be a space of wholesale trade and little groceries by day while the doors of the red light district opened after sunset. But in the 1980s the area couldn't resist the upcoming changes anymore and was threatened by demolition. Being financially supported by EU money, it was declared to be a historical site in 1985 and the local department of environment chose 95 buildings to list for protection. The destruction of historic buildings slowly stopped in the 1990s because of the growing public impression that the old houses might be attractive to tourists and therefore worth protecting. At the same time space urban became an important resource, security and the resulting control over space become increasingly important. The meaning of public space changed.

At the beginning of the 2000s, the transformations have been continuing. Since 1992 the Ladadika area is incorporated to the programme for the upgrading of the historical city centre. In 1994 the ministry of Macedonia and Thrace signed a plan to restore 87 buildings. Finally in 1995 the first entertainment club opened its doors in Ladadika. As some local critics put it, Ladadika was transformed into an “entertainment Ghetto”¹⁹.

¹⁸ Kalderimi is a small cobbled street.

¹⁹ Μαυρη Γατα 2003: Απο τον πολιτισμο της εκμεταλλευσης στον πολιτισμο της ελευθεριας. Θεσσαλονικη: 28.



Illustration 7: The „new“ port quarter

What remains today as artefacts of an old port quarter hint at the past of this area. The major shipping agencies are situated around the port in the centre of Thessaloniki. Their names are reflected in the small part of the harbour; ship and sea-related symbols in the area outside the port add visibility and flair to the image of Thessaloniki as a port city. Only a few old shops exist now (old grocery stores, port-related commerce). After those structural changes no “bad” influences were allowed to enter (e.g. *Kethea*²⁰). The

private investors build cliques to defend the area from all sorts of image-dangers. But after the disappearance of the former port economies, the “new” function of the place has also passed its peak now and it does not hold any more hopes of the private investors. The city is now trying to revive the quarter in various ways, one of which is to force the street vendors working in the central place *Aristotelous* to move to *Ladadika* in exchange for receiving a renewal of the official permit to trade in the streets. Because of these policies, the old professionals of the area and their clientele are being excluded.

3.5.3.3. The Paralia (Aristotelous to White Tower)

The seaside promenade *Paralia* stretches from the music hall in the east, along the central orientation point of the White Tower and the central square *Aristotelous*, to the Square of *Eleftheria* in the west, where the port area begins. Before the great transformation of the



Illustration 8: The seaside promenade *Paralia*

promenade in 1958 under the politics of K. Karamanlis, it was an area frequented by a variety of inhabitants and passing population like soldiers, students and tourists. People used the seaside as background scenery for pictures, couples walked along the sea and different classes of people met there. The White Tower was first called *Kanli Koule* (tower of blood), as it was a prison in Ottoman times and later *Beyaz Koule* (White Tower). In 1890 it was

painted white to change the bad image connected with the building for so many years. Next to the White Tower was a place called *Limanaki*. It was the notorious centre of the black

²⁰ The NGO tried to enter the area with a rehabilitation centre for addicts.

market, drugs, prostitution and smuggling. The Aristotelous place is used for political, cultural and religious public events. Many inhabitants pass by every day on their way to work, for a coffee or just for a walk. In contrast, the Eleftheria place has lost its importance and was transformed into a big car park. No signs point to the historic events that took place here like the bloody uprising of the tobacco workers in May 1936 or the assembling of 9 000 Jews for deportation by the Nazis in 1942²¹.

This former part of the port, where the little sailing boats arrived from the islands to bring the fruits and other wares and its seaside scenery are being used today as “background” for street vending and other forms of urban subsistence like tourist-tours by coaches, kiosks, street vendors, musicians and visual artists.

3.5.3.4. The area between the port and the old and new railway station

Although the traditionally notorious port quarter of old times was concentrated in the Ladadika, its borders stretched to the west and north. Since the Ladadika area has been upgraded and changed in use, signs of former times can only be found in the wider port-related area, where changes have been going on more slowly. As changes in these quarters moved on slowly, they still have a reputation of danger, criminality, marginality and an ongoing red light milieu around. There, different people work and live, who at least from an outsiders position could be categorised as excluded: prostitutes, the homeless, drug addicts, Roma and other “foreigners” (e.g. refugees, or migrants). At the same time there are areas still related to the port through the transportation agencies located there and through diaspora Chinese wholesalers, who receive their goods directly from China or through their Chinese networks in other European countries. Although for them, the port plays no role in the transportation of their goods, their presence as a trade diaspora is characteristic for port cities or port districts. They sell cheap goods, e.g. cloth and shoes, but also little things like sunglasses, bracelets, toys, lighters, watches etc. to street vendors of various ethnic origin.

This area is now also undergoing gentrification processes. It is a changing space with new office buildings next to provisional housing and ramshackle workshops. Characterised by a mixture of functions (business and residential) with the offices and storehouses of transportation agencies, the wholesale businesses of the Chinese diaspora, this area is also the market for street vendors, and a central public place for (mostly Albanian) migrants who assemble there to find casual jobs. It is offering potentials for a variety of “excluded” groups to make their living.

Residentially it is characterised as downgraded living area with a high visibility of homeless, some Roma and other excluded groups. Nonetheless, it has evolved as a space to go for those who have been displaced from other open spaces like the historic city centre where special police units (border police) “clean” the urban space of any undesirables.

3.5.4. The street vendors: Forms of social exclusion and urban subsistence in the port city of Thessaloniki

The focus group of research until now have been street vendors from different countries of origin, (Greeks, Georgians, Nigerians, Afghans and others) located mostly at the seaside but also in other parts of the historic centre of Thessaloniki. Other businessmen at the Paralia are Kiosk owners, coach drivers, street musicians, street artists like photographers, painters, wedding photographers etc. The actors directly involved with street vendors are their customers, the police, shop owners of the bars and the authorities issuing the permits.

²¹ Ζαφειρης, Χριστος 1993: Ο Ερος σκεπει την πολη. Ερωτικη Τοπογραφια Θεσσαλονικης. Εξαντας: Αθηνα.



Illustration 9: Street musician in the market quarter

has recently become more and more difficult to work legally in this profession. Only a small privileged group of (mostly Greeks) can afford the expenses. All other street-vendors work illegally, but are unofficially accepted by the public. There are no secure numbers available, but the police estimate the vendors in Greece to number around 10 000²² with an upwards trend. Most of the younger ones come from Albania, Romania or are Roma people²³. The average age ranges from 12 to 20 years, with the exception of some traditionally working older (Greek) people. The most public group of vendors, where the limits between selling and begging are blurred, are children. They also represent one third of all people arrested for begging. In the last five years approx. 3 000 people were arrested for this reason, 2 100 being foreigners – mainly Albanians, the rest mostly Greek Roma. In the media the street trade is represented as a high profit economy, because of the lack of expenses for insurance and taxes, pointing to the fact many foreigners are excluded from legal work opportunities. Officially, street vending is prohibited by law No. 2323/95, the only exceptions being “traditional” goods like in Athens *Koulouria*²⁴, chestnuts, different nuts, books, flowers and old furniture. The classification of “traditional goods” is the responsibility of the local authorities. Street vendors working officially pay from 22 to 474.30 Euro for their permits. To work as self-

As a form of urban subsistence economy, street vending plays a significant role in Thessaloniki, as this is the most obvious self-organised, if illegalised, working force in the public space of the city centre. As traders, the different groups of street vendors represent a typical economic aspect of port cities. In choosing the waterfront as working space, which many of them do, they recognise the attraction of the traditional port scenery for tourists and as one of the preferred recreational areas for the city population in general. In another sense, their presence reinforces a port image with traders or markets next to the seaside, a quiet typical picture in Mediterranean port cities. At the same time, this profession offers an opportunity for former seamen to find a job and settle down, or for old port professionals like horse cart drivers to start a new business after the decline of their old one.

3.5.4.1. Street vending in Thessaloniki

The trade on the streets has a long history in Greece and especially in Thessaloniki as a port city. Nevertheless, it

²² Ξυδά, Ρομινά; Τσόλη, Θεοδώρα 2002: Μικροπολιτεσ ΑΕ: η μεγάλη επιχείρηση. Σε: ΤΟ ΒΗΜΑ, 29.09.02: 44.

²³ Φρεμεντιτη, Σπυρος 2003: Η πολυεθνική της επαιτείας. Σε: ΚΥΡΙΑΚΑΤΙΚΗ ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΟΤΥΠΙΑ, 22.06.03: 62 – 63.

²⁴ Greek sesame pretzels

employed, there is the additional cost of paying monthly into the insurance fund for self-employed (TEBE) which is about 135 Euro.

Since 1998 the municipal police confront the illegal vendors. If caught, the vendors either are cautioned because of their illegal status, their goods are confiscated or they may even be arrested. Further they have to pay a fine up to 1 000 Euro, depending on the prehistory of the accused, the exact circumstances and the judge. So the illegalised business is more profitable for the municipalities than a legalisation with ongoing high prices for the permits would ever be²⁵.



Illustration 10: Greek street vendor selling traditional goods like nuts and dried fruit

The port area of Thessaloniki, like other port cities, has always been characterised by traders and markets. But throughout the last years the whole region is undergoing massive changes. Parallel to the development in other port cities the port as such is moving out of the city and the traditional port quarter, the Ladadika, has been transformed into a “chic” nightlife area. One of the strategies to increase the attractiveness of this area is a deal with the street vendors of the Aristotelous place in the centre of the city. They belong to the minority in

this business that have been able to acquire legal status through the annual renewal of legal documents for their work. A group of approximately 20 Greeks selling different types of fashion jewellery, they have fixed working spaces and rent store rooms nearby for the goods and the little tables.

Only since the beginning of this year have their working permits not been renewed. They organised themselves and entrusted a lawyer with the case. The result of the negotiations until now is an unofficial grant to stay without permit where they are until they get new ones – but these will not be for the same place. Instead they have to move to the area of the Ladadika to “make the place again more attractive”, as one informant put it. In summary one could say, the picture of the traders should re-traditionalise the quarter in a way to enhance it with the purpose of better marketing possibilities in the tourism economy.

Other groups of legally working street vendors are categorised by their goods: Koulouria, nuts and lottery coupons – to name the most common. Some of them are former sailors or other port-related craftsmen. The reasons for them to change job often arise from changes in the family situation, e.g. either marriage or the illness of their elderly parents. So the life cycle influences the professional orientation of port workers.

But there are also other traders of different ages – most of them working illegalised. They can be Greeks – especially elderly, Greek Roma, or they come from other countries like Nigeria, Congo, Sudan, Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq, Albania, Georgia etc. A series of children, mostly Roma or Albanians, work in the streets of Thessaloniki walking from one restaurant

²⁵ idem

and bar to the next and selling flowers, tissues or playing music. They are organised and will usually be followed at a distance by an adult who controls and “protects” them. A whole system “human trafficking” exploits these children. Some major police actions in recent years have expelled them from strategic working areas like the Aristotelous place, where they had been a part of the daily picture.



Illustration 11: African street vendor on the Paralia

The street vendors of Thessaloniki sell a variety of goods ranging from CDs, *Pragmata* (sunglasses, cheap jewellery and watches, belts, toys etc.), scarves, flowers, balloons, collectors items (phonecards, money etc.), foodstuffs like nuts, sweets, Koulouria etc., tissues, idol cards, key-fobs, self-made articles like socks or carpets, cremes and other cosmetics to name some. Often, but not always, the choice of goods relates to the vendors’ ethnic origin.



Illustration 12: Street vendor selling Pragmata

Contrary to full time street vendors, who are depending totally on this income source, some others have second jobs or they study and do street vending to gain some additional money. Another distinction can be made according to how mobile the traders are, either working from a fixed place with a stand or being constantly on the move. The “steady” vendors mostly have particular places in certain streets. Some also go to the weekly markets. Generally the most preferred places for work at one certain point in the centre

are the markets, the central shopping-streets like namely Tsimiski and *Egnatia* Street and the waterside from the axis of Aristotelous Place, over the Paralia (promenade) to the White Tower. Mobile vendors look for restaurants and bars, where many people meet. The working hours are flexible. They depend on the financial needs of the individuals, on their customers and their habits. This also means that the summer is better than the winter because there are more people on the streets.

Case reports: vendors' strategies of urban subsistence

M. left Nigeria where he had studied political sciences in 2000. He has now been in Greece about one year and sells CDs in co-operation with a friend. When he once went to the place where he gets the CDs he arrived during a police raid. The responsible people had already disappeared so the police caught him and another vendor who was just about to get some goods to sell too. They accused them both of being the dealers and therefore the owners of 6000 illegalised copied CDs. As a result he had to go to court and pay a substantial fine (1000 Euro) as punishment. The other vendor remained in prison. M. still goes on street vending since then, because it is more profitable than e.g. a low paid construction work, where he would get about 30 Euro for eight hours work. "The secret of Europe is in Europe. When you come, you see it", he says about his situation.

J. and **N.** met in spring 2003. She has been in Greece only for some months, with her young daughter (2 years old). To earn enough money she is a bartender at night and a hairdresser during the day. He has already been in Greece for one and a half years and sells toys as a street vendor although he came from Nigeria to Europe to realise his dreams of becoming a professional football player. Back home he had been a dresser.

H. is about two years in Thessaloniki. He came from Nigeria thinking that Europe would offer more chances for his work as an artist, musician and actor. In Thessaloniki he is still following his professional dreams, although it isn't easy. To earn a living he sells CDs as a street vendor. When he arrived in town a friend helped him. Since then he is experiencing the opposite. Now he is the one assisting the often unknown newcomers when they first arrive disoriented in town. In the meantime, his mobile phone number has become an important resource for newly arrived migrants.

A. is 20 years old and has been two years in Greece. He came with his mother, his sister and her husband and kids from Afghanistan. Although he is going to a school regularly to learn Greek, he has to work the mornings at the markets and the evenings at the main shopping street selling watches and jewellery. As he has not a lot of capital to invest his sale is small. Last time the police caught him they took his goods (worth: 100 Euro) and later gave him the possibility to get them back for a fine of 1000 Euro. The flat he is staying with his whole family costs 250 Euro a month. His brother-in-law works half days regularly as an employee and by night he also goes out for street vending to the White Tower and the seaside.

R. and **M.** planned to become street vendors too. They have been friends since they arrived at the refugee centre. Both know different languages so they thought of starting the business in a professional way being able to talk to the customers in Greek, English, Persian. Later they hope to work legalised by using the name of a Greek friend for the bureaucratic needs.

A. and **D.** have a 17 year old daughter. They come from Georgia. He works in the morning at a construction site and in the evening he comes to the city centre with his wife and they both sell balloons and toys. She works mobile and he has a little stand. Their nephew has a stand at the same place. Every day they come for work and she gets the balloons from a shop. She is working as an employee, but she only gets paid if she sells something. Her husband is more flexible, because he is independent. But he has to be more careful with the police since he is working illegally with his stand.

P., a Greek street vendor, is almost 80 years old. He has been selling dried fruit and nuts for several years and works with an official permit. Over all of the years he has his fixed place next to the White tower. Competition is getting harder: in 2003, a five vendors with the same goods came there. One of them has no official permit, but still he works because of his connections to one local politician. P. is an "institution" of the White Tower place, everybody knows him and he knows everybody.

3.5.4.2. Comparing two groups of vendors

The focus group of this study are street vendors, male and female and of all ages, working in the centre of Thessaloniki and coming mostly from countries other than Greece. Working as street vendors unites them in a way through the same profession and therefore with almost the same working conditions but there are also significant differences between the people depending on their forms of organisation.

In Thessaloniki distinct groups of people (nationality, age, and gender) with different legal statuses sell different goods on the streets in different organisational ways (mobile, semi-mobile or steady) in different places and at different times. This study looks mainly at both gender adults coming from Nigeria and Afghanistan (asylum seekers) selling CDs, or Pragmata, working at regular places or different routes and being illegalised through their way of subsistence.

A first fact to be considered is the legal situation. The moment a refugee applies for asylum at a Police Department or an Aliens Police Department he will receive a temporary identity card as asylum seeker and then he has the right to a working permit. After at least some months of examining the case of the particular application the answer will be either positive or negative. In the first case the refugee gets a refugee identity card which permits a five-year residence and a work permit. In the latter situation the person can make a second appeal. After a second negative answer there is still the chance to get a residence permit for humanitarian reasons. This goes together with a work permit too²⁶.

But there is also the group of illegal migrants, who either don't pass the whole legal procedure or already have entered Greece without being registered, without applying for a legal status in the following and who remain in the shadow of the "legal world".

The two groups of concern, namely "the Africans" (mostly Nigerians) and "the Afghans" of Thessaloniki, differ in various points but they also share some characteristics. The central common feature is – generally speaking – their business. Additionally the vendors all choose to work more or less regularly next to the waterfront.

As asylum seekers (pink card), they are allowed to work as employees when they have a work permit, but not to open their own business. The lack of public welfare support makes it an urgent need to find a job. But the unemployment rates in Greece (approx. 10.8 %) and the competition for jobs where language skills are not required, are constantly growing, forcing many migrants and refugees into street vending and other areas of the informal economic sector.

Other factors promoting the illegalisation process are the politics of the city and the country fighting against visually "disturbing" parts of the daily street-life. The latter can be attributed at least in part to the national and local politics "cleaning" the image of the countries cities e.g. for the Olympic games in 2004²⁷.

As non-Greeks, they have a certain visibility connected to their work but in daily life they appear nameless. decide not to write any name on their apartment doors, others just keep the name of the former (Greek) tenants. The African group of vendors is big and heterogeneous as there are many different nationalities working together here. One major group is that of the Nigerians, but there are also others. The Africans often move directly into a friend's flat and later they find one of their own. Some also live in the reception centre until they find

²⁶ International Social Service - Hellenic Branch (eds.): Guide of Agencies and Services for Refugees. Athens.

²⁷ Φρεμεντιτης, Σπυρος 2003: Παιδομαζομα ενψει 2004. Σε: ΚΥΡΙΑΚΑΤΙΚΗ ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΟΤΥΠΙΑ 22.06.03: 63.

something else. Most of the Afghans are about two years in town so the majority have moved out of the reception centre for refugees in *Siatistis* Street and live with friends or family in flats around the area.

There is no case known to the researcher where an informant from either group already had professional experience of street vending before coming to Greece. What is relevant to emphasise is the variety of jobs that the informants were doing either in their country of origin or in the countries they past through on their way. Some have been to university before. There are engineers, political scientists as well as carpenters and tailors but also young people who have just finished school or in the case of Afghanistan who were child-soldiers until they fled the country.

The ethnic network of helpers and friends provides people with the knowledge about possible jobs and the ways of working. Those networks are mostly characterised by the country of origin, the continent of origin or the same legal situation. So the “helper” is spreading his knowledge about job opportunities in general and specifically about street vending. The new vendor might later become a helper too, for the reason that he has to help others as he has been helped before. This support network works as a virtuous circle. Another form of support is the borrowing of money to start the business, so that the first goods can be bought. This financial assistance will be repaid, as soon the vendor is able.

The working place of the vendors is the public space. They move through the streets passing by the restaurants and bars, selling mobile CDs, or they have a stand in one fixed place. Sometimes there is more than one fixed place and they choose where they go for work depending on the day and the time. If other relatives also work as street vendors, the household members cover different profitable positions. As part of the street life and therefore of the city itself people perceive them as a daily component of their environment. So a form of visualisation occurs through their work, while they are almost invisible as inhabitants²⁸.

Among the mobile African vendors, everybody has its own rhythm of work depending on criteria like the financial necessity, the preferred working hours etc. The same goes for the days but some would decide in the summer to go to Chalkidiki for work, so they prefer the weekends because of the weekend tourism. In terms of seasonal work opportunities the summer is the better time for selling. The Afghan vendors depend more on their customers and on the market hours. In the morning hours they will go to the markets and in the afternoon they go to their places in Tsimski or at the White Tower. The time in between is used to buy new goods.

In the beginning of a street vendor’s career, money is needed to invest in the goods. If the vendor is known to the wholesaler, there are possibilities to get the goods on commission. There are transportation expenses if the vendor chooses to work in place further off, where a car is needed to get to. Finally, if they get caught by the police and go to court there are the fines and legal fees to be paid. The daily income varies between zero and around 150 Euro for the Africans and zero to 40 Euro for the Afghans. It is always difficult to gain enough money for the daily life and the regular bills that have to be paid, and there will never be a secure basis for planning and calculation.

The reasons for deciding which wares to sell result (1) from the networks helping the migrants to find an initial orientation in the city, (2) from the implications of selling and (3) from individual choice. The Africans are mobile traders and mostly sell either CDs or Pragmata. Selling CDs is more dangerous because of the illegalised music-piracy, which becomes associated with selling. There are individual ways of deciding which routes to take. Some decide to walk near by their houses because having to carry the things far is a higher risk. Others prefer to go far away by car. As the special knowledge relating to street vending is

²⁸ They exclude themselves in parts from the public perception by the absence of their names at the bells of their doors.

passed on through African networks of support, the networks tend to become bigger by time. The traders go to work on their own but they keep telephone contact to inform each other about the appearance of policemen.

All Afghan vendors also sell Pragmata. They have regular places where they work. A good place is where many people pass by and where the police do not come too often. The Afghans also go to work on their own. But they stay next to each other in case something happens and in case the work becomes too boring. They don't have protection systems like the phone warning of the Africans.

The main problem for the traders in general is their illegal status and its consequences. They always have to be aware of the police and able to disappear fast. An even bigger problem is that there is no other job to do that is better. The work as such is a humiliating experience because of the arrogance of the people and the racism sometimes expressed. Though the customers cannot be characterised as a certain group. Some of them even buy things as a form of solidarity. Another basic obstacle for their integration in the Greek labour market is the language, although there are different opportunities for people to go and learn Greek.

3.5.4.3. Conclusions

In the context of a broader study on social exclusion and inclusion in port cities of the EU, work as a street vendor (especially for non-Greeks) is on the one hand an excluding factor of their life in the host country as they have to work illegalised and they are also excluded in public space. On the other hand, it provides a potential for self-organisation, an economic subsistence strategy and networks of support. For socially disadvantaged Greek inhabitants of the former port areas, it represents new job opportunities, especially for older people. Although there is some evidence about the excluding features of being a street vendor, this work does, in the meantime, provide a first and often the only opportunity of an immediate income possibility.

All vendors share some common **positive aspects** of the work like the fast accessibility, the flexibility and the independence of an employer. In the case of the migrants, the relevant knowledge is passed from one person to the other by networks of friendship, of family, of ethnic, or national forms of solidarity. This network grows by time and remains a circle of support in cases of financial need, for company and systems of protection and organisation. One should not oversee the fact, that though this infrastructure is a positive one it is growing out of need and the difficulties of the situation. Nevertheless it should be seen as a potential for self-organisation which could be enhanced by programmes empowering social action.

The **main problems** of the vendors can be summarised as the lack of a legal working status or recognition; harassment by local authorities and evictions from selling places; the confiscation of goods and the unsanitary and hazardous workplaces lacking basic services. But the major difficulty for the street traders results from the illegal status of their work. The Greek State has in recent years been trying to "clean" its public image through the privatisation of space (border police). A consequence of these politics is also a cut-down on the number of permits for street vending handed out to newcomers. Besides bureaucratic difficulties, potential street vendors have to pay TEBE (insurance for self-employed) and high rates for the permits, so that most people cannot afford to work on a legal basis anyway.

In the last years one possible means of support came from different programmes offering mainly financial supplies for small-scale enterprises of foreigners. The first started in 1983 and was financed by the UNHCR branch office in Greece. After a break from 1987 until 1995 the programme restarted and was implemented by the Greek Refugee Council and the Social Work Foundation. The introduction of the EU Budget Line B3-4113, which supported the socio-economic integration of refugees, enabled the Greek Refugee Council for one year between 1998 and 1999 to start another programme. They also supported street traders. In 1999 this programme was replaced by the programme for groups at risk of social exclusion

which was run by the OAED (National Manpower Employment Organisation). There are other programmes now. One of them is run by the refugee reception centre in Thessaloniki, offering a series of interviews and counselling to the refugees which build the basis for a better opportunity to find a job with the help of the OAED later. *Mestheneos* (2000) offers a series of possibilities for the improvement of the self-employment situation for foreigners in general which are also useful for the specific case of the street vendors. Amongst other things she asks for a Business Advisory service for non-Greeks (ibid. 26) an idea which would fit with the idea of a self-organised union of street traders providing information and organisational support for each other²⁹.

3.5.5. Self organisations and associations

In the course of this preliminary research in phase I, various groups were contacted including non-governmental organisations or other groups working with different actors like migrants and refugees, the homeless, addicts and prostitutes. In the meantime there are some churches and local authorities offering different programmes for some of the people mentioned before. The organisations *ARSIS* and *Centre of Rehabilitation for Tortured Victims* participate in this project. There are some others playing an advisory role for this research:

- Centre for Refugees in Thessaloniki operated by the NGO “Social Solidarity”
- *Ag. Pandon* Church
- Doctors without borders

3.5.5.1. The network of helpers and agencies in Thessaloniki

The network of helpers and agencies in Thessaloniki consists of the municipality, churches and voluntary social workers – most of them students –, self-organisations of the “target-groups” and NGOs. Additionally, some professional associations – like lawyers – offer either cheap or even unpaid assistance. The municipality’s work is very different in every region. Some churches like *Ag. Pandon*, which is located next to the new railway station, offer shelter, soup kitchens, clothes or even in a few cases medical and social assistance. Two political groups, *Mavri Gata* (“black cat”) and *Antiratsistiki Protovoulia* (“antiracist initiative”), unite a variety of the active supporters. Finally, there are governmental and non-governmental organisations, such as *ARSIS*, *KETHEA*, *Koininiki Allilegi*, *Kentro Apokatastasis Thimaton Vasanistiriou*, *Doctors Without Borders*, *Doctors of the World*.

In Greece, the evolution of non-governmental organisations is quite a new development deeply connected with the EU- subventions, which were enforced in the last decade of the 20th century. This influx of money widened the field of support networks and therefore the possibilities to find help. Viewed practically, there is a form of multilevel co-operation between the NGOs of Greece and also international ones, but in terms of existential finance questions there are many differences.

Most of the Greek NGOs reside in Athens. The work of the small NGOs in Thessaloniki is based, as nation wide too, on a small number of paid employees and many volunteers. The employees are poorly paid. Most of them study social work, sociology, psychology or law. The low average age is due largely to the bad working conditions, e.g. the high number of working hours compared to the instability of the job (variable pay days, short term contracts etc.). Meanwhile the volunteers are often still students looking for some experience or they have already finished university and are politically engaged. Generally speaking, one could say that few people work a lot in this area. All NGOs can be found in the historic centre of Thessaloniki. There is also the one and only refugee centre, which also acts as a shelter for the homeless. The target groups of these NGOs include homeless, gypsies, elderly poor,

²⁹ Mestheneos, E. 2000: EU-CARE: Refugee Entrepreneurs in Greece. Athens.

migrants and refugees, drug addicts, socially “problem” children or teenagers occasionally prostitutes. The orientation of the particular projects, that is to say the categorisation and conceptualisation of certain victimised groups, depends on the financing and resources from the EU as main investor. Examples of up-to-date projects are the current EQUAL programme or projects with the main subject being defined as “human trafficking”. This money floats from the EU to the Greek State, which then distributes it on the basis of a pre-determined grant system.

3.5.5.2. Self organisation and networking: Street vendors

In Greece and particularly in Thessaloniki, in contrast with other countries³⁰ and cities, no street vendors association exists and so they aren’t part of StreetNet International, a network of street vendors associations. In Thessaloniki the only form of self-organisation related to street trade is the Rom Security service, a private police patrol at the Roma markets on *Gian-nitson* street and at the airport. Support networks resulting from ethnic communities can also be observed. Other than that there is a form of co-operation between the vendors in general but also with neighbouring shops, residents and bars. The extreme of this co-operation could be described as human alarm systems, where shop owners inform the street vendors about approaching policemen.

The street vendors from African countries have a high degree of co-operation and relatively strong networks of support. There are two Christian communities offering a forum for them to meet. The Nigerians have their own community with a meeting point in the centre. Additionally there are student unions of African students, e.g. of the Congolese. Although not everybody joins one of those organisations there exists some kind of unofficial code of mutual help. Smaller communities like the Afghans also have networks of support but no official head of the community. The networks work as an information source for jobs and questions of day-to-day life. In general, the migrant communities in Thessaloniki don’t seem to be as organised as in Athens. This is partly due to the communities being smaller.

3.5.6. Conclusion and possible outcomes

In summary, social exclusion in the port city of Thessaloniki is bound to the spatial politics of the state, the city, private investors, town planners and real estate companies. Gentrification processes which parallel the urban developments of other (port-) in the EU. In the case of the street vendors, it is also the policies of work and migration that play a major role on a macro level, while the reactions of the established owners of shops, bars and restaurants, of the customers and the police, influence the situation on a the local level.

3.5.6.1. On the way to the EU: Gentrification and the privatisation of public space

In the four defined research areas two different styles of spatial exclusion have emerged in recent years. The first is a more implicit form. For the port area and the Ladadika special plans for spatial use have been developed to address certain focus groups, and these have influenced the changes in both areas, e.g. the construction of an entertainment area at the Ladadika or the *culturalisation* of the port. Those tendencies enforced a social character of space, which by attracting only the focus groups excludes in this way other persons, e.g. the former working population or unprofitable groups like drug addicts.

A more direct form of exclusion from public space results from the policies of Greece and Thessaloniki especially. Important public places or streets in the historic centre of the city have become representative symbols of a new “European” image, Thessaloniki’s leading role

³⁰ India, Zambia, Durban in Southafrica, Korea, Venezuela, Bolivia, Kenya etc. – to name some.

in the Balkans. In consequence, special police units called *border police* “protect” shopping malls and central tourist places like *Navarinou* from unwanted or “dangerous” groups. By patrolling and checking the papers of suspects they create an image of security to some, and a new form of exclusion for others. At the same time the police of Thessaloniki “clean” the streets and squares from the “illegal” street vendors also by patrolling and asking for their work permits. Private security personnel is recruited, as in the case of a market next to the zoo of the legalised market area.

3.5.6.2. Re-constructing images through their use: The port as a place of trade

Traditionally, ports have always been places of economy and trade as well as of passages of different populations. This idea still lives on in our minds. If we think of ports, we see the ocean and ships – and we see markets, and a colourful mixture of people. Today, a big part of the ongoing trade in the port area is indeed invisible to the public. As the port area moves physically out of town, the traditional image has practically disappeared, while the port structures have changed. New ideals have emerged of how a port city should look to be attractive. City planning and European standards mark a new era of urban spatial cleanness and security. The traditional markets have therefore changed as well.

The street vendors reinforce the mental picture of port cities that is still alive in our imagination, in tourist advertisements and other image constructions. Although they have a hard time earning enough for their daily needs whilst illegalised and the local government tries to “clean” them out of the public space, they fit into the seaside panorama of the promenade and in the whole *picturesque* picture of the port city of Thessaloniki. That is why they are wanted in the Ladadika area, which still searches for a new identity since the great spatial changes of the 1980s. Balancing at the boundaries between illegalisation and expulsion from public spaces on the one hand and on the other hand contributing to the port image.

3.5.6.3. First and last opportunity to earn money: Street vending

The group of street vendors contains a great variety of different people with different needs and backgrounds. A wide variety of different statuses from illegalisation to possession of legal working permits is to be found among the vendors. For many, this profession offers the last chance to gain some income. In most cases, there are no other or better opportunities, so it is also the first chance. Except for the Greek elderly and “traditional” vendors, it is mostly the, newcomers in town, the migrants or the marginalised who enter the street vending business. Access is relatively easy, it is a flexible profession and no large investment of capital is needed in the beginning. Of course, the disadvantages are plenty as was described before. The question is, whether this profession, as a form of self-organisation or self-employment strategy, will survive under the implications of the international, national and local spatial politics. As a part of the Greek (shadow) economy and it as a part of urban street-life, it is directly interwoven with the changes of the public space, which again are connected to international port city developments.

As an urban subsistence profession, street vending belongs to the more visible forms of generating income. It is a part of daily life for everyone, thus it is “normal” while at the same time being an illegalised profession. This contradiction continues to exist with the strengthening of the policies against the vendors and the ongoing and planned transformations of the historic centre.

3.5.7. Future research questions

Besides the existing knowledge about the subject of street vending, further research has to be done on other forms of urban subsistence connected to the port. The main focus might centre generally on trade as a typical port economy and forms of social exclusion or empow-

erment strategies connected to it, for example the smuggling of cigarettes and tobacco from countries of the former Soviet Union and Middle-Eastern countries. These wares are directed at a European market but also to Greece. Since a couple of years the cigarettes also originate from China hidden under simple and officially declared goods like plastic flowers. In Thessaloniki a number of street vendors are distributing the cigarettes on the markets and the central place of Aristotelous.

Another topic concerns the so-called “human trafficking”. Greek newspapers talk of 20 000 victims annually in Greece concerning women trafficking and forced prostitution. Most of them come from Russia, Ukraine, Moldavia, Albania, Rumania, the former Yugoslavian Republic and Bulgaria. They constitute a new form of prostitution substituting the old structures of brothels by more anonymous for erotic adverts in newspapers and between late night TV programmes. An increase in internationally organised crime networks of women trafficking, together with a change in the customer’s expectations has changed the appearance of “love for sale”. The industry has moved out of the traditional red light district at the seaside next to the port and has spread to more invisible districts on the margins of the town. Another kind of trafficking is that of children – mostly Albanians who are forced to work on the streets as vendors or musicians. But except these diverse forms of trade ranging from small-scale street vending to multilevel structures of the smuggling of human cargo, there are also other forms of urban subsistence to focus on, which might include small scale recycling activities.

3.5.8. Illustrations

1. Postcard promoting Thessaloniki as Olympic city of 2004
2. Map of Thessaloniki showing the four research areas: the seaport, the old port quarter, the seaside promenade Paralia, and the port-related area between the harbour and the railway station (photo taken by S. Stroux)
3. The port and the recently built cinema museum (photo taken by W. Kokot)
4. Traders in the port quarter (photo taken by W. Kokot)
5. Traders in the old port quarter Ladadika
6. Marine supplier (photo taken by W. Kokot)
7. The new port quarter (photo taken by W. Kokot)
8. The seaside promenade Paralia (photo taken by W. Kokot)
9. Street musician in the market quarter (photo taken by W. Kokot)
10. Greek street vendor selling traditional goods like nuts and dried fruit (photo taken by S. Stroux)
11. African street vendor on the Paralia (photo taken by S. Stroux)
12. Street vendor selling Pragmata (photo taken by S. Stroux)