CONFLICTING CITIZENSHIP AND (RE)ACTIVE ZONES IN THE URBAN AREAS: CONFRONTING THE CASES OF BERLIN AND ROME

POLICIES AND PRACTICES FOR DEFINING PROCESSES OF "RECLAIMING" URBAN PUBLIC SPACES

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PhD candidate in Urban and Regional Planning: Luisa Rossini – XXV cycle

"The only demonstration of good will is real common action:
also, and especially, if scandalous"

["L'unica dimostrazione di buona volontà reale è l'azione comune:
anche, e tanto più, se scandalosa"]

Pier Paolo Pasolini

"The present can become an epoch in which the dreams of the past
for an enlightened and just democracy
are turned into a reality"

Paul Davidoff

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.. dedicata a Matteo e a tutta la mia famiglia

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Zusammenfassung

Diese Dissertation versucht, eine kritische Analyse von Konflikten unstrittener Erscheinungsformen städtischer Transformation und Politik im metropolitanem Raum von Rom und Berlin zu präsentieren (vergleichende Analyse entwickelt im gemeinsamen Tutoring der Forschungsthese). Der Fokus dieser Dissertation liegt insbesondere auf dem Zurückerobern (Reclaiming) der "Recht auf Stadt"-Debatte, die ein erneuertes Interesse unter städtischen sozialen Bewegungen und Akademiker*innen erweckt und beobachtet, basierend auf Protesten in den Strassen und der Entwicklung der sozialen Bewegungen der letzten Dekade in den "rebellischen Städten" (Harvey, 2012).

Die analysierten Konflikten in den zwei vergleichenden Städten finden auf umstrittenen "ungeklärten/unbestimmten Territorien" und verlassenen, leer stehenden Räumen und Grundstücken statt. "Unbestimmte Territorien" offenbaren den generativen Konflikt unterschiedlicher Bedeutung und Interessen der Stadt. In diesen spielen die leer stehenden Gebäude und Orte eine besondere Rolle, weil, laut Borret (2009), das Leere als ein produktives Element im städtischen öffentlichen Raum gedeutet und gesehen werden kann, nicht gebunden und vordefiniert an eine einzige Interpretation oder Absicht. Die in diesen Räumen vorgeschlagenen, entwickelten, ausprobierten Praktiken der Basisbewegungen können als Strategie von Widerstand und Opposition gegen eine (nicht ausgehandelte) Politik im Rahmen der ökonomischen Krise und städtischen Austerität mit zunehmenden Auswirkungen wie Gentrifizierung, sozialer Exklusion und Krise des Sozialstaates, gesehen werden.

Als Antwort darauf haben sich die rebellischen Bürger*innen Bewegungen (insurgent citizenship) auf vielfältige Weise organisiert: von Mieter*innen/Aktivist*innen Organisationen, die der Gentrifizierung und den (Zwangs)-Räumungen in den ehemaligen Arbeiter*innenvierteln Berlins widerstehen (Holm, 2010) und zu mehr öffentlicher Politik auffordern, die fähig sei, der Spekulation sowie der Desinvestition im subventionierten Wohnungsbausektor entgegen zutreten; bis hin zu Bewegungen der Wohnungskämpfe (housing struggle) in Rom, die Zugang zu mehr bezahlbarem Wohnraum im Kontext der Wohnungsmarktkrise fordern; autonomen Bewegungen, die Orte und Räume aus der kapitalistischen Logik der Marktwettbewerbfähigkeit und der Spekulation für Wohnraum (an den Beispielen von Berlin und Rom), soziale, politische, künstlerische und Erholungsaktivitäten herausbrechen (Membretti, 2003; Holm, Kuhn, 2011; Pruijt, 2012); und städtischen sozialen Bewegungen, die versuchen, der Privatisierung von Teilen der Stadt, was als Allgemeingut verstanden wird, zu widerstehen - in Form unterschiedlicher staatlich bedingter Mechanismen, um deren Anliegen, was als schädlich gegenüber dem öffentlichen städtischen Raum betrachtet wird, gegen staatliche Politik, Projekte und Regulatorien zu untermauern, wie die Gruppen von Bürger*innen, die co-/selbst-organisierte öffentliche Räume und Service zurückerobern (z.B. Gualini, Majoor, 2007, für Amsterdam; Gualini, 2008, für Berlin; Pask, 2010 für Vancouver; Teatro Valle, 2012, für Rom; Vitale, 2007 und Gualini 2014 in einigen Fällen).

Zusammenfassend sind die Grenzen des Urbanismus, basierend auf konkurrierendem Wachstum und Profit, erkennbar und hervorgehoben von zahlreichen kritischen und theoretischen Praktiken, die Theorien entwickelten, fähig das Thema auf einem höheren Level der Argumentation, inklusive systemischer und ideologischer Aspekte, zu analysieren - und zwar aus den Persektiven aller Involvierten Akteur*innen.

Diese intellektuellen Mittel können nützlich für "diese Institutionen, Bewegungen und Akteur*innen sein, welche alternative Formen des Urbanismus, radikaler Demokratie, sozial und nachhältig vorantreiben möchten" (Brenner, Marcuse, Mayer, 2009).

Das interesante Element ist die Fähigkeit dieser *Communities* und Gemeinschaften, durch Formen sozialer Kämpfe , und kollektiven/kooperativen Aktivitäten, Alternativen zu nicht nachhaltiger städtischer Transformation vorzuschlagen, zu entwickeln und auszuprobieren sowie Machtstrukturen, die Aushandlung von Konflikten und die Partizipation in institutionalisierter Städte-planung und Praxis zu analysieren.

Diese zwei europäischen Städte haben das Interesse des Phänomens *Reclaiming*, des Zurückeroberns städtischer physischer Räume erweckt, ausgeführt von sozialen Bewegungen und bewußt übernommen von der Bürger*innenschaft als Aneignung und legitime Form und Taktik von Protest. Zudem sind diese radikale partizipativen Praktiken ein Werkzeug, dass Experimentation und Umsetzung basisorganisierter Alternativen ermöglicht und demzufolge eine Serie von rebellischen aneignenden Dynamiken des städtischen Raumes sowie Eigenproduktion und Bereitstellung kollektiver Resourcen verkörpert.

Diese informellen Akteur*innen und Basisgruppen, organisiert in neuen Formen städtischer sozialer Bewegungen, experimentierend in progressivem Verstehen der Mechanismen von Raum und sozialer Reproduktion, begannen die Idee von *Commons* zusammen mit der Rolle eines dritten Subjekts, eines kollektiven Subjekts, zurück zuerobern.
Sie können eine direkte Verwaltung und Organisierung als kollektive Resource und kollektives Eigentum ausfüllen. .

In den Kontexten der beiden analysierten Städten haben die Bürger*innen eine Reihe neuer Strategien realisiert. Dazu zählen: Neue Formen der kollektiven Häuser und Wohnraum-Selbsthilfe, Selbstorganisierte öffentliche Räume und die

Definition von städtischen *Commons*.

Die Forschungsanalyse analysiert einige relevante Fälle rebellischer Wiederaneignung/Zurückeroberungen öffentlicher städtischer Räume und vergleicht zwei Städte, die historisch betrachtet von organisierten Formen sozialer Kämpfe und Basis-transitionaler Raumaneignung gekennzeichnet sind.

Was ist der Wert, der Nutzen solcher alternativer Erfahrungen ?

Können diese *grass-root* - Experimente der Selbst-Organisierung und *DIY* Renovation zu der Produktion neuer operativer Strategien für den öffentlichen Wohnraum- und Häuser Bestand; des Bauerbe Managements; der alternativen Formen von Wohlstand; der Entwicklungmehr nachhaltiger städtischer Transformations Praktiken und öffentlicher Raum Managements beitragen ?

Schlagwörter: rebelische städtische Praktiken, Selbstorganisierung, Recht auf Stadt

Abstract

This dissertation tries to present a critical analysis of conflicts over contested forms of urban transformation and urban policies in the metropolitan area of Rome and Berlin (comparative analysis developed in co-tutoring research thesis). In particular it focuses on the reclaiming of the "right to the city" debate that is witnessing a renewed interest, among urban social movements and academics, due to what happened in the streets, among the urban social movements, in the "rebel cities" (Harvey, 2012), in the last decade.

The conflicts selected for the two compared city contexts took place over contested "indeterminate territories" and "urban voids." As yet "indeterminate," these places allow unveiling the generative conflict on different meanings of the city. In these processes the "urban void" plays a key role because, according to Borret (2009), the "empty" can be seen as a productive element in the urban public space, as it is not tied to a single interpretation or intention. The bottom-up and grassroots practices proposed, experimented, developed over these spaces are intended as strategy of resistance/opposition to not-negotiated politics in a framework of economic crisis and urban austerity increasingly producing side effects including gentrification and social exclusion and the welfare state crisis.

In response to this the movements of insurgent citizenship are organized in many forms: from tenants' organizations activists, who oppose gentrification and evictions in former working class neighbourhoods of Berlin (Holm, 2010) and calling for more public policies capable to combat speculation and address disinvestment in the subsidized housing sector; to movements of housing struggle in Rome claiming the access to more affordable places in the context of the strong housing crisis; to autonomous movements subtracting spaces from the capitalist logic of the market competitiveness and the speculation (in the case of Berlin and Rome) for living and for social, political, artistic and recreational activities (Membretti, 2003; Holm, Kuhn, 2011; Pruijt, 2012); to urban social movements trying to oppose the privatization of parts of the city considered a "common good", using various state-driven mechanisms to advance their causes against civic policies, projects, and regulatory measures, that are considered detrimental to the city's public space, such as the groups of citizens reclaiming co-/self-managed public spaces and services (e.g. Gualini, Majoor, 2007, for Amsterdam; Gualini, 2008, for Berlin; Pask, 2010 in the case of Vancouver; Teatro Valle, 2012, in the case of Rome; Vitale, 2007 and Gualini 2014 several cases).

In summary, the limits of urbanism based on competitive growth and profit have been emphasized by numerous critical and theoretical practices that have developed theories capable of analysing the issue to a higher level of argumentations, including systemic and ideological aspects, from the point of view of all the actors involved. These intellectual resources, can be useful «for those institutions, movements and actors aiming [...] to promote alternative forms of urbanism, radically democratic, socially just and sustainable» (Brenner, Marcuse, Mayer, 2009). The interesting element is the capacity of these communities to propose, experiment and develop, through forms of social struggles and collective/cooperative action, alternatives to what are considered as unsustainable strategies of urban transformations (mostly based on the substitution/reduction of public resources), analysing power relationships, negotiation of conflicts and participation in institutional planning practice. Doing so, some of these forms of spatial contestation, such as the "transitional reappropriated spaces" (Growth and Corijn, 2005) –on which the research focus- have shown in recent years a programmatic capacity and a proactive potential in suggesting and implementing "Public Policies from the Bottom" (Paba, 2010): e.g. "banking and financial policies" through the activation of forms of microcredit; "training and educational policies" offering a wide range of free or very affordable courses; "policies of management and recycling of waste, housing policies, policies to support youth and women entrepreneurship, policies addressing the problems of immigration, cultural and sports policies"; "architectural heritage renewal policies", and others.

These two European cities have faced so a renewed interest in the phenomenon of "reclaiming" of urban physical spaces that was carried on by social movements and wilfully appropriated by citizens using "appropriation" as a legitimate tactic of protest. Moreover, these radical participated practices have been a tool that enables experimentation and implementation of grassroots alternatives embodying a series of dynamics of "insurgent (re)appropriation" of urban space and self-production and provision of collective resources. Doing so, these informal actors and grassroots groups, organized in new forms of urban social movements, experimenting more progressive understanding of the mechanisms of space and social reproduction, started reclaiming the idea of "commons" and together with it the role that a third subject, a collective subject (different from a single private investor or the State and public institutions), could play in a direct management of what are intended to be collective properties/resources. In the two cities contexts analysed citizens have implemented a set of new strategies. Among them: new forms of self-help collective housing, self-/co-managed public spaces and the definition of urban commons.

The research analyse some relevant cases of insurgent reappropriation/reclaiming of urban public spaces making a comparison between two cities historically characterized by organized forms of social struggle and grassroots transitional space reappropriations. Which is the value of such alternative experiences? Can these grass-root experiments of self-management and DIY renovation contribute to the production of new operative strategies for:

public housing stock; heritage management; alternative forms of welfare; the development of more sustainable urban transformation practices and public space management? Analysing the evolution of the same pattern in forms of contestation, it permits to investigate how/if these practices have stand the chance to be facilitated, hampered, or co-opted, during the time and how each of these have had/can have an impact upon contemporary policymaking in political economy and if they have been/can be able to influence a change in the welfare policies and urban agenda.

Keywords: Insurgent urban practices; Legitimacy; Self- and Co-management; Social enterprise; Right to the city.

INTRODUCTION

«The right to the city is far more than the individual liberty to access urban resources: it is a right to change ourselves by changing the city. It is, moreover, a common rather than an individual right since this transformation inevitably depends upon the exercise of a collective power to reshape the processes of urbanization. The freedom to make and remake our cities and ourselves is, I want to argue, one of the most precious yet most neglected of our human rights.»
(Lefebvre, 1968)

1.1 HOW THE PROCESSES OF "RECLAIMING" OF URBAN PUBLIC SPACES STARTED?

Processes of "reclaiming" of urban public spaces belong to the wider category of phenomenon of insurgent/radical/grassroots appropriation of urban vacant spaces and land. Among them Squatting (the practice to occupy empty houses or spaces –mostly to dwell- without the permit of the owner) is the more relevant phenomenon of (re)appropriation of urban vacant spaces, quantitatively and qualitatively speaking. To get an idea of the relevance of the phenomenon, it is worth stressing that it is said that one billion people are squatting in houses or on land worldwide (Neuwirth, 2004). That means that one people out of seven is squatting in the world because of housing needs. «In its Global Report on Human Settlements in 2009, UN-Habitat placed the challenge, and much of the cause, of the world's one billion urban dwellers who live in squatter settlements (32% of the global urban population) squarely at the feet of a failing planning approach. It finds: "Planning is still weak in terms of how to deal with the major sustainable urban challenges of the twenty-first century: climate change, resource depletion, rapid urbanization, poverty and informality" (UN-Habitat 2009, xxiv). Informality is firmly cast as not only one of the key problems facing cities and urban dwellers, but also one of the major challenges to both long-standing and contemporary approaches to planning.» (Porter et al., 2011).

The research does not focus on such a broader dimension. The choice is to stay put in Europe (and briefly in North-America), in post-industrial and widely urbanized countries for the analysis of the general framework. Specifically, the research focus on reclaiming processes carried on by social movements that have been using "occupation" as a radical tactic of protest related to conflicts over contested forms of urban transformation and implementation of urban policies that produce or reproduce inequalities. The practice of illegal appropriation of urban vacant space, as Squatting, that started as an individual strategy for shelter and exists since a long time, from the late 1960s on, has been taken over by urban insurgent movements, as for the Squatter movement (Corr, 1999; Prujit, 2012; Mudu, 2004, 2014a, 2014b; SqEK, 2014). «The heart of the political squatters' movement is the practical defence of the right to decent and affordable housing» (Sqek, 2014). The use of this practice have been central for many urban social movements, not only as an alternative strategy for housing but also as it enables to: rework the position of power forcing the confrontation with the State authorities; experiment concrete utopias to be proposed as alternative "possible worlds" towards a more "just city"; reclaim fundamental material and immaterial needs through the collective self-production of resources. Since that, this practice has been taken over by urban insurgent movements since 1960s in the framework of the emergence of "the Urban Question", contesting not negotiated capitalist strategies of "space production" (Castells, 1972; Lefebvre, 1974) and the political and social upheavals emerged during 1970s in the frame of a systemic crisis and the shift towards a new, not-negotiated, capitalist model. Since then, during every urban crisis, due to crisis inherent dimension of diffuse conflict and power vacuum and the urge to imagine a better and different future, many cities in the advanced capitalist societies (Holm, Kuhn, 2011) -mostly European and few American- faced the emergence of bottom-up phenomena of "collective reclaiming" of urban physical spaces. It stems from the fact that moment of systemic crisis and power vacuum create some space for negotiation, reopening the debate between competing visions since «particularly during periods of systemic capitalist crisis, a period of institutional searching and regulatory experimentation ensues in which diverse actors, organizations, and alliances promote competing hegemonic visions, restructuring strategies, and developmental models» (Brenner, Theodore, 2002).

It is actually hard to define how and in relation to what such organized collective radical practices of appropriation of space and the related "autonomous imaginaries" emerged since they looks to have been features of cities in different economic-political systems: both in capitalist and communist cities (see the case of West and East Berlin – even if the phenomenon in communist cities has been way smaller); both in opposition to the government system of the Fordist State as well as against the governance system of the Neoliberal State. What looks to be a constant element is the

opposition against the imposition of "master narratives" (Lyotard, 1979), in particular of the ones describing cities as growth machines,[1] and the imposition of a "political culture of local policy-making" that suffers a constant legitimacy deficit of public decision-making procedures considered incapable of incorporating a truly agonistic dimension of democracy and ultimately imposing consensus. It shows how the «**condition of over determination of the points of antagonism and the diverse struggles is a repressive political context**» (in this case the implementation of authoritarian, top-down, non-negotiated urban development strategies) that ultimately **produce a "mechanism of unification" of single isolated struggles in a more general struggle against what is identified as "the system"»** (Laclau, Mouffe, 1985, 11).

In re-activating the city's "indeterminate spaces" (Groth, Corjin, 2005), such initiatives have experimented and envisioned alternative solutions to local problems through collective forms of urban planning (Cellamare, 2011), by reclaiming the "right to the city" (Lefebvre, 1968) and interpreting the "commons" to include the whole urban space, have developed grass-root public policies. In fact, one of the most effective outcomes of such different reclaiming practices organized by local communities or counter-hegemonic groups have been the capacity to develop **radical collective strategies to resist problems in spatial/service resources redistribution,** increasingly relevant since the shift from Fordism to post-Fordism system on. These counter-hegemonic tactics are often devised to resist top-down dominant strategies imitating neoliberal approval development patterns of urban development subjected to the imperatives of growth, market competition and private interests, which, in the context of local governments' indebtedness, have favoured supply-based policies over demand-based re-distribution. It ended up triggering the welfare state crisis and the increased pressure for social services while generating gentrification, discrimination, social exclusion and reduction/replacement of public space with enormous social and economic costs for the community. As a consequence of that, in many Western capitalist cities, a growing number of citizens have started to stand up against the private market, and urban policies pursued by governments from the Eighties on, taking back processes of reclaiming urban spaces for public purpose and to defend spaces considered "for the community".

Which are, then, the inherent qualities and socio-cultural functions with which these transformed sites have been endowed (with regard to their urban surroundings)? Insurgent citizenship, in the last decades, have developed reclaiming strategies to resist and address issues and paradoxes connected to capitalist forms of space production, developing numerous different forms of (re)appropriation practices like: counter-cultural spaces, micro-political activities, alternative housing strategies, social centres, guerrilla gardening strategies, etc. It gave visibility to the ability of "informal actors" to make collective projects, to construct physical and symbolical practices and discourses challenging the "hegemonic" ones, to catalyse conflicts over certain urban development strategy and policies. In particular, these grassroots practices increasingly started to address problems such as the provision of affordable housing, the homelessness, and the lack of social space, paradoxically increasing together with the constant production of vacant spaces.

The big presence of vacant spaces, tool and side consequence of capitalist urbanism, have been crucial, however, for the development of these alternative practices. In fact, **they are played over indeterminate territories**. Indeterminate territories are defined by Sheridan (2007) «[…] as any area, space or building where the city's normal forces of control have not shaped how we perceive, use and occupy them.» (Ibid., 2007, 98). Yet, looking back in time, these processes of indeterminate space re-appropriation linked to urban social movements have given rise to **interesting experiences of participation from the point of view of practices of self-organization, self-/co-management of public/collective resources and self-empowerment**. Despite that, these places are not readily identified and included in the understanding of cities, even if a "consequential, symbiotic although often under recognised relationship between them and the rest of the city" exists (Sheridan, 2007). In fact, they are mostly intended as "urban voids" to be urbanized or, in recent times, occasions for temporary uses. Nevertheless, these temporary solutions are often intended as "gap fillers" while the market interests are low and traditional forms of urban development cannot be implemented (Colomb, 2012).

1.2 THE UNDERSTANDING OF SUCH RECLAIMING PROCESSES

While this practice has been mostly stigmatized, repressed and normalized in the past decades, **since the early 2000s, the understanding of such reclaiming processes by institutions and public opinion has undergone a shift** to three new interpretative frameworks. **First**: increasingly since 2000 on, new laws and policies have been deliberately constructed on one side to defend both the private property and interests (while existing legal provision already did a good job of protecting them) to the detriment of new dynamics of collective action that spontaneously proliferated in urban contests. That has provoked and is increasingly provoking the shutting down of many of autonomous self-managed spaces throughout Europe, produced by a large-scale offensive against conflictive and non-authorized actions of dissent. Moreover it has been connected to a change in legislation regulating illegal occupation that became harsher in many European countries. **Second**: on the other side these grassroots, creative, unplanned, dynamic and alternative "temporary uses of space" have been gradually harnessed into "creative city" urban development policies and city

[1] In 1976, H. Molotch observed that in many North American cities an "anti-growth" movement was progressively rising, animated by citizens more interested in improving the quality of urban life than in merely promoting economic growth as such (Rossi, Vanolo, 2010).

marketing discourses. In fact, these bottom-up strategies of production of space, (re)claiming urban vacant spaces for "public" purposes, besides reveal the inherent political and imaginary potential of these "urban voids", produce symbolic/imaginary contents that make "visible" abandoned places in the urban geography of the citizens' everyday life. This attaches to these practices a reactivation ability to otherwise abandoned spaces, through the collective physical and symbolic construction of a place and a connected project that generate new networks of community of people crossing/using the space. For the same reason, it has been increasingly recognized the capacity that these symbolic and concrete collective processes of reclaiming urban spaces, often connected to creative/counter-cultural groups, have in transforming urban voids into thriving, vibrant, creative places, and so into attractive commodities, enhancing its economic value (Shaw, 2005). This aspect triggers the development and implementation of coercive and incorporating strategies that results of great interest for property developers' and local and extra-local economic elites, which direct capital flows are so central in the neoliberal urban development strategies. On the other side, it undermines the authenticity of such alternative projects focusing on the use value that such reclaimed places produce for the community and not on the exchange value central for the market. It triggers another level of conflict based on the resistance/ opposition to strategies that co-opt or pervert projects that through the experimentation and proposal of "city for people" alternative models aim to challenge the idea of "city for profit." **Third**: following the today's umpteenth crisis, which exposed the contradictions inherent in the neoliberal capitalist model, "occupation" has been reclaimed and wilfully appropriated by new urban social movements, groups of excluded/disadvantaged people and citizens as a legitimate tactic of protest. «As a consequence of occupying space in creative and unofficial ways, the transgressors put into question who has the right to the city, as they show alternatives versions of inhabiting places within the city's boundaries» (Shaw, Hudson, 2009). Different forms of "insurgent urbanism" from the "Occupy movement", to the new urban mobilizations against urban development initiatives, from Squats as a collective housing strategy to political (as for radical political groups or refugee's squats) or art/cultural squats, all of these insurgent practices both embody the exercise of the "right to the city" (Harvey, 2012) and point out that «spaces became "public" not just because they are materially constructed as such, but because they are wilfully appropriated by citizens for public purpose» (Davis, Raman, 2012). Embodying a series of dynamics of "insurgent (re)appropriation" of urban space and self-production and provision of collective resources, these active/insurgent citizens experiment today, alternatives to austerity and the increasing privatization of central and local government tasks. Doing so, these informal actors and grassroots groups experimenting the collective appropriation of unequally distributed resources towards a more cooperative but radical and progressive understanding of governance mechanisms contribute to the definition of "urban commons." Yet, the neoliberal political and economic paradigm shift based on autonomy, economic self-determination and entrepreneurship has created the institutional and political space for the development and the inclusion/co-optation of these spontaneous autonomous practices under the rubric of territorial marketing, urban renewal, heritage management and welfare provisions. In fact, over the past thirty years, the "neoliberal restructuring project" (Brenner & Theodore, 2002), has produced the preconditions, which have both hampered and facilitated the inclusion of these grass-root practices in the urban policy agenda.

Moreover, our cities today are once more experiencing the emergence of conflicts tied to the perception that citizens are excluded from the decision-making processes regarding space production's strategies implementation and in general by the articulation of non-negotiable "master-narratives" which, by giving citizens a feeling of disenfranchisement (Purcell, 2002), generate a growing disillusionment towards the real intentions behind policy-makers and institutional actors devising and enacting new urban development strategies. In this framework of increasing urban conflict related to the management of spatial resources and the implementation of more just urban policies, the contemporary **wider critic to representative democracy**, fostered by many new social movements emerged with the blow of the last global systemic crisis (e.g. "Democracia Real" or "Real Democracy") **shows a continuity with the claims connected with new urban conflicts** over the need for individuation of new decision-making processes and more in general new, and more effective, forms of democracy, more mature and direct, truly participated and radical (as suggested by the massive meeting of people in public squares willing to debate to possible future strategies) which could suggest new approaches to negotiation of conflicts (capable to include also a "conflictive consensus"), new subjects in a more progressive governance system (a third "collective subject" to be considered as potential cooperative partner; subjects normally excluded by participation or empowerment such as radical protesters or immigrants/refugees), new interpretative frameworks (who defines what is legitimate?), new strategies (co-production of strategies, real citizens empowerment). If we recognize that the process of (re)claiming urban spaces is (often) a political spatialization of urban autonomous movements' claims, that through active citizenship's collective projects address particularistic unheard needs of a more complex urban society, and propose new governance models, we can say that the acknowledgement of this issues (considered more influent in social science and political science) is crucial for the field of urban planning too.

1.3 BERLIN AND ROME: CONFLICTING CITIZENSHIP AND (RE)ACTIVE ZONES

Starting from the above-mentioned assumptions, although my dissertation focuses on "insurgent practices of appropriation", I argue that is possible include in this category the numerous practices of appropriation developed by active insurgent citizenship in the last decades. In cities like Berlin, Rome, London, Amsterdam, Barcelona, Paris, New York, starting from 1970s, it is possible to register the high presence of practices of collective appropriation resulting from bottom-up initiatives, a -"conflictive citizenship"-, that constantly assume a role in attempting to return a function

to abandoned factories, military barracks, vacant public assets and wastelands -"(re)active zones"-. Through the (re)activation of these "interstitial spaces," the city inhabitants had the opportunity to access to spatial resources, useful to develop the most diverse activities. Among them "Squatting" is the more relevant phenomenon of (re)appropriation of urban vacant spaces, since it became a tool for spatial political action for many social movements (housing movement, counter-cultural movement, autonomist movement, refugee movements, etc.) since the 1960s on. The squatting practice results central in my analysis, since it has been largely adopted by insurgent and radical movement in the two investigated cities: Berlin and Rome. Albeit, the squatting movements have been operating in the two cities in different moments (in Berlin between the late 1970s and the early 1990s; in Rome since the 1960s on) and for different purposes, they results interesting for their ability to oppose local response, alternative forms of governance and citizens action to the crisis of cities.
As above-mentioned, the empirical analysis starts from a focus on two European cities, Berlin and Rome. Both the cities have been protagonists of a specific evolution of these forms of space insurgent (re)appropriations that in both contexts have assumed really large spatial dimensions.

In Berlin the most important reason for the emergence and implementation of such radical practices in the past has been the opposition/negotiation to/of urban renewal strategies concerning the wide low-income population because of the constant risk to incur in speculative and social exclusion mechanisms and the need for spatial definition of a counter-cultural and political power of the wide young/students population showing alternatives to capitalist space production. The Berlin urban renewal strategies phases have been: the "areal redevelopment", carried out between 1963 and 1981; secondly, the policy of "cautious urban renewal", which was pursued between 1981 and 1989; and thirdly, post-Fordist urban renewal in East Berlin, pursued from the early 1990s. «The Berlin squatter movements [*Hausbesetzerbewegung*] in each case accompanied the transition to a new model of urban renewal» (Holm, Kuhn, 2010, 652). The attempt to hampered, or co-opted, or normalize, or include these radical spaces in the planned city have produced, during the last decades, an interesting evolution in urban policies and discourses and the definition of a new set of norms and rules. Today a forth phase of urban renewal strongly connected to big urban developmental projects -like those which dominated the urban agenda in the recent years "on the background of a rhetoric of a competition-oriented development" (Gualini, 2008)– is intended to allow Berlin to remain competitive with other cities which pursue ambitious strategies for internationalization. «Leftist movements today are again taking up urban restructuring as a theme, and a "movement of free spaces" seems to be picking up the loose ends left by the squatter movements in the 1990s.» (Holm, Kuhn, 2010, 655). In this framework a new wave of urban policy disputes emerged: mobilizations against the eviction of longstanding housing projects, the opposition against accelerated urban renewal in Berlin's inner-city districts based on luxury modernization, rising rent costs and social displacement -no longer confined to the districts of Prenzlauer Berg and Mitte, but increasingly visible in other inner-city districts such as Friedrichshain, Kreuzberg or Neukölln-, «the increasingly strained housing-policy situation, the large number of new and old groups and initiatives, and initial institutional successes such as the victorious referendum against the Mediaspree development» are at least a sign of it. All these elements permit to develop different levels of analysis: it makes of Berlin a very interesting case to analyse.

In Rome constitute a very interesting case too due to the broad phenomenon of occupation that characterize the city since the 1960s on and today results still very relevant. In Rome the emergence of this phenomenon has been linked to the attempt to oppose mechanisms of social exclusion and address the chronicle housing crisis affecting a big percentage of the low-income (mostly immigrant) population; in addition to that, low income population excluded by the city and displaced/localized on the outskirts of the city started to collectively (re)build social relations and regenerate the otherwise soulless and degraded peripheries through the (re)appropriation and (re)activation of urban abandoned spaces transformed in so-called "self-managed Social Centres" by the youngest population. The Occupied Self-managed Social Centres (CSOA) are an Italian characteristic feature. They were created prior to the north in the post-Fordist cities like Milan and Turin on the European model. Famous is the example of CSOA Leon Cavallo in Milano: «A metropolitan area ("area in motion") [...] that has maintained and strengthened its connotation of "provider" of cultural and social services to citizens, making it a case of great interest to those who intend to study on the field, alternatives to neo-liberal privatization of the welfare state.» (Membretti, 2003). In cities like Rome, however, these insurgent citizenship spaces focused mainly on the peripheries and in abandoned public buildings emphasizing a reality of decay and lack of services. The aim to reuse abandoned public buildings to create services, spaces for culture and debate/meeting places for communities, establishing itself as an urban regeneration engine –implementing "bottom-up" modalities- to give an answer to the "nothingness" of peripheries. In Rome there are now a large number of this type of illegal/barely legal radical reappropriated spaces, most of whom have settled in the city since the early '90s. Despite the majority of them were kept in a clandestine condition, now constitute an important catalyst for cultural/politica/social/leisure activities within the city, giving a central character to those city areas otherwise peripheral and lacking a proper identity. "In anyway people consider them, the social centres seems beating small oases in the desolation of the metropolis. Places [...] where those in need can find shelter from today's climate of growing social selfishness, from the conformist trudge of our day, vaguely livened only by television» (quoting the director Paolo Virzi from its documentary over Rome's COSAs in 1994).

A part from the Social Centres, that took inspiration from the German *Autonomen* movement, as in Berlin the "squatters' movement has accompanied the transition to new models of urban renewal" in Rome it has accompanied the evolution of housing policies and urban development strategies creating the extraordinary urbanizations that produce "urban peripheries of (devastating) poverty and inequality" (quoting Holston that refers to third world countries urbanization, 2009). According to Mudu (2014b) «as in other cities, housing policies in Rome, provide a powerful mechanism which operates to perform class selection and social exclusion within the population through explicit spatial patterns. Resistance to such a mechanism is a relatively new phenomenon, which has occurred during the last 60 years.». The Italian Communist Party (PCI) principally led the first phase, between the 1950s and the 1970s. In the last 1970s the emergence of organizations from the extra-parliamentary left changed the characteristics of resistance trajectories, and the PCI was no longer the sole main actor. From the beginning of the 1980s a third phase developed, lasting around 20 years, where the action of organizations from the radical left was not directly linked to any political party, and groups experimented with new ways of action. The first phase of the 21st century represents a fourth phase in the struggle for housing, because both the levels of mobilization and networking have increased significantly.» In the last decade there was a strong downturn in the supply of social housing resulting in mass exclusion from the right to the city. «Various waves of social conflicts have contested such institutional apathy towards the lack of housing, behind which certainly lay violent class politics.» (Mudu, 2014b). As result of sixty years of radical occupation, today Rome can be considered the European capital of squatting for the variety of its reclaimed spaces qualitatively and quantitatively speaking.

I argue that is possible to define patterns of action that combine the first social movements using the tool of squatting/appropriation emerged since the 1960s on (such as the housing movements in Rome), with the 1970s-90s squatting movement in Berlin, with the 1990s social centres' movement in Rome, and with the new social movements that, have been increasingly emerging in the last two decades in the two cities, trying to oppose the privatization of parts of the city considered as a "common good", using various state-driven mechanisms to advance their causes against civic policies, projects, and regulatory measures, that are considered detrimental to the city's public space, such as the groups of citizens reclaiming co-/self-managed public spaces and services (e.g. Gualini, Majoor, 2007, for Amsterdam; Gualini, 2008, for Berlin; Pask, 2010 in the case of Vancouver; Teatro Valle, 2012, in the case of Rome; Vitale, 2007 and Gualini 2014 several cases). All of them have used collective forms of insurgent (re)appropriation of space as a legitimate tactic of protest and to take over space where to "both device and pursue alternative politics". What actually seems to further justify these practices as legitimate, besides the fact that they often arise from the need to meet primary needs, is their capacity to revitalize the democratic debate on urban policy and practices, challenging the unilateral dominant projects (currently the neoliberal one) and offers alternatives to the "end of the public city."

1.4 ANALYSING THE POTENTIALITIES OF "COUNTER-GOOD PRACTICES"

From this derives the **need to develop a dialogue and to establish a rapport between these grass-root practices and urban planning**, the more so if one takes into account the crisis of the "public city." Considering the large amount of vacant properties in public hands, which due to financial constrains is increasingly privatized, it would seem useful to explore whether, by the institutionalization of these practices, new economic/operative resources may be made available and new potential cooperative partners found. Though grass-root experiments of self-management and DIY renovation could very well contribute to: the production of new public housing stock; heritage management; alternative forms of welfare (like social welfare); the development of more sustainable urban development strategies and public space management. The lack of parameters and evaluation criteria able to ascertain their "quality" and legitimacy renders their institutionalization difficult. In this framework, the aim to understand the socio-spatial relevance that these places have in relation with the urban territory and the impacts that they can have proposing alternative strategies in urban development gains an additional significance.

Following these considerations, **despite the capacity to recognize the quality and identify sort of inclusive tools to empower those "collective informal actors' practices of reappropriation" could result a crucial issue** today, nevertheless, I argue that the inherent "generative" and **"evolutionary" potential entailed in the inclusion of the "counter-good practices"** proposed by such bottom-up tactics **was hidden or not fully understood until now**. Starting from this assumption this research aims to fill this gap investigating these "insurgent practices of reappropriation" seen as on-going experiments of self-organization and presenting some of the practices developed under these conditions as silent driving forces and pivotal elements behind the evolution and production of new, more progressive, urban policies and practices. Within such frame, the research also addresses the question of how the practices developed by "informal actors" have been or could be able to influence the agenda of urban planning and urban policies, and what happens when these practices are institutionalized. Yet, dissent often end up being manipulated by defenders of the status quo through the definition of a set of strategies that incorporate, commodify or neutralize the adversarial practices and discourses (Mouffe, 2012) incorporating them in the hegemonic ones in order to maintain an hegemonic position (also called "hegemony through neutralization" or what Gramsci has called "passive revolution"). At the same time, these conflictive practices have demonstrated to be able to take over hegemonic discourses and practices and turn them into new subversive ones (Situationist's definition of "*detournement*"). Considering that, how can we define who influences whom in this process? Which interpretative framework prevails? Can we define this

constant confrontation between conflictive strategies and discourses as a co-evolutive relationship that results in dialectic fundamental for democracy? This analysis entails, then, the unfolding of strategies defined in the confrontation between configuration of power and counter-power positions, hegemonic and counter-hegemonic models, "having rights" and "having-not" (Arnstein, 1969), anti-capitalistic and capitalistic strategies and tactics, and this is why this analysis looks crucial for a deep understanding of issues related to forms of democracy and democratic participation.

Since that, results crucial to work on defining a general and historical analysis of the entity of the phenomenon, the subjects involved, the outcomes produced by the experimentation of counter-power spaces and what has been the relationship of such alternative/autonomous/radical experiences with the city development strategies and the city itself. This spaces of counter-power have constituted, over the time, both an "adversarial strategy" and a "tactic to be played in the enemy field" (De Certeau, 1984) from where to push, in the first experiences, for the "revolution[2]" of the capitalist strategies of space production, while in the latter, for the "evolution" in the negotiation with institutions over urban transformation strategies (through an increasingly reformist approach more than revolutionary as was in the past).

These performative practices embody "Dissent" in the moment in which they start to challenge the status quo[3] and therefore these practices are adversarial to the idea of "consensus" and base their action on the fundamental dimension of the conflict intended as necessary to reach real democracy. Indeed, the comprehension of the dissent's procedural efficacy looks important from the perspective of democratic theory because of «its ability to oblige people to rethink their own views, conceptions, and underlying assumptions, especially when those other views challenge the status quo» (Martin, 2013). Yet, the understanding of the dimension of commensurability or incommensurability of the conflictive positions between formal actors' institutional strategies and discourses and informal actors' radical tactics and discourses looks crucial to define the possible fields of action and spaces for negotiation.

1.5 FOUR CATEGORIES FOR A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

How to manage to confront such a wide set of strategies developed over forty years in two different urban contexts? And, how to define the positive or negative outcomes of the confrontation between more radical or more state-driven reclaiming strategies and institutions? In order to do that, the dissertation will introduce some broader categories of analysis (individuated by the research work) related to analysed cases of conflict over urban reclaimed processes to describe: the historical evolution of such practices; the level of confrontation reached with the institutions during the time; the different levels of negotiation of often radically opposed interpretative frameworks; the commensurable/ incommensurable dimension of conflicts over space. It permits to identify patterns and common dynamics in the two different urban contexts analysed, Rome and Berlin, necessary to define the ground for a comparative analysis. Moreover, it clarifies some of the reasons that are behind a more or less commensurable conflict. Last but not least, it shows which interpretative framework prevails, if there has been a real negotiation or any kind of hybridization has been reached. The aim is to enhance the potentialities entailed in the hybridization between two radically different approaches: on one side "informal actors" confronting with local problems and proposing conflicting momentary solutions; on the other, formal actors both creating the conditions to give voice to the issues negotiating proposed solutions from the bottom, so to combine elements of openness and "unpredictability" with tools traditionally used to control or to drive change. This research aims to investigate if there is an inherent potential behind these "insurgent practices" seen as fully self-managed (economically and functionally) spaces, and presents these as possible silent driving forces behind co-produced phenomena of urban regenerations. It is part of a challenge to overcome cities contemporary crisis, connected to urban austerity, the State role crisis and globalization, and understand bottom-up experiences as pivotal elements for the individuation of site-specific solution, towards forms of cooperative cities and networking of local communities, and the re-politicization of planning debate capable to understand and govern communities in the process.

[2] "Revolution" - implies the substitution of an hegemonic order with a new one (Newman, 2011).
[3] «[…] the existing structure of norms, values […] and especially authorities that underwrite the present ways of doing things» (Shiffrin, 2000).

CHAPTER 1

METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

1. Research objectives: Why undertake an investigation on grassroots/insurgent practices and their relationship with urban planning field?

The process of (re)claiming urban spaces is a practice widely present in many important cities since decades and it entails (often) a political spatialization of claims and street-level demands of autonomous movements and active citizens. Nevertheless, the analysis of this topic has been, for a long time, regarded as relevant only to social science and political science and just recently is generating an increasing interest in urban planning theory and practices research field. The emerging priority is to define self-organization and co-production processes as new important principles for the implementation of alternative public policies and the development of new practices for the management, production and maintenance of public space in times of weakening of national models of socio-economic governance and urban austerity. The interest has grown along with the conviction that cities are complex phenomena which are almost impossible to predict and control and that give a place in city planning to these new forms of urbanism can be a way to pay more justice to the social and cultural complexity that constitutes contemporary urbanity (Groth, Corijn, 2005). Discourses on self-organization often recall the imperative of enabling and activating societal solutions to fundamental urban problems like sustainable development, civic engagement and frequently refer to the creative mobilization of ideas from citizens and new market actors. Starting from this, it would seem highly useful to draw on the experiences developed in the last decades in many cities –and not only on new experiences of cooperative cities- that result from the implementation of a big number of bottom-up initiatives experimenting forms of self-organization and co-production of public spaces through the use of reclaiming spaces processes. In some cities, they have produced interesting solutions and achieved a big relevance in terms of physical spatiality (number of appropriations/occupations) and symbolic meaning for the collective imaginary, especially within European urban contexts. In this framework, the reasons for this emerging interest in defining such autonomous practices are manifold, especially as intended as potential pivotal elements for:

- Alternative forms of spatial transformation;
- Generation of public policies from the bottom;
- Individuation of more sustainable and democratic strategies;
- Experimentation of combination of elements of openness and unpredictability with instruments traditionally used to control or to guide change[4].

For instance, they may constitute an important resource in the framework of budgetary problems of local administrations that is progressively forced to privatize public assets and to mainly address the interests of economic elites within a governance system, to avoid bankruptcy. Moreover, they can foster the debate over the recognition of different and more various ways of urban space usage and everyday lifestyles. Last but not least, they can help in the definition of "commons" on an urban scale. Yet, the increased use of terms like "temporary uses", "self-organization" and "co-production", "citizen entrepreneurship", etc. reveals the opening of a new field of inquiry into alternative forms of urban development and co-production of urban public space based on subsidiarity between formal and informal actors.

1.1 Auto-ethnographic observations: the initial individuation of the research field

The initial individuation of the research field has resulted from both a fundamental interest for the subject area of urban geography but also by the need to clarify the nature of the phenomena observed in the everyday life and / or the possible relationship between them; in my case, therefore, the interest emerged from the need to clarify the nature of the phenomena of occupation and/or self-management of urban wastelands punctuating my hometown, Rome. Since about fifteen years, I have been participating to activities as a simple user or as an active subject, organized in Centri Sociali Occupati Autogestiti, CSOA (occupied self-managed social centres) mostly located in the city's peripheries. In a city increasingly gentrified, like Rome, many people (among them mostly young people, precarious workers, immigrants), that cannot afford expensive cultural or social activities, are attracted by the alternative, affordable, solidaristic and anti-utilitarian activities developed in those self-managed spaces. It produce the paradoxical effect to polarize the attention of a sector of the population on soulless peripheries that suffered for decades a strong lack in public services provision and spaces for cultural and social activities, mostly located in central areas. In these peripheries, former "wastelands", transformed in spaces for "youth empowerment" and experimentation of anti-capitalist forms of labour and social reproduction, became, over the time, more attractive for me and many other people then not-affordable or not-negotiated institutional and more central activities within the city. Thanks to the studies in architecture and urban planning fields, I started to wonder what could be the relationship between a planned city and unplanned spaces and activities within a city. I started questioning why I considered those practices legitimate since illegal. I then found out that these spaces, the social centres, were connected to a big network of housing occupations managed by political autonomous movements struggling for housing rights through social conflicts contesting the institutional apathy

[4] Planning always combines elements of openness and unpredictability with instruments traditionally used to control or to guide change. The different ways of combining these elements is highly contextual, influenced by the institutional context wherein urban development takes place.

towards the lack of housing, since decades. Social centres were in some way their connection with a broader public. In fact, while the housing occupations got less visibility to the public opinion since they were mostly exclusively experienced by their tenants and the activists involved, the social centres were receiving big numbers of people, both activists and simple users, actively participating to their numerous activities. Despite the high relevance of the phenomenon in the city, quantitatively and qualitatively speaking (Mudu, 2014b), most of those spaces were never legalized and little was the space for negotiation with the institutions. Apparently, institutions were confronting with the issue of illegal occupation pretending it did not exist or through cyclical repression strategies. When I realized that those places were actually providing a set of services and activities not provided by institutions in many peripheral areas, I wondered if this temporary condition was set as convenient by both sides: on one side the institutions incapable to address a set of demands coming from the bottom were keeping them as an unofficial provisional resource and a tool of social pacification without recognizing them as legitimate, on the other, autonomous spaces looking for their "exodus" from institutions (Virno) could experiment and develop instant, alternative and vibrant solutions thanks to their not-institutionalized status (avoiding bans and rules). When I moved to Barcelona in 2008-2009, during the university (Erasmus programs), I started to attend other self-managed social centres. As I could observe in other European cities, many of them were illegally occupied while some were regularized through official lease contracts and were institutionalized as self-managed non-profit activities for social purpose (subjected to all the rules of the capitalist bourgeois state). Most of the time, the illegal status was due to the refusal to negotiate an official permit from the public/private owner, even in the case of long time properties vacancy. Sometimes it was an actual choice in order to avoid the institutionalization of autonomous practices, avoid paying rents, avoiding controls and the imposition of bans and rules, etc. In 2008 the peak of the economic boom, that in Spain had strongly fuelled the construction industry, resulted in the explosion of the housing bubble and the beginning of a deep economic crisis. In the same year, the urban development plans imitating global approval development patterns (such as the big event *Forum de las Culturas* or the actuation of strategic planning programs seeking to transform Barcelona in a competitive global city), were radically transforming entire parts of the city. Among them, the former industrial neighbourhood, Poblenou, was addressed by the biggest urban transformation the city had ever witnessed, due to a strategic plan called "22@". The definition and implementation of this public-private initiative of urban transformation was starting from the assumption that the area was a *tabula rasa*, and its urban fabric could be completely substituted by a new, more modern and orderly city, able to attract investment and relocation of large companies' headquarters. Despite the acclaimed (by institutions) participatory processes held before the definition of the plan, this project met with wide forms of local contestation. The conflictive citizenship contested not-negotiated strategies and goals for urban transformation (based on the idea of economic growth and global competition) accused of favouring the interests of local and extra-local elites to the detriment of a real democratic negotiation among all stakeholders and the public itself. In this framework some actors could be recognized more than others in the space of negotiation of the conflict. For instance who was unofficially subletting a room or a house (a practice very common in Barcelona), often the weaker sectors of the population, had no right to stay put. Those squats and autonomous spaces illegally occupied had no right to stay put either. What I observed is that, those spaces, both the ones occupied for individual interests and the ones collectively managed and offering different services to the local communities, were all considered as temporary phenomena of social deviance, to be temporary neglected or harshly repressed. Those places, since considered not formally recognized by the plan and its norms, were treated as "urban voids" in planners' maps. The planning previsions provided the substitutions of autonomous places, offering spaces for sports, cultural, social and political activities in the Poblenou district, by more apartments blocks, malls, big firms' offices towers and luxury hotels. Both because of the crisis and because of the overproduction of supply over real demand, most of those built houses, shops, hotels and offices remained unsold and vacant and soon became new wastelands. On the other side, the urban complexity that made the city and that neighbourhood so interesting and attractive for many young people during the 2000s, started to vanish under the blows of the bulldozers. In fact, many autonomous spaces had been evicted (often illegally and violently) and demolished since the first 2000s (the Forum de las Culturas was held in 2004); moreover, in many former working class neighbourhoods, increasing forced evictions, strategies of space control and a zero tolerance approach toward every kind of "insurgent practice" that was considered a generator of urban deviant behaviours and conditions for conflict situations within the cities, were the visible signal of progressive gentrification. The same was for those neighbourhood's places developed by the everyday life of its population, progressively loosing their identity and authenticity. Following the crisis, when the city was forced to revise its growth forecasts, planners began to plan competitions for temporary uses of the undeveloped, vacant lots (often resulting by demolitions for the urban developments provided by the plan and never actuated). These competitions were attended by many of the same autonomous groups that had been excluded from the negotiation of previous urban development plans, as considered not reliable cooperative partners for the actuation of strategies of subsidiarity between formal and informal actors. Nevertheless, these temporary solutions, I argue, were intended as "gap fillers" while the market interests are low and traditional forms of urban development cannot be implemented (Colomb, 2012). The general strategies and goals for urban transformation were actually never reworked through a democratic process but instead "temporary suspended". This series of events made me think about what it means to have a number of "informal spaces" within the planned city and the relationship sometimes "generative", sometimes "destructive" between these autonomous practices and institutional policies and practices of urban regeneration. Some questions spontaneously emerged: Is it legitimate to maintain so many vacant spaces within the city in order to defend the concept of "property"? Does the dichotomic contraposition between private and public space able to describe the complexity of uses in a city and their right to stay put? Who has the right to decide which kind of, how and when

activities can settle in the abandoned spaces of our cities? Which usage and everyday practice are legitimate and which not? Why "antagonism" to the hegemonic system is rarely accepted as worth of democratic negotiation? Is it legitimate to leave illegal occupied spaces "temporary" develop in vacant properties until the market interests focus on those "indeterminate territories"? Why do not evaluate their eventual qualities for public interest and negotiate possibilities for their recognition when their existence is suddenly threatened by evictions? Do the population only need housing blocks, malls, and offices or the grassroots activities that emerge in some urban areas could be considered somehow the expression of different needs and unheard claims? Who really knows the needs of a complex body, like is the city, and has the right to decide how it should be planned and so socially, spatially and economically transformed? Are the participative processes adopted for the definition of strategic planning really capable to create a democratic space for negotiation between all the stakeholders involved in the conflict? What about those people or groups that are not formally recognized? And finally, are the tools developed for the temporal recognition of such practices actually negotiating between formal and informal practices or just normalizing and co-opting grassroots/autonomous/radical initiatives? What I realized is that, those spaces, since were not formally recognized and institutionalized, had no right to defend their radical alternatives, negotiate their right to stay put, or their capacity to be potential pivotal elements for democratic planning on vacant areas. Neither the ones actually emerged by issues of social degradation's nor the ones that were catalyst of urban regeneration and capable to offer services and activities to a part of the population. The concern then went to all those autonomous spaces that since decades were punctuating my city, making more interesting anonymous peripheries, giving hospitality to the excluded from the definition of dominant institutional forms of space production, the having-not, emarginated social groups and counter-cultural activities. What could happen if the market interest would have reached those areas ones considered the city's outskirts and produce a "cleansing" of those autonomous spaces (as happened since 2000s in many European cities)?

The interpretative framework adopted in the observation of such phenomena strongly politically oriented, as supporter and sympathizer of such practices, did not maintained the necessary detachment necessary to the researcher to remain objective. A more objective approach based on technocratic evaluations, such as a cost-benefit analysis approach, was needed. Some other considerations concerning a technical approach soon emerged. Among them: how can be a territory really governed, when many of its activities are not recognized, organized and put into a network with the others? For instance, when the CSOA Forte Prenestino in Rome (the biggest social centre in Europe) organizes a big event, the district is completely overwhelmed by cars, since the number of parking spaces for users of an asset that does not officially exist, has never been calculated. On the other hand, the large number of services that this CSOA offers (cinema, theatre, sports, a restaurant at affordable prices, a hostel, etc.), are not calculated between the services of the district and may result in the doubling of the same. Last but not least new questions emerged because of the crisis and the acceleration in the processes of increasing public spaces' privatization, since a new insurgent citizenship resisting contested urban transformations profit oriented was emerging all over Europe. In Rome, new social movements emerged pushing for the definition of "urban commons", proposing the constitutional recognition of "commons", active citizenship as "alternative partners" in a governance system and radical participation/self-management of public assets as alternatives to privatization. Could subsidiarity between formal actors and informal actors (active citizenship) constitute an alternative to privatization? Could these autonomous spaces constitute pivotal elements for the experimentations of "neutral costs" strategies of heritage management and urban renewal? Could the negotiation of such radical grassroots practices constitute an important element of democracy in challenging dominant space production strategies? These considerations constituted the basis for the individuation of the research field and the basic questions of the research. I then briefly further define the definition of this dissertation.

1.2 The main first questions

1. What kinds of practices have been developed in the last decades and what is their purpose?
2. What is the public value of "informal actors" practices autonomously (re)appropriating and transforming indeterminate spaces for public purposes within capitalist cities?
3. Can be traced an historical evolution in meanings, goals, inherent qualities and socio-cultural functions with which these transformed sites have been endowed (with regard to their urban surroundings)? Is it connected with an evolution in the adoption of different urban transformation strategies? Who have influenced whom?
4. Is it connected with an evolution in the adoption of different urban transformation strategies? Is there a co-evolutive relationship between top-down strategies and bottom-up practices? Who have influenced whom?
5. Can be considered pivotal elements for the development of more democratic and sustainable spatial planning and urban planning policies and practices approaches?
6. Have been developed planning tools to include/govern in urban transformation processes these grassroots/insurgent/autonomous practices, especially the ones who became spatially and symbolically relevant within the city?
7. Can the unpredictable and open approach of grassroots practices be combined with the urban planning positivistic approach? Can counter-hegemonic/insurgent practices be included and translated into systemic hegemonic strategies? Or are these frames incommensurable because of fundamental ontological and epistemological differences?

HYPOTHESIS

1. The recognition of such bottom-up practices (re)appropriating public spaces can produce:

A. The understanding of such practices as **pivotal elements for the development of more democratic and sustainable spatial planning and urban planning** policies and practices **approaches;**

B. The **(re)legitimation of the democratic dimension** of spatial planning and public decision-making procedures;

C. The inclusion of a manifold of activities for **alternative forms of "social welfare"** (collective housing self-help programs; job opportunities in no-profit organizations with social purposes; social services for local communities; etc.);

D. The **(re)activation of "indeterminate" spaces** and **dismissed areas or districts as well as** Citizens' entrepreneurship and **(re)activation of local economy**;

E. The spaces for the collective construction of new forms of **citizens' engagement and radical participation in production of everyday practices** (e.g. meeting places to work on co-creating political subjectivity and neighbourhood sense of community);

F. Artistic/**cultural experimentation** and the catalyst effect of renaissance that it has over cities.

2. The non-recognition of these practices in the recent past, since they imply the presence of not officially recognized land and spaces uses or of "informal actors" implementing bottom-up strategies, raised a number of issues:

- The non-recognition of a use of space, defined from the bottom and not from the top, it can mean a dysfunctional organization and management of an urban area due to the **an inefficient spatial planning or a master plan that doesn't reflect the reality;**

- The constant repression (a priori exclusion), or "selective neglect", of autonomous insurgent practices can lead to the stagnation of dominant policies, never challenged by proposed alternative models. It provokes the avoidance of a progressive questioning and **the opportunity to critically observe some of the problems and paradoxes of spatial planning, political culture of policy making and public decision-making procedures;**

- Planning **tools unable to negotiate these spatial conflicts** and coordinate them in the urban transformation processes **can lead to the radicalization of the conflictive situation instead of mediate it;**

- It can provoke the **inability / failure to include in urban development strategies of forms of experimentation potentially good for public interest**. Disable the individuation and negotiation of alternative solutions to the actual crisis of public policies and spaces.

FURTHER QUESTIONS

1. **How to interpret these processes** of reclaiming urban public spaces? What is their relevance in urban planning field?
2. Are these practices **further weakening the role of the planner and public institutions** or can they ensure a further legitimation of their role as facilitator, working for the public interest, within conflictive confrontation on the mentioned issues?
3. **How to recognize as valuable, legitimate and include such practices** in: the spatial transformation processes; the urban agenda; the development of new policies and practices?
4. Why these **practices are more effective in giving voice to street-level demands**? Why informal policies are able to be **more proactive then formal policies**?
5. Could they be defined as **potential "urban catalysts"** for more sustainable forms of: urban regeneration, citizen empowerment, enhancement of citizen participation, development of alternative public policies and social welfare systems experimentation?
6. **How the public policies can introject some operative processes**? Through the use of which tools?
7. **How to govern them**? Through which instruments and strategies? **How to negotiate with them** in a governance system?

2. Summary proposal

The incapacity to confront with the conflictive dialectic played between devices of power and forms of resistance have produced, in particular in the last decade, a radical increment in the level of conflicts over urban planning and politics issues and have also unlighted the difficulty to unfold the agonistic potential entailed in the confrontation with and legitimation of everyday practices. In relation to that the comprehension of such mechanisms of citizen empowerment/disempowerment is taking nowadays a qualitatively new political significance. Starting from the processes of reclaiming urban spaces, I started researching also the field of active citizenship, insurgent citizenship, urban social movements and autonomous urban movements that is historically related to that. I would like to understand the socio-spatial relevance of such "practices of freedom" (Foucault, 2002) in relation with the urban transformation and the political impact that they can have proposing other kind of policies, that, when related to a real participative process, produce often more sustainable alternative politics and citizen empowerment.
The complexity of the topic, regarding the practices of (re)appropriation of urban space, impose to consider a variety of perspectives for the controversial juridical, political and ethical positions that are made visible by the attempt to define a legitimacy for these grassroots processes. The political (radical, autonomist) and juridical (illegal, temporary) situation of (re)appropriated urban places that are definable as temporary, exceptional or (self- or inducted) segregated in the urban space, could drive to a multiplicity of discussions about big controversial issues as the ones related to property rights, citizens' participation, the right to the city, the control over space, the concept of social deviance. Thereafter, the definition of the legality/legitimacy and inclusivity/exclusivity of these practices of self-made city stats from a basic question: shall we consider them as "spaces of democracy" (Arendt) or spaces of suspension of democracy?

Starting from the questions:

- In this urban insurgent practices, that in these days are trying to redefine their legitimacy as political actors within the city, is it possible to find what is missing (voluntary or not) in public policies?
- These grassroots and autonomous practices can constitute a valuable resource for the penniless administrations suggesting more sustainable alternative politics and strategies?
- Recognizing and incorporating the self-management and self-production of spaces within the city policies and practices, should be considered as considerable as a step forward in urban democracy and citizen empowerment or a step backward to a disempowered "public" that rely on the private initiatives?

I argue that:

1. We should **understand the nature and define the potential of these "insurgent urban practices"**: these radical/insurgent urban practices are often the expression of active citizenship based on forms of self-collective-organization, radical participation and conflictive dissent (that oblige people to rethink their own views and develop their political subjectivity), **and are the expression of the attempt to reclaim the exercise of democracy and the "right to the city"**.

2. They can be considered as pivotal elements for:

   - Learn from plurality of perspectives;
   - See contention and conflict as key dimension for understanding and conferring meaning to politics and to "the political" in cities;
   - Bring to forms of partnership, delegated power and citizen control, degree of citizen power (Arnstein, 1968), capable to reach real participation;
   - (Re)legitimize the democratic dimension of decision-making processes;
   - (Re)politicize urban policies and planning as well as planning theory debates.

3. Starting from this assumption, I argue, it would be **important to take into consideration these radical bottom-up processes** (that transforms "indeterminate" urban areas) as pivotal elements for the definition of urban transformation strategies **learning from their strong "political" dimension.**

A planner, nowadays, should know how much important is for the analysis and formulation of policy and practices, to have been able to open to interculturality and to contamination or to the tendency towards a "positive discrimination" (Perrone, 2013), demonstrating that the argumentations and ways to represent reality have faced all the argumentative levels (from the technical-analytical to the ideological one) finding consensus, even a conflictive consensus, at each one of these levels with all the actors involved. The capacity to develop, strategies and interpretations based on an

intercultural approach, is very important for planners that should play a central role negotiating these spaces, understanding the new urban identities that they propose and finding new strategies to incorporate them in the planned city (Sandercock, 1998). The challenge consist in trying to don't co-opt/pervert the creative and unplanned diversity of such "temporary uses of space", while negotiate their alternative counter-hegemonic dimension with the hegemonic one.

Basically, in this research I try to define the legitimacy of these autonomous practices of (re)appropriation of urban space, building a strong theoretical framework, that is needed to support the hypothesis that these phenomena can be considerate as transformative generative forces that could inspire new sustainable urban strategies, rather than just as negative elements that perverts the system creating spaces of illegality.

The study aims to:

- Understand how these 'informal actors' are (or could be) capable to positively influence the agenda of urban planning and urban policies;
- Analyse the possibility to create inclusionary strategies that does not perverts but coordinate them in urban transformation processes;
- Identify the most appropriate "tools" (in terms of urban policies and practices) capable to recognized the positive practices of "self-made city" (more or less radical) and to grant voice to street-demands that become visible through acts of insurgent citizenship. The capacity to find strategies to deal with these insurgent practices and active citizenship's bottom-up strategies, that imply conflictive consensus and non rhetoric confrontation with the issue of real citizen participation, could be able to suggest real tools to get to high degrees of citizen power.

Moreover I argue that these insurgent practices, as on-going experiments of self-organization and empowerment, have been able to:

- Individuate/define spaces for public political encounter, democratic negotiation and where political subjectivation emerges and is performed;
- Build a network of local solutions to urban problems;
- Propose new ideas to (re)activate vacant and abandoned places;
- Give an answer to the urban austerity programs building new models of "city for people not for profit" capable to challenge the unilateral neoliberal projects;
- Foster an "agonistic" dimensions in their antagonistic confrontation with the hegemony of the State and the Property;
- Produce a debate for the definition and understanding of the legitimacy/necessity to implement forms of temporality in urban projects and of self-management of spaces.

3. Research phases

PHASE 1 – Analyse the political, economic, social frame in which these practices arise. Identify certain patterns and waves of (re)claiming space's practices that are correlated with movements cycles and different phases of urban development and urban politics, shifting from Fordism to neoliberalism. Individuate macro categories of analysis of these insurgent practices useful to understand how they evolve in relation to social claims, strategies, and confrontation with the institutions.

PHASE 2 – Selected one case study for each city (the ones with more similarities) that have been analysed in relation to these processes, confronting Berlin with Rome, so to have 2 case studies to investigate for a comparative analysis. It permits to prove developed hypothesis and build theories. Analyse the 2 cases study through sources of data collection in qualitative research (interviews, observations, and review of documents) to develop an interpretative approach useful to understand conflictive issues based on controversial representations of the topic.

PHASE 3 – Once individuated these "practices", and defined their relationship with the territory and with its specific social network, and with the city authorities, analyse if and in what way, their instances have been excluded/included in urban policies and agenda. This is important to formulate conclusions based on the evaluation of inclusionary strategies and related policies developed in the last decades. The goal is to identify strategies and approaches to deal with insurgent practices and active citizenship's bottom-up strategies, in a way that imply conflictive consensus and non rhetoric confrontation with the issue of real citizens' participation, towards high degrees of citizens power. Understand which tools are missing that could reopen the debate on urban democracy and better empower forms of active citizenship including them in urban transformation processes. Identify appropriate "tools" (in terms of urban policies and practices) capable to democratically include the practices of 'self-made city' understanding them as a legitimate expression of a "right to the city", implemented by a part of civil society.

Research steps:

- "Review of the literature" to define the theoretical frameworks (analysis of relevant literature in the field of economic geography, political geography, political philosophy, urban anthropology, sociology, urban planning) and analyse the historical context of autonomous movement of (re)appropriation in the cities of Berlin and Rome. Definition of the evolution of the phenomenon of transitional (re)appropriation of indeterminate urban spaces, in a perspective of temporal evolution (squatting, temporary uses, reclaiming public spaces, etc.).

- Analysis the juridical status that defines these places in Berlin and Rome and the policies developed by the city authorities for the criminalization/repression or recognition/legalization of these practices, in the last two decades.

- Select some case studies to analyse: the cases have to be significant both in relation to forms of active citizenship proposing alternative politics for the production of space and both in relation to emblematic confrontation with the city administration that led to the development of new strategies of inclusion/exclusion of these insurgent practices.

- Make a comparison of two different case studies, analysed in the two cities contexts, to highlight similarities and differences in the practices, in their relationship with the territory and his institutional framework, regulatory practices, policy regime, political struggles and with his influence on the city transformations processes and political agenda.

- Individuate strategies able to create an inclusionary approach and to include alternative politics coordinating these 'informal actors' and their practices in urban transformation processes. Individuate urban policies and practices capable to incorporate these practices of "self-made" city to better empower citizens.

4. Methods

Considering the complexity of the topic in terms of controversial but all legitimate point of views, quantitative method for the collection of data would not be able to analyse the topic in deep and objectively because of the many "pre-judices" that exist on the topic and the strong ethical/political implications. In fact, this topic represents that frames that are typically held to be incommensurable because of controversial ontological and epistemological approaches.

Indeed, is often possible to observe radically opposite opinion on this specific topic. It is further difficult to figure out which of the two opinions is "the right one", considering that both points of views expressed are shareable as well as difficult to refute.

For instance, is a common opinion that the occupied, squatted, (re)appropriated spaces are places that, under the banner of "freedom from bans and rules" hide a dimension of illegality, social deviation and negative subversive potential, while for others it expresses a claim for more freedom of movement, freedom from the hegemonic production of space and social reproduction, freedom from the pervasive control related to the set of rules, regulations and bans applied on all aspects of the daily life.

Moreover, the strong political implications on the analysis of the topic, that are fundamental to understand the nature of these grassroots processes, can open a discussion on the objectivity of data collected by a quantitative method, considering that the organizations in charge to carry out this task could be instructed by the institutions themselves, those same institutions, that can be identified with the status quo, target of the performative dissent acted by these insurgents practices, and so, that do not recognize them a priori as legitimate (this concept will be explained more in deep in the section "the use of primary or secondary data").

4.1 The social geography research

1. Introduction: some reflections on Mirella Loda's book

The socio-geographical contemporary issues and the most diverse aspects of the planning and management of the territory are now linked to the field of survey of the social geography in which the discussion of social and spatial dynamics is not analysed only from a descriptive or theoretical point of view, but also through practical-applications.
The discussion of current issues often also requires a recourse to empirical research and direct collection of information - primary data – considering that, only in rare cases, it is sufficient to rely solely on data from the official statistics (ISTAT in Italy) or other secondary sources (other institutions) - Secondary data.

The use of primary or secondary data: With regard to this specific area of research, direct research in the field is essential because the data that are provided by the official statistics, only allow a first analysis of the background, such as the trend of the real estate market, the number of evictions, the number of homeless people, the assets of public housing, the number of occupants / size of alternative collective housing strategies which occurred in the two cities analysed, Rome and Berlin , from the early '90s on. Certainly, these data are useful to help define the problem; in the article "Resisting and Challenging Neoliberalism: the development of Italian Social Centres" (2004), for example, Pierpaolo Mudu, through a careful analysis of secondary data produced by the official statistics, either by the use of quantitative techniques for data collection, brings us a lot of data related to the world of Italian Self-managed Social Centres (SCs) very useful to frame the phenomenon: the number of SCs on the Italian territory, how they are distributed in the Italian territory, the number of visitors per year in various cities, the social composition of visitors by age, sex, education level, social class, etc.
Using these data, however, would not allow us to define, for example, the perception that the institutions and citizens not involved, have about these self-managed practices or what is the value orientation of those involved in these practices of active citizenship, so as what are their motivational structures. This is because these data «provide no information about a whole range of cognitive phenomena (perception, evaluation, etc.), which, although not easily translatable into structural data, are incredibly important for understanding the meaning and strategies of social actors»[5] (Loda, 2008, 120). Moreover, as mentioned above, on topics that show a lack of interest of the institutions or a permanent political/ideological conflict towards the analysed phenomenon, the use of data produced by the institutions themselves might seem in any case not actually voted for social purposes.
For this reason, some radical statistics groups have been formed in the last decades. To give an example, tin 1975 the Radical Statistics Group was formed as part of the radical science movement associated with the establishment of the British Society for Social Responsibility in Science (BSSRS). Members of Radstats are concerned at the extent to which

[5] Translation made by the author.

official statistics reflect governmental rather than social purposes. They believe that through their contribute the members can help building a more free, democratic and egalitarian society.

Their particular concerns are:

- The mystifying use of technical language to disguise social problems as technical ones
- The lack of control by the community over the aims of statistical investigations, the way these are conducted and the use of the information produced
- The power structures within which statistical and research workers are employed and which control the work and how it is used
- The fragmentation of social problems into specialist fields, obscuring connectedness[6]

2. Defining scope of research

The initial individuation of the research field has resulted from both a fundamental interest for the subject area of urban geography but also by the need to clarify the nature of the phenomena observed in the everyday life and / or the possible relationship between them; in my case, therefore, the interest emerged from the need to clarify the nature of the phenomena of occupation and/or self-management of urban wastelands (observed in some big European cities) and the relationship sometimes "generative", sometimes "destructive" between these autonomous practices and institutional policies and practices of urban regeneration.

For the construction of the research design is required:

• the delimitation of the research field;
• the translation of the processed elements in empirically testable hypotheses;
• the choice of the research method.

In my case, we can simplify the three steps as follows:

a. The delimitation of the research field:

Research field: analysis of the relationship between phenomena of reappropriation that refer to urban social movements and their relationship with the policies and institutional practices in the cities of Rome and Berlin, since the transition from Fordist to post-Fordist period;

b. The translation of the processed elements in empirically testable hypotheses:

Hypothesis: the urban “indeterminate” spaces and practices of (re)appropriation from the bottom can be a potential local resource for administrations;
self-management of spaces = reduction of responsibility in the management and programming of parts of the city by the formal actors; source of programmatic ideas for reuse and revitalization of abandoned, unused or underused public areas/spaces; immediate and temporary solutions to housing crisis; broader offer of affordable cultural activities; etc.

c. The choice of the research method:

Selection of Qualitative research methods as they provide information about cognitive phenomena (perception, evaluation) and an interpretative paradigm more useful for the research field that has been selected: use of techniques of direct observation (participant observation) and methods of active listening; interviews with privileged actors (activists, occupiers, local government - city government and municipalities), those involved directly or indirectly (citizens who support these initiatives, citizens who suffer the presence of these spaces in the area); analysis of documents (academic publications, newspaper articles, reports, newsletters, etc.)[7].

Once identified and delimited the field of investigation proceeds to the identification of specific aspects, issues or questions that are intended to be treated through empirical research (Loda, 2008, 122). The path leading to the clarification of the investigation necessarily involves the understanding of the state of knowledge on the subject (the state of art) that requires a thorough examination of the sources of information available, which is also used to enter into the “debate” with the relevant scientific community. «This phase can be considered it closed only if one is able to define precisely what aspect of theories and/or knowledge of a particular topic, the research can contribute to

[6] [http://www.radstats.org.uk/about-radical-statistics/]
[7] E.g. "Paper Tiger" in Berlin: an archive that collects documents on social movements and the movements of occupation that have occurred in the city since 1984.

knowledge» (Ibid, 2008, 122). Through structural analysis it is possible to decompose the problem studied in all its components or variables until the components are no longer decomposable: they are called "one-dimensional components" (e.g. Figure 1). After the research field has been narrowed and clarified, it is possible to switch to a series of successive steps that are planned for the construction of the research project (e.g. the explanation of the assumptions, the choice of the territorial scale investigation, the choice the research method, etc.) in order to get «the appearance of an architecture that connects theoretical hypotheses and practical research in the most logical and consistent possible way» (Ibid, 2008, 124)[8].

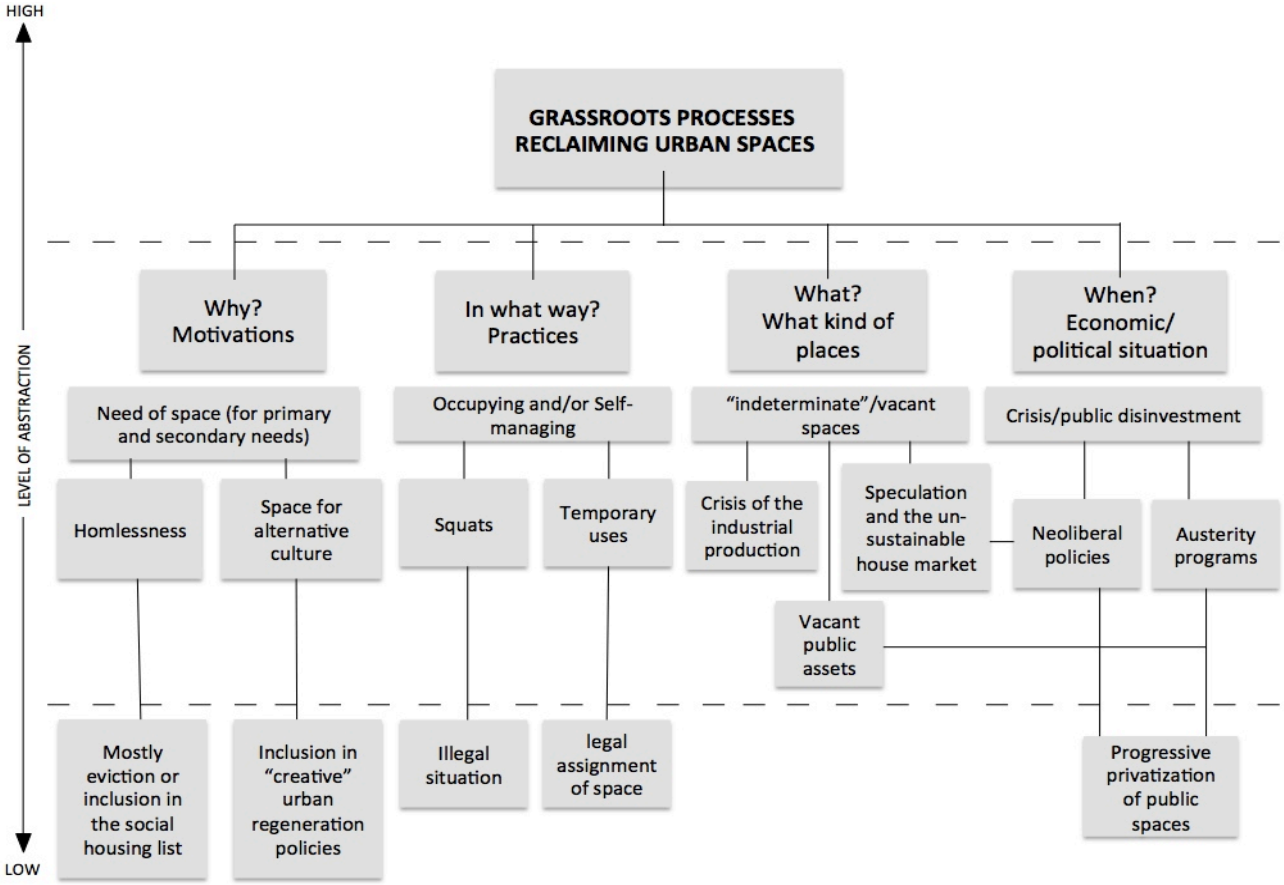


Figure 1: Structural analysis of the spontaneous processes of reclaiming urban space

3. How to make limitations on research?

It is proposed to follow an example of a narrowing of the field of investigation and setting up a research design (case study: CS).

PHASE 1	CS) Analysis of the phenomena of (re)appropriation of space > identification and management of these bottom-up practices as potential resources for the development of the city

In a second step we need to make explicit the assumptions that the researcher intends to verify through empirical research.

PHASE 2 Universal assumptions	CS) indeterminate spaces and practices of (re)appropriation from below can be an opportunity for local authorities, such as lightening the burden of commitments and management of certain city's areas through the recognition and empowerment of grassroots practices of self-management of public spaces; a source of programmatic ideas for the reuse and revitalization of abandoned/disused areas; immediate solutions to the housing crisis; affordable socio-cultural activities. Yet, it is assumed that in cities like Rome and Berlin these practices emerged from a perception of exclusion and have made up ideas addressing basic needs (housing, job opportunities) and secondary needs (spaces for socializing, culture, youth empowerment, social inclusiveness, etc.).

[8] Translation made by the author.

The assumptions should be made **through the adoption of the best-known theories over the phenomenon** that is analysed in order to "verify them, integrate them, and correct them". **Anchor the research significantly to theoretical background is essential as it helps to give an interpretation based of the results.** The conceptual model finally emerges from a system of hypotheses concatenated among them, starting from a more general level and by articulating the hypothesis gradually in a more specific manner. This conceptual model is amplified and supplemented in parallel with the practice of collecting and analysing data.

FASE 3 Deterministic Assumptions	CS) When and why in Berlin / Rome the phenomenon has taken on significant dimensions and is organized in social movements? > Assumptions: The waves of housing occupations occur in quantities more significant when we are witnessing a change in the paradigm of urban development policies, when there is a vacuum of power, when the housing market is in crisis (Figure 2). E.g. Rome in the early 1990s suffered from the new housing emergency generated by the great new waves of immigration (from foreigner countries) started during the 1980s; the increasing disinvestment in the public sector particularly affecting peripheral areas lacking in public services never activated in the 1970s/1980s; crisis of industrial sector and abandonment of entire business districts; real estate crisis (Bank of Italy, 2013) during the 1990s decade following the economic and real estate boom of the late 1980s connected to the football World Cup "Italia '90"; growth of the international anti-globalization movement connected to the new generation of radical movements of occupation, etc.

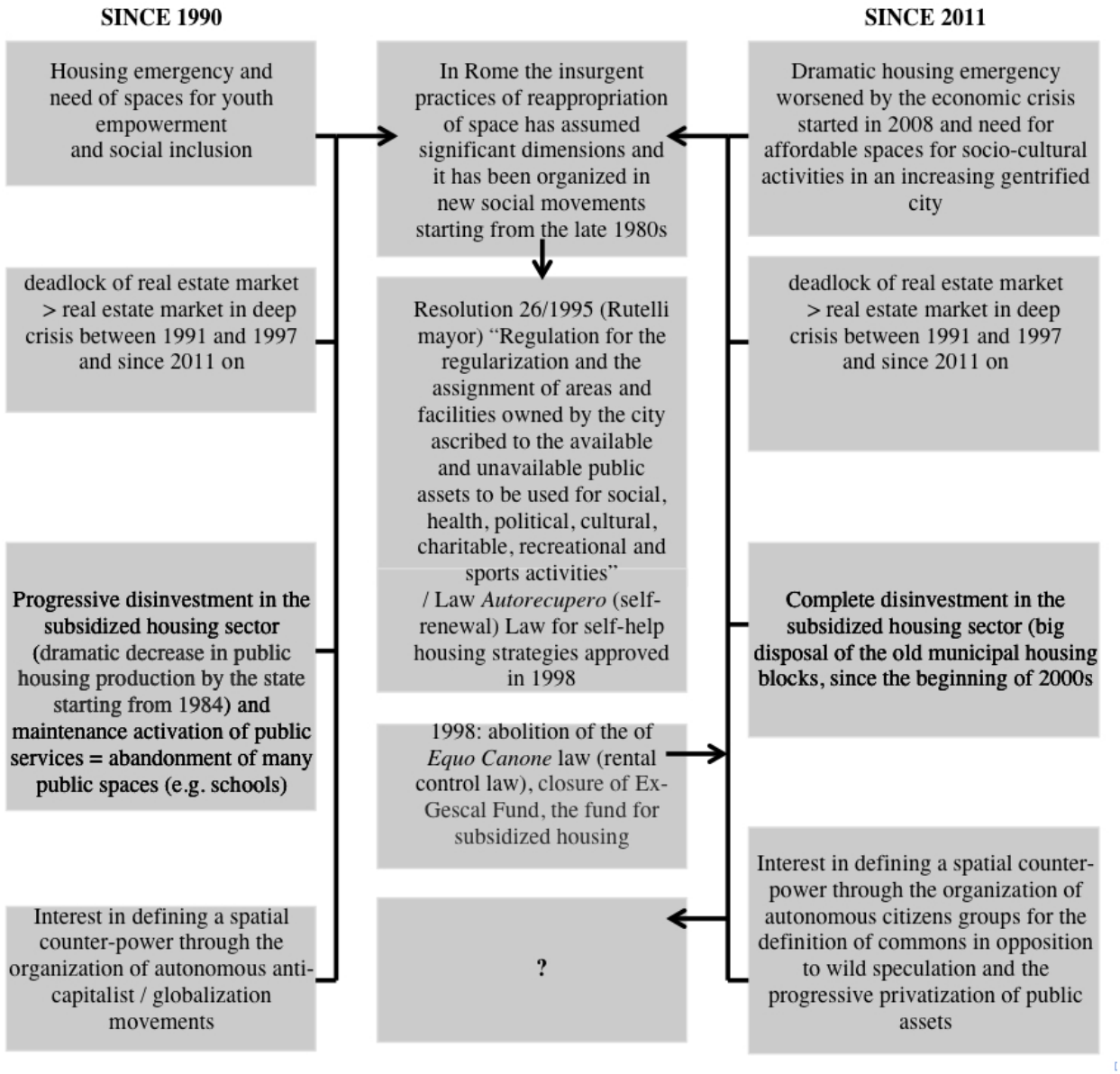


Figure 2: Diagram of assumptions about "When and why in Rome the phenomenon has reached a significant size and it is organized in social movements?"

4.2 The Qualitative Paradigm Assumption

The analysis of the studied processes is made through the use of qualitative methods that are based on paradigms - **Qualitative paradigm assumption** (Fireston, 1987; Guba & Lincoln, 1988; McCracken, 1988) - like:

Ontological assumption: What is the nature of reality? Reality is subjective and multiple as seen by participants in a study; for example:

- What is the nature of "squatting"? What is the nature of the conflictive confrontation between hegemonic and counter-hegemonic visions?

Epistemological assumption: What is the relationship of the researcher and the researched? Interpretative approach: the researcher interacts with that being researched; for example:

- What is the relationship between the researcher and the subject analysed?
- What are his implicit assumptions and his “frames”?
- What is his point of view on the issue?

Axiological assumption: What is the role of values? Value-laden and based; for example:

- What is the role of ethical values that are opposed on this issue? Can the concept of illegality be redefined by the concept of legitimacy?

Rhetorical assumption: What is the language of research? Informal, evolving decision, personal voice, accepted qualitative words]; for example:

- What is the language chosen for the research? Qualitative method to collect data based on an inductive approach.

These are fundamental to understand the complexity of the theoretical scale from a more abstract ontological analysis to the most practical methods of data collection and comparison with privileged witnesses.

In addition, as outlined above, not moving in a field of shared values but on a topic that requires "autonomy" by many pre-established models, it is difficult to make use of a deductive process from a collection of "objective" data. It 'much more useful instead, starting from a process of inductive type, observe the phenomenon through active listening and participant observation which allow the viewer to move in a relational and thoughtful context, in which the observer is part of the observed system. This allows us to model "possible worlds" while the processes are observed, and define the categories that emerge during the research process, to determine patterns and theories that will allow us to check the premises from which the inductive process had started.

Qualitative methodological assumption:

- Inductive process
- Mutual simultaneous shaping of factors
- Emerging design-categories identified during research process
- Context-bound
- Patterns, theories developed for understanding
- Accurate and reliable through verification

Qualitative research is descriptive in that the researcher is interested in process, meaning, and understanding gained through words or pictures. The process of qualitative research is inductive in that the researcher build abstraction, concepts, hypotheses, and theories from details.

4.3 Methodology of participatory actions

In 2007 two influential books focused on research methodologies: “Participatory Action Research Approaches and Methods: Connecting people, participation and place” (Kindon et al, 2007); and “Constituent Imagination: Militant investigations, collective theorization” (Shukaitis et al, 2007). Both methodologies claim to challenge mainstream academic traditions, to carry out “engaged” research “with” or “within”, and to counter hegemonic approaches. Participatory Action Research (PAR) recognises a «plurality of knowledge located in a variety of institutions and

locations» (Kindon et al, 2007, 11) rather than the confines of policy-making and academia, valorising the knowledge of those who have been systematically excluded. Militant investigation, meanwhile, seeks to collectively develop new strategies of political resistance and argues that such "revolutionary knowledge" must be «deeply embedded in the logic of transformational practice» (Ibid., 2007, 12).

In this investigation, the attempt is to proceed with the collection of data and methodology of PAR, based on militant investigation and "alternative engaged approaches" to research with/within social movements. In particular, I wish to explore the common ground and tensions between such approaches and the challenges they pose to academic urban planning/geographical knowledge.

This investigation approach start from the will to address questions as:

- Can/should engaged approaches sustain a claim to the production of theory?
- Can engaged research approaches justify claims of co-production?
- How is academia to create space for the (voice of) 'the other'?
- What are the temporal and space-relational bounds on commitment to both social movements and academia in engaged research?
- How do engaged approaches (differently) represent, resolve or problematize the activist/academic identity?
- Can/should engaged approach sustain a claim to contribute to social change?
- How do these approaches relate to Marxist, Anarchist and other radical analyses?
- Are PAR and militant investigation synonymous or antagonistic?
- Is militant investigation limited to an auto-ethnographic method?

My approach to participatory action is described in the paragraph 6: "Qualitative methods of data collection for the two selected cases study". The investigation over the topic of radical/insurgent (re)appropriation of space and collection of data have been undertaken through the direct participation as an activist to the autonomous/radical movements of both cities and the use of "participatory observation" (Bonislaw Malinowski and the urban research of Chicago School of Sociology) of activities and everyday life of the two analysed cases study. Being part of those social groups, participating to political debates and actions, discussing with many people involved in radical/insurgent actions, taking part to Squatting European Kollective – a big network of researchers and activists collecting a big data set of information over the story of squatting in Europe and producing many publications over the topic – have enabled me to investigate different interpretative frameworks from the researcher and activist point of views and then as both a formal and informal actor.

The result has been a constant co-production of theories in the exchange of knowledge and expertise between me as an academic and them as activists. Moreover, the attempt of this investigation is to give voice, space and legitimation/dignity to under investigated phenomena such as the big set of radical/insurgent practices of occupations, their interrelation, their influence over urban transformations, in the academic debate. The issue of temporal and space relational bounds on commitment to both social movements and academia in engaged research has been a controversial one.

The commitment in the local social movements has meant problems with temporal bounds. The participation to actions, debates, everyday issues needs time both to be recognized as an activist and supporter and not only as a researcher observing "somebody else's issues" and because the commitment needs continuity in participation. The issue of the identity has also been very relevant, as mentioned above, both for the recognition of my role in the participation to local social movements and for the capacity to keep, when necessary, the necessary detachment to remain objective in the analysis of the observed conditions. Maintains a balance between "insider" and "outsider" researcher's role, is a complicated task to accomplish in the participation to such political issues. Avoid being an "alien" or a "converted" to the cause. As in my case, the intertwining of levels of "moderate participation", that permits to maintain the balance between activist/academic identity and remain more objective, and "active/complete participation", that permits the researcher to become more involved in the observed social group and/or to be completely integrated in population of study beforehand, produce the risk of losing all levels of objectivity, thus risking what is analysed and presented to the public.

The chance to remain "alien" or to "going native" (DeWalt, et al., 1998; Spradley, 1980; Schwartz, 1955) by analysing such strongly politically oriented context is very high. In my case, the both striving for an in-depth understanding of the studied social group and because sharing the concern for the political issues and the recognition of the political goals and strategies adopted of the local social movements analysed have often produced the effect of "going native" making difficult the to remain objective. Nevertheless, I argue that in such strongly politically oriented contexts it is impossible to remain objective since its natural to take part to one or the other political position and orient the personal interpretative frameworks. The practices analysed are often deeply connected with the political domain of social reform and then to neo-Marxism, Autonomism, Anarchism ideologies. In fact, as it will be further explained they share values

related firstly to anti-capitalism and also to anti-racist, anti-sexist, anti-fascist, anti-imperialist, anti-globalization. Yet, to be able to define connection between these grassroots practices and the planning theory and practice field, is necessary to often refer to radical and neo-Marxist theorists intersecting relevant contributions and debates in the social science, political theory and policy analysis. The reason is the profound connection between the acknowledging of such grassroots practices and the issues related to conflict resolution and democracy.

The adoption of this plurality of perspectives results crucial for the possibility to define some important assumptions such as: «they see contention and conflict as key dimension for understanding and conferring meaning to politics and to "the political" in cities; they aim to (re)politicize urban policies and planning as well as planning theory debates […]» (Gualini, 2015, 3). This «different understanding of the political and of the role of conflict as a potential resource for political emancipation and democratic transformation – and different conceptual frames of reference – appear today as a reason for a divide among scholars in the fields of urban theory and research on one side, and of planning theory and research on the other side» (Ibid., 4).

This results crucial for the important understanding of the processes of how these phenomena generate, what are the value and goals they imply and what the potentials for social and political transformation of radical/insurgent practices of space (re)appropriation and contestation in urban development and planning. Starting from the above-mentioned considerations I don't consider PAR and militant investigation synonymous nor antagonistic. Firstly, I think that, in order to remain more objective, it is important to maintain the necessary detachment. It means that even if profoundly involved in a Participatory Action Research approach, the researcher don't have to become necessary a full-time militant but rather to work side by side, support and help them. It is worth stressing that most of militants in the grassroots movement I analysed spend much of their time in participating actively to the political initiatives, social issues, self-management, etc. connected to the autonomous spaces/initiatives they support.

This is hard to combine with the researcher possibilities and most of the militant researchers I had met were people autonomously producing research (outside of the institutional spaces), became militant because of the research. Nevertheless, there are many cases in which PAR and militant investigation become synonymous but not in my case. I cannot define my research activity as a militant investigation, because albeit have been participating and supporting many initiatives and considering my self an activist in the field analysed, I cannot consider my self a militant in the true sense of the word (I do not be involved on an everyday base in the activities related to the groups I analysed and supported). On the other side, we cannot define PAR and militant investigation as antagonistic for the same reasons above-mentioned. Yet, it results reductive to define militant investigation as limited to an auto-ethnographic method although, it constitute a fundamental element. In my case, the auto-ethnographic method, albeit not technically adopted, has been undoubtedly important since my participation in those grassroots initiatives, since many years, gave me some important tools to acknowledge some mechanisms and interpretative frameworks. It results particularly relevant on the analysis conducted over my hometown, Rome.

5. Method of selection of practices of (re)appropriation interesting for the research

5.1 Resuming some basic concepts

What processes of re-appropriation of urban public space mean?

(Ri)appropriation of urban public spaces: grassroots or insurgents practices enacted by "informal actors" that produce forms of "spontaneous urbanity" in "indeterminate spaces" of the city, experiencing use of space that does not preclude public access to the space - meant as a collective resource - that is the subject of the practice. Among the practices of appropriation of space there are:

- urban gardens,
- self-managed nurseries (Kindergarten),
- self-managed spaces for leisure,
- alternative forms of individual entrepreneurship,
- self-managed public spaces,
- self-managed cultural spaces,
- community centres,
- occupations as an alternative housing strategy (squats),
- spaces of protest.

These practices, consciously/deliberately or not, foster the affirmation of "the right to the city" and the right to "(co)produce the space", meant as the right to propose urban policies and strategies from the bottom, pointing out that «spaces became "public" not just because they are materially constructed as such, but because they are wilfully appropriated by citizens for public purpose» (Davis, Raman, 2012).

Where in the urban context, in which spaces these practices of spontaneous and insurgent urbanity are produced?

1. "Indeterminate territories": The existence of such indeterminate territories can give a significant effect on the cultural life of the city depending on his historical, cultural, and sociological context. «These places which are not readily identified and included in the understanding of cities, nevertheless have a consequential, symbiotic although often under-recognized relationship to the rest of the city. […]» (Sheridan, 2007). They are also described as:

- Urban voids / Waste lands / terrain vague (Doron, 2000; Sola-Morales, 1995);
- Indeterminate territories that have resulted from a combination of spatial gaps within the city and gaps within the cities regulatory forces (Sheridan, 2007);
- Indeterminate territories that have taken on the form of both empty or abandoned buildings, and vacant terrains (Ibid, 2007);
- Spaces that are characterized by the absence of the deterministic forces of capital, ownership and institutionalization that, to a large degree govern people's relationship to the built environment;
- Vacant buildings, ruins and urban landscapes that have all varied spatial characteristics and urban properties.

The vacant/abandoned/underutilized/"void" public – or in general not private - estate/spaces are included in the inhabitant's perception of "indeterminate territories" in the urban context and are mostly the subject of my investigation. It is because the public ownership enables to consider the possibility to develop strategies to valorise and include forms of spontaneous urbanity in the public policies, strategies and discourses. They include the many vacant, underutilized or never activated public assets on one side and, on the other, what I define the "symbolical" public spaces.

a) **Vacant, underutilized or never activated public assets**: they can be green spaces, schools, parking areas, kindergartens, hospitals, etc. The high rate of vacant public assets is mainly due to a side effect of overproduction of public assets and/or to disinvestment in public sector; they can have been abandoned or never activated. «Vacancy is both a tool and a side-consequence of urban capitalism» (SQEK, 2014): as the maintenance/production of vacant residential buildings for speculation – many vacant, underutilized or never activated public assets (because of overproduction of public assets or disinvestment in public sector) - massive physical presence of abandoned production sites (systemic changing in economic systems) - "wastelands" (resultant spaces from the wholly planned territory).

b) **"Symbolic" public spaces**: are spaces intended as collectively accessible even if the right to access and use these spaces is often not really extended to everybody (because of the position within the city, bans, rules, forms of space control, usages, etc.). These spaces are intended as "symbolic" places that can be appropriated for protests that need to become public (squares, streets, schools, universities, etc.) and represent the idea of the public space of democracy (Arendt, 2005)[9].

Why, the field of studies in policies and practices of urban planning should be interested in the analysis of urban public spaces (re)appropriation's phenomena?

PLANNING POLICIES AND PRACTICES

- management of the oversupply of public/private assets/spaces to solve the high vacancy rate and the (vacant residential buildings, underutilized or never activated public assets, massive physical presence of abandoned production sites, "wastelands")
- development of alternative more sustainable urban regeneration strategies more site specific
- management of public estate/commons
- housing policies (restructuring urban housing market)
- alternative forms of welfare (reduction/displacement of public facilities and spaces - restructuring welfare state)
- alternative art & cultural policies
- policies on space control

URBAN DESIGN

- Public space design (what kind of urbanity?)

PLANNING PRACTICES

- issues concerning the political culture of local policy-making
- issue of legitimacy deficit of public decision-making procedures incapable of incorporating a truly agonistic dimension
- democratization of decision-making practices
- planning and the negotiation of conflicts
- planning and the citizen empowerment
- planning and participation processes (negotiating the hegemonic discourses and representations beyond urban policies and practices)

Because:

- These practices entail (often) a political spatialization of claims and street-level demands of autonomous movements and active citizens, it is related to the field of planning conflicts.
- The emerging priority in urban planning research to define self-organization and co-production processes as new important principles in the practice of urban development has grown along with the conviction that cities are complex phenomena which are almost impossible to predict and control and that give a place in city planning to these new forms of urbanism can be a way to pay more justice to the social and cultural complexity that constitutes contemporary urbanity (Groth, Corijn, 2005) > co-planning strategies and participation
- Discourses on self-organization often recall the imperative of enabling and activating societal solutions to fundamental urban problems like sustainable development, civic engagement and frequently refer to the creative mobilization of ideas from citizens and new market actors – the issue of finding new "urban catalysts" able to regenerate and activate, economically, socially and spatially indeterminate territories > management of public estate
- potential pivotal elements for alternative forms of spatial transformation, generation of public policies from the bottom and definition of sustainable strategies in urban planning.
- they may constitute an important resource in the framework of budget problems of local administrations, progressively forced to privatize public sector and to address mainly the interests of economic elites in the governance system, to avoid bankruptcy > management of public estate and retrieval of resources in the urban territory (such as human and economic capital)

[9] «According to Arendt (2005), the public space of democracy can be defined as the ambit where all the discursive issues can show up their many-sidedness and people can freely show up their own plurality by acting on and expressing their plural opinions.» (Lo Piccolo, Bonafede, 2010).

Which are the conflict's dimensions related to the emergence of these phenomena of spontaneous and insurgent urbanity?

CLAIMS FOR ACCESS TO RESOURCES (material/immaterial)	Housing Public facilities/spaces/kindergartens/green open areas Citizens rights
CLAIMS FOR RECOGNITION	Alternative movements Refugees Citizens not organized in official association or political groups
CLAIMS FOR IDENTITY	Struggles over Commons -------

Questions that are connected to the conflicts analysed:

THE ISSUE OF MANAGEMENT OF INDETERMINATE TERRITORIES **THE ISSUE OF RESTRUCTURING OF PUBLIC WELFARE** **THE ISSUE OF REAL PARTICIPATION** **THE ISSUE OF NEGOTIATING GRAND NARRATIVES FOR URBAN TRANSFORMATION**	• Is it right that a limited resource, such as space, are left empty and inaccessible, especially public spaces? • Is it possible to define indeterminate spaces for their use/symbolic value and not only for is exchange/utilitarian once? • Why public services for the district should be reduced/relocated/privatized? • The decision to privatize/reduce public assets should be interpreted as a choice for the common good? • Where is the space for collective production of everyday practices ended? Like meeting places to work on co-creating political subjectivity and neighbourhood sense of community? • What about co-producing alternative more sustainable solutions for public estate management? • How to interpret active citizenship that develops policies from below to critically engage with the identification of new forms of welfare and propose alternative solutions? • Why in the age of rhetoric on the need for participation and inclusion of ideas from the bottom, the grand narratives created to transform the urban space are not negotiated between different interpretive frameworks? • Are the urban renewal strategies good for the city if they provoke gentrification? • Why the idea of spaces for cultural industry and housing profit should be considered choices for common good and not connected to speculation? • Urban branding fosters urban renaissance or rather transforms the city districts into a commodity for tourists and investors? • What are the tools that could permit to give voice to forms of dissent? Referendum / occupation

Strategies of space re-appropriation in Berlin: Squat; Hauseproject; Kunsthaus/Kulturalprject; Kindergartens; Tenants groups; etc.

Strategies of space re-appropriation in Rome: Occupazione (e.g. schools, universities; work place, etc.); Occupazione abitativa (housing squat); Centro sociale (Social centers); Spazio Pubblico Autogestito, SPA (Self-managed public space); Fondazioni per il Bene Comune; etc.

5.2 Categories of analysis

After the analysis of the selected literature and the definition of the theoretical framework I can define some interpretative framework useful for the definition of the "filters" that are needed for the definition and identification of the categories to analyse. In fact, the theoretical framework permits to define which elements of such processes of reclaiming of urban public spaces, results relevant for the research. I, then select, the categories of analysis not on the basis of general similarities but on the compatibility to the selected elements of analysis: beyond the geographical and political context, the analysis of the phenomenon of insurgent re-appropriations can be conducted regardless the specific context.

ANALYSIS OF LITERATURE: INTERPRETATIVE FRAMEWORKS

SELECTION OF ELEMETS OF ANALYSIS RELEVANT FOR THE RESEARCH FIELD

SELECTION OF CATEGORIES FOR COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS: THE FILES, CASES STUDY AND STORIES

Moreover, it is worth stressing that, the analysed contexts differ in the regulatory system on which the planning system is based. In fact, there are fundamental similarities and differences in the general characteristics of the European Union spatial planning systems and policies. «The extent and type of planning at national and regional levels is identified as an important factor because it is here that the arrangements for spatial planning in the Member States tend to differ most significantly.» (EU Compendium, 1997). For instance, a proactive policy-driven land assembly and land supply processes in the Netherlands, Germany and France contrast with a more passive and reactive approach in England. More in general, the German system can be defined with a strong independence of the lander (region / state) and a pragmatic approach of the planning system that is defined more as a regulatory framework for the definition of projects that a system of rules. Instead, the Italian planning system is based on a regulatory model, based on norms. Since are many the differences in planning systems, participative. Due to this consideration, as mentioned before, I, then "select, the categories of analysis not on the basis of general similarities but on the compatibility to the selected elements of analysis: beyond the geographical and political context, the analysis of the phenomenon of insurgent re-appropriations can be conducted regardless the specific context."

BERLIN	**ROME**
1. Squatting for housing and social centre	
KöPI	FORTE PRENESTINO
2. Entrepreneurial self-managed space for cultural production	
RAW TEMPEL	The EX-DOGANA
3. SELF-MANAGED PUBLIC SPACES: housing/social/cultural/political – CASES STUDY	
BETHANIEN	**ANGELO MAI**
4. CO-MANAGED PUBLIC SPACE	
TEMPELHOFER FELD	LAGO EX-SNIA

Elements of analysis:

ABOUT RECLAIMING PROCESS	1. Reclaiming strategy 2. Number of users 3. Typology of users 4. Nationality of users 5. Reclaiming strategy goal 6. Use 7. "Reclaimers" issues
ABOUT the INDETERMINATE SPACE	1. Space typology 2. Property owner 3. Planning destination of the area 4. Status of the area before be reclaimed 5. Status 6. City location
ABOUT the CONFLICT	1. Conflicts over space 2. Conflicts over strategies 3. Stakeholders
ABOUT POLICIES and PRACTICES INCLUDING the RECLAIMING PROCESS	1. These issues have been incorporated in the urban general plan/ been included in urban agenda? 2. Have this practice been able to change planning previsions? If yes, how? 3. Doing so, has been reached an higher level in representing common public interests?

What are the common elements of the categories analysed?

Category of the conflict:

• Conflict for access to resources

• Conflict for recognition

• Conflict as identity

• Routinizable conflict

• Fundamental conflict

Attitude of the public authorities in dealing with the different categories of autonomous/insurgent practices of reappropriation: differences Berlin / Rome

- Proposed alternatives? Are they negotiated?

Capacity of these strategies of re-appropriation to influence planning provisions: differences Berlin / Rome

- Proposed alternatives? Are they negotiated?

Filters for analysis of case: Despite the differences between the two practices are more or less numerous, we analyse the similarities useful for defining the practices, the analysis of the social actors involved, the type of conflicts raised space, and the relationship with the institutional dimension.

An initial element is the type of articulation in the form of appropriation identified in four categories:

1°	House project – social centre – Wagenplatz (occupied in 1987/1990)	**2°**	Entrepreneurial self-managed space for cultural production (occupied in 1997/2005)	**3°**	Self-managed public space including housing, social, political, cultural, educational and artistic activities (occupied in 2004/2005)	**4°**	Co-managed public space including a public park and many temporary uses (citizen re-appropriation in 2008/2013)
	FILES		**FILES**		**CASES STUDY**		**STORIES**

The two cases and two "stories" selected are described based on the following elements:

- Type area, history of its formation, location within the city, in relation to the (re)appropriated site.
- Practices arising from (re)appropriation: instances and typology of actors involved?
- Political/cultural/social/economic dimension of the contexts where the insurgent practice took place?
- What is the situation of empowerment or exclusion of citizenship in the analysed contexts?
- How public authorities have been confronted with these two cases?
- How did they react to practices arising from (re) appropriation of space?
- Why there was this kind of reaction from the institutions? What are the alternatives proposed by the bottom?
- The conflict was routinizable / non-routinizable, why?

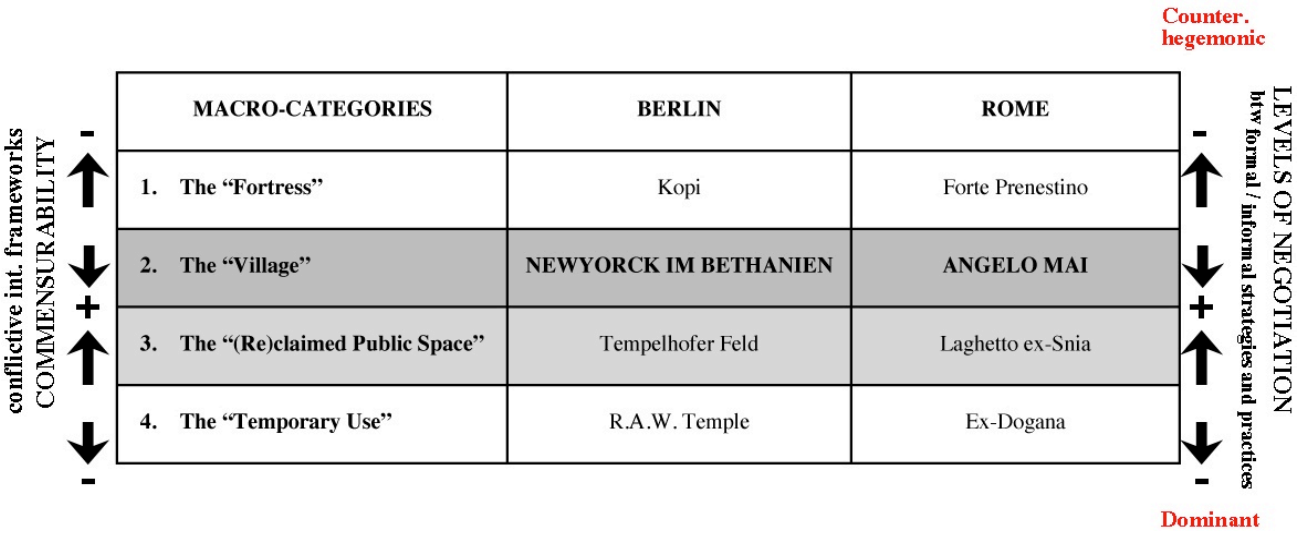
The spatial scale and case studies

My research is based on the observation of interurban scale and offers a comparative dimension of two case studies in two different cities: Rome and Berlin.
After a general analysis on the issue of re-appropriations of space, I have defined four broad categories of analysis to describe the different levels of commensurability of these forms of conflicts over space and the level of negotiated interpretative frameworks. It allowed me to identify the pattern and the common dynamics analysed in the two contexts of Rome and Berlin.

How incommensurable/commensurable is the conflict over the negotiation of alternative reclaiming strategies?

Four categories to describe the different levels of commensurability of these forms of conflicts over space and the level of interpretative frameworks negotiation:

1- The Fortress
2- The entrepreneurial self-managed space
3- The Village
4- The co-managed public space



MACRO-CATEGORIES	BERLIN	ROME
1. The "Fortress"	Kopi	Forte Prenestino
2. The "Village"	NEWYORCK IM BETHANIEN	ANGELO MAI
3. The "(Re)claimed Public Space"	Tempelhofer Feld	Laghetto ex-Snia
4. The "Temporary Use"	R.A.W. Temple	Ex-Dogana

The “1” and “4” conflicts are briefly described in descriptive files. The 2 are case studies (investigated through the adoption of qualitative methods of data collection) while the 3 are detailed stories (constructed over the only survey of documents). Select the category of the "village" to proceed with in-depth analysis of two case studies (one per city) through a comparative analysis. For the comparative study are found many complexities. The comparison is only possible in case the territorial contexts being compared differ only in the factors of interest for research, and are instead as similar as possible for all aspects not directly examined (Loda, 2008, 131). The size of the **“village”**, its physical and social proximity, its system of subsidiarity that is not based on consumption but on self-production and distribution of resources within a system that is small / limited, it is a dimension that the development of the capitalist city, as predominant model, have never been able to produce, as it relates to an economic-social order considered obsolete, out-dated and not able to guarantee the "welfare", the "order" and the "quality " sought by the modern city.

RELEVANCE OF THE CASES SELECTED

The mix in forms of (re)appropriation and intercultural agonistic confrontation on space usage conflicts

GLOSSARY

Berlin:
+ Housing occupation (*Instandbesetzung*)
+ Housing Alternative Projects (*Hausprojekt – Selbsthilfe programs*)
+ Sub-cultural alternative project (*Kulturalprojekt)*
+ Self-managed activities
+ Citizens' initiatives (das Bürgerbegehren) and the referendum (das Bürgerentscheide)
+ Citizen’s political forums (e.g. “Megaspree”, “100% Tempelhofer Feld”, “Refugee movement”, etc.)

Rome:
+ Housing movements (*Movimenti di Lotta per la Casa*)
+ Housing occupation (*Occupazioni*)
+ Self-managed social/cultural center (*Centri Sociali Occupati Autogestiti* - CSOA)
+ Neighborhood committee (*Comitato di quartiere*)
+ People initiative’s Law (Regolamento per la Partecipazione)
+ Citizen’s political forums (e.g. *Rete Sociale Monti*)

The characteristic of the two selected cases study:

BETHANIEN	**ANGELO MAI**
Property: Public **Space typology:** historic complex– XIX century hospital **Status:** regularized (15 years subsidized leasing contract) **Area:** Kreuzberg – inner city (central district, historically characterized by political radical movements scene and strong social mix; area considered peripheral during the Cold-war, today is undergoing a strong process of gentrification) **Usage:** residential (Houseprojekt), autonomous “public space” for socio-cultural-political activities; + workshop and offices spaces, theatre and alternative medicine school, kindergarten – the residential use has never been recognized and the house project is officially declared as space for artists workshops **Occupied:** in 2005 e regularized in 2009, contractors "south-wing Bethanien" (gGmbH) no-profit association and a society of urban development for the city of Berlin	**Property:** Public **Space typology:** historical complex – ex-boarding school **Status:** (first A.M.) evicted; (second A.M.) assignment of a second public space only for socio-cultural activities **Area:** Monti - historical centre (district historically characterized by a population of artisans and lower middle class; the area is now undergoing a major process of gentrification and replacement of the social fabric) **Usage:** (first A.M.) residential (housing occupation) and artistic-cultural activities; (second A.M.) socio-political and artistic-cultural activities - housing occupations of the housing movement are still linked in political terms to this place but no longer localized in the same physical space **Occupied:** in 2004 and evicted in 2006 then relocated in 2009 in an assigned space (subsidized leasing contract to the no-profit association of artist “bluemotion”)

6. Qualitative methods of data collection for the two selected cases study

1. BERLIN: BETHANIEN CASE STUDY

Analysis of documents:

- Books and academic articles: define the historical spatial context of Berlin and Kreuzberg
- Analysis of documents from city administration: master plans and objectives for city development
- Self-help and DIY strategies: "Bericht uber Stadterneuerung 2000-2001" Mitteilungen des Präsidenten des Abgeordnetenhauses von Berlin Drucksache Nr. 14/821
- *Stadterneuerungsprogramme* (City Renewal programs): "Bericht uber Stadterneuerung 2000-2001" Mitteilungen des Präsidenten des Abgeordnetenhauses von Berlin Drucksache Nr. 14/821 and academic articles (Bader and Bialluch, 2009 ; Holm and Kuhn, 2011)
- Local urban regeneration programs: *Quartiersmanagement* – 1999-2009 in Berlin
- Urban marketing discourses: City and Municipal borough websites and academic articles (Marcuse, 1998; Shaw, 2005; Colomb, 2012)
- Modes of local governance: (Marcuse, 1998; Häußerman, 2003; Gualini, 2008; etc.)
- Housing policies: survey provided by Andrej Holm and data from the tenants collectives
- Public estate management: analysis of documents over public retrenchment and the *Kalkulatorische Kosten* normative for the calculation of public estate management costs for local authorities
- Law for local participation and direct democracy: laws § 44-47 – BzVwG - District Administration
- Citizen self-empowerment: Analysis of the document "new concept for Bethanien" realized by the "south-wing association" of citizens
- Strategies for definition of forms of self/co-management: GSE Ltd (no-profit Society for Urban Development, Trustee Berlin) lease contract for the management of the public property "Southwing Bethanien" and *Zwischennutzung* (temporary uses) norms (Senstadt, 2007)
- How does a society for Urban Development work in Berlin: Society for Urban Development GSE Ggmbh, trustee of Berlin (that manage the object of the case study on the behalf of the Municipal Borough Kreuzberg-Friedrichshain) website's information
- Media (newspapers news over the conflict)
- "New Yorck im Bethanien" & IZB Websites

Analysis of discourses over the "future Bethanien":

City administration discourses: city's budget problems, public estate management strategies, the need for the adoption of urban development competitive strategies, etc.
Citizens discourses claiming: the need to stop the sell-out of public estate and permit the access to vacant public properties; for more participation, co-production and co-planning strategies for urban public space planning and management; for strategies to include bottom-up practices and public policies, etc.
Squatters discourses: opposition to capitalist production of space; the possibility to access to affordable spaces in the inner city and take them away from the market logic; access to space for experimentation of alternative/counter-hegemonic everyday practices; etc.

Participant observation:

Living on the site for few weeks and participating to the place activities and (public/semi-public spaces) for several months

Participating activities:

- Studying in the semi-public library,
- Taking contact with all the tenants of the housing project and their everyday practices;
- Participating to initiatives of the "community" (political discussions, demos, etc.)
- Participating to the "*Voku*" (community dinner) every Monday

Interviews:

- Some informal interviews to the people living in the house projects,
- 3 semi-structured interviews to tenants/activists of the "NewYorck" project
- 1 semi-structured interview to an activist/tenant of Yorck59 and "NewYorck"
- Some informal interviews to people involved in the "Initiative future Bethanien"

- 1 semi-structured interview to a main actor in the campaign “Bethanien for all”
- 1 semi-structured interview to one politician from district administration
- 2 semi-structured interviews to activists/scholars doing action-research on the former squatter movement and the actual tenants movement based in Berlin

For instance: description of the people interviewed

The tenants/activists of “NewYorck” in Bethanien
New Yorck in Bethanien is part of a big project of self-management of a public space together with other four projects. The name "new Yorck" not only creates a game of world on name of the famous American city, but actually evokes the name of "Yorckstrasse 59" an historical *Hausproject* (an alternative, counter-hegemonic housing strategy for collective living) evicted few days before the occupation of the Bethanien's south wing. In this house projects there are about 28 people, within which there are 5 children. Traditional families do not live here, and there are no couples. They people is mostly middle class, various ages (between 0 and 60 years old), social and political activists. Many of them have a high level of education. They share values related firstly to anti-capitalism and also to anti-racist, anti-sexist, anti-fascist, anti-imperialist, anti-globalization. They are mostly political autonomists and anarchists. Some of them are unemployed and take social moneys, some of them work in social work field, and some are artists. In general, the possibility to pay a low rent (confronting with the average prices) and live a very sparing life, out of the concept of consumerism, permit them to need less moneys to live, that means, in general, work less and have more time to spend to support political/social activities and enjoy collective living. They experiment in the every day life alternative practices of collective living, beyond the nuclear family, that rely on the practice of self-management and radical participation. These forms of collective living could be interpreted as "other" forms of family because as «Family households», they also «are intimate forms of social organization that may be justified on grounds of justice and utility, which in turn would justify certain obligations of family members as such.» (Smith, 1998)

The people interviewed in the semi-structured interviews (it has been asked to me to don’t use real names)
Laura study social work and work in the field. She lives here since 5 years in Bethanien alternative house project, but “use” the public space (a space open to the public for different socio-political activities) since before to help preparing “Voku” (the popular dinner that provides food for a very cheap price on Monday) and activities.
Peter lives in the Bethanien since 2005. The place was squatted in June and he came in September, moving out from an other alternative historical house project, *Brunnenstrasse 7*, where he lived since 1991. He is unemployed and get social welfare moneys for unemployment. He has been studying at the university. He said that: “The people who live here, I think, some or many of them, have been studying or they are still studying, and I would say most of these people come from middle class background”. He is also involved in the management of the “public space” and he manages the library in the semi-public area of the “Newyorck” project. He is also a researcher on the field of the squatter movement history and the LGBTQI movements, but as an activist not as an academic.
Manuel is involved with the Bethanien since the end of 2005 when he started to join the “Initiatives “Zukunft Bethaninen” (the “initiative for the future of Bethanien”) an initiative to organize the collection of signatures for the petition for a local referendum against the Bethanien privatization. He is also engaged in anarchist’s politics here in Berlin and Germany and various initiatives.
Tina: former tenant in the house project Yorck 59 (1978-2005), activist of the radical scene of Berlin, and tenant of the house project “New Yorck im Bethanien”, participated to the occupation of the Bethanien. She is considered an important reference for the people involved in the house project and within the radical movement in Berlin. She is a middle class German white woman, working in social sector.

The neighbours/activists of the campaign “Bethanien fur Alle!” (Bethanien for all)
Very different subjects that reflect the characteristic socio-cultural mix of this area located on the East-side of Kreuzberg district supported the campaign “Bethanien fur Alle!”. It was not possible for me to interview Turkish families, because of my low level of knowledge of German language. Anyway, I had interviewed others involved in the campaign, especially those involved in the management of the theatre school "Druzsbar eV" - located in the basement of the Bethanien southwing since 2009 - which are middle class Germans with a high level of education. Also some of the people I have interviewed in the “NewYorck” Bethanien project, have been involved in the campaign.

The person interviewed in the semi-structured interview
Simone: she came to Bethaninen in 2005 because she was a person from the neighbourhood. She was one of the main actors involved in the *Initiative Zukunft Bethanien* (Initiative future Bethanien – IZB), working to raise public attention on the Bethanien issue, and organizing “open spaces” for debates and initiatives to involve the neighbours. Then she was a central actor in the negotiation and round table meeting participating to the realization of the document: “A new concept for Bethanien”. She has a master degree in Economy and she was a key actor in the creation of alternative proposals capable of solving the financial problems related to Bethanien estate.

The official actors: politicians
For this research I have not interviewed the technical delegates for the preparation of urban plans in that, the case is tied to issues related to disputed public policies, and only indirectly to contested plans of urban transformation. Moreover, almost none of the politicians I have contacted response to my request to be interviewed (often a language problem). The only politician who agreed to be interviewed is a counsellor in the district of Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg, and belongs to the Green Party (*Grunen*).

The person interviewed in the semi-structured interview
Daniel Wesener: He came to Bethanien to participate to the round table and the negotiations. He is part of the *Bezirksammt* Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg since 2001 for the Green Party. The Green Party came to the power in Kreuzberg because of social movements and is the party was on power (and still is) in the district at the moment of the negotiation. The last mayor of Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg, mr. Franz Schulz, have actively supported the process and have showed a strong interest in negotiating with the occupants since the beginning (it was not the case of Cornelia Reineuer –SPD party- the former mayor).

The activists/scholars
I wanted to interview these two researchers (one professor at Humboldt University, the other freelance researcher) who wrote an article that was of great reference for me, about my research on squatting movement and urban social movements in Berlin.
Andrej Holm: He is a professor of urban sociology at Humboldt University. He is specialized in gentrification, that have been the main topic of his research since many years - analysing the processes of gentrification cum displacement of Mitte and Prenzlauer Berg neighbourhoods after the fall of the Wall and the implementation of neo-liberal urban strategies. He was part of the squatter movement in the early 1990s and is also an activist of the tenants' movement, which is very active against gentrification and evictions, in the district of Kreuzberg.
Armin Kuhn: He is a young researcher in political science. His doctoral dissertation dealt with the study of social movements in Berlin and their relationship with urban policies. He conducted also a research period over Bethanien, participating in activities in the "public space" of "NewYorck" project. In addition, he is involved in an international research project on the topic of squatting, organized by the collective SQEK (Squatting European Kollective).

2. ROME: ANGELO MAI CASE STUDY

Analysis of documents:

- Books and academic articles: define the historical spatial context of Rome and the I and V Municipal Borough
- City development Plans (various city's Master Plans, called *Piano Regolatore Generale*, P.R.G.s)
- Policies and practices actuated for the implementation of housing policies (from subsidized housing to social housing and the privatization of the housing sector)
- Heritage management (cartolarizzazioni): privatization of local and national public companies since the 1990s on (info provided by a survey presented at the Biennale of Architecture of Venezia in 2014) and the Securization law (in Italian "Cartolarizzazioni" - Dlgs 267/00)
- Participation law: Resolution n. 101/1994 and n°57/2006 – City Administration Act
- Law for local administrations reform (Law No. 142°/2014 – previous ones in 2000, 2009, 2012)
- Urban regeneration programs for the city centre and peripheries: *Piani di Recupero* (Law No. 457/1978 art.28), *Piani di Zona* (Law 167/1962) and *Zone "O"* (adoption of variant zones "O" P.R.G. in 1978) for the recovery of illegal developed city areas
- Self-help programs (Regional Law 1998 for Self-rehabilitation)
- Resolution 206/2005 for Housing Crisis and regularization of illegal occupations
- Law for Self-construction proposed by housing movements
- Resolution 26/1995: for allocation of unused public assets for social purpose and regularization of occupied self-managed social centres
- People initiative's Law for new strategies of allocation of vacant property for public purpose from deLiberiamo Roma movement
- List of occupations provided by the document of the Committee on Safety Roma Capitale
- Media (newspapers news over the conflict)
- CSA Angelo Mai & Hosing movements / tenants associations Websites

Analysis of discourses over the "Angelo Mai"

City administration discourses: city's budget problems, public estate management strategies, the need for the adoption of urban development competitive strategies, etc.
Citizens discourses claiming: the need to stop the sell-out of public estate and permit the access to vacant public properties; for more participation, co-production and co-planning strategies for urban public space planning and management; for strategies to include bottom-up practices and public policies, etc.
Squatters discourses: opposition to capitalist production of space; the possibility to access to affordable spaces in the inner city and take them away from the market logic; access to space for experimentation of alternative/counter-hegemonic everyday practices; etc.

Participant observation:

I've been participating to the activities of Angelo Mai social centre for several months, and I've been involved in the network of self-managed spaces in the city, taking contact with many activists, occupants, participants.
Participating activities:

- Participating in organization of activities.

Interviews:

- Some informal interviews to inhabitants/activists living in via delle Acacie/scuola Hertz
- Some informal interview to Angelo Mai's users/workers/activists
- Informal interview to Giulia: Pina Vitale's daughter, activist of the housing movement "Comitato Popolare di Lotta per la Casa" and inhabitant of the housing squats
- Semi structured interview to Pina Vitale, founder and activist of the housing movement "Comitato popolare di lotta per la casa", involved in the Angelo Mai/altrove and via delle Acacie and Scuola Hertz occupations
- Semi structure interview to Stefano Gatti activist involved in both Angelo Mai Self-managed social center and the Housing squatting in via delle Acacie 56, student at the unverity of engineer architecture
- Semi structured interview to Fabrizio Nuccetelli, secretary to former Public assets and housing policies Councillor under the Veltroni Mayor's city council (2011-2008);
- Semi structured interview to Carlo Cellamare: professor of urban and regional planning at the faculty of construction engineering / architecture at La Sapienza University in Rome; In his research he investigates the forms of (re) appropriation of space in the city of Rome as a form of "project-action" and forms of (re) appropriating the city space as relational and symbolic; also actively it participated in the "Social Network Monti" in the role of technical, for the definition of proposals for reuse of the old school of Angelo Mai in Rione Monti (case study)

3. Direct observation

I've been living in both cities and participating to demos related to urban conflicts (against the project "Media Spree", against the development of "Cuvrybrache" area, the promotion of the referendum against the urban development of Tempelhofer Feld; against evictions in Kreuzberg and Wedding neighbourhoods in Berlin and together with social movements in Rome pushing for implementation of effective strategies capable to address housing crisis and for the negotiation and recognition of radical practices proposing immediate and radical solution to homelessness) and to alternative spaces activities, events, institutional debates. This has been important to better understand the interpretative framework and issues connected to the development of such practices.

7. The interpretative Method and the “Art of listening and possible worlds”

The book of Marianella Sclavi (2003), *“Arte di ascoltare e mondi possibili - come di esce dalle cornici di cui siamo parte"* [“Art of listening and possible worlds - how to exit from the frames of which we are part”], begins by introducing an anecdote that will allow us to begin to define how the techniques of active listening related to the method and Interpretive techniques. It is not only necessary but essential for trying to describe complex and controversial topics such as the one analysed in this research. In fact, the thorny issue of appropriation/occupation - or reappropriation of space, depending on the point of view - has long been considered, by Western culture, as difficult to legitimize and to appreciate, putting into question some of the fundamental cultural “frames” and rules upon which bourgeoisie capitalist society is founded.

Among them, the legal concept of private property, the rule of law of which the institutions are guarantors, and the concept of legitimacy in the pervasive control and regulation in all aspects of daily life, by the institutions as well as the imposition of dominant cultural models which will impact on decision-making (with Foucault's concepts of “governmentalization” and “bio-politics” and Chomsky on the "manufacture of consent"). But it is necessary to note that, by virtue of the increasing complexity of global society, exclusion or a priori de-legitimization of widespread social phenomena, it is no longer justified without having established that the observer is first compared to the phenomenon and himself putting to centre intercultural dynamics (what Mikhail Bakhtin called "exotopia").

It is no longer permissible a priori exclusion of some discourses and points of view and it is now necessary to critically observe them, recognizing the difference “between change point of view within a context given for granted, and to change that context” (Beatson), to allow all those phenomena that were previously excluded from the political agenda, but today reclaim new meanings, to define themselves as “possible worlds”. In this sense it is necessary for those who want to “learn to learn” (and not propose distorted epistemology resulting form what we have been taught) to act in some cases as the “wise judge” told in the Sclavi’s anecdote. “One of the most significant and effective stories regarding the art of listening is the one of the wise judge before whom were brought the two litigants. The judge listen the first litigant with great concentration and attention and “You're right”, he says. Then listen to the second and “You're right”, he says to him too. When an audience member: “Excellency, can not both be right”. The judge think over it for a moment and then, seraphic he says: “You're right, too!”.» (Ibid., 2003, 16).

This attitude cannot ignore the possible otherness, to be recognized as a resource for a communication capable of acceptance in a complex society. Moreover, in confrontation with issues that face complex and unresolved ethical, political and “constituents” dilemmas, such as those mentioned above, is require the careful consideration of all points of view to be considered legitimate in order to have a democratic kind of confrontation between conflictive visions. «The blindness and lack of sensitivity to contexts, the inability to appreciate “the pertinence of contexts to meanings” in a complex environment, it is deadly. This is the evil and the hubris of Western culture» (Sclavi, 2003, 16).

Therefore, we could start from a simple dichotomous view of the topic, the type Thesis / Antithesis, which is the first that seems to emerge and that emphasizes a opposing not only of objective assessments but also of ethical values diametrically opposed, that are harder to verify:

-(RE)APPROPRIATED SPACES = spaces for social activities, experimentation of alternative forms of collective living and the production of collective and participated projects

or

- **APPROPRIATED SPACES** = phenomena of social deviance, lawlessness, drugs, spaces of self-segregation, enclosures permitted as forms of pacification and social control.

CHAPTER 2

URBAN PLANNING NEGOTIATING BETWEEN STRATEGIES AND TACTICS THAT GENERATE / CONTEST / TRANSFORM "THE CITY"

1. THE PRODUCTION AND COUNTER-PRODUCTION OF SPACE

«If planning is to be effective, it requires a clear conceptualization and some consensus regarding its normative ends (e.g. a more equitable, just or environmentally sustainable society)»
(Beard, 2003, 31)

INTRODUCTION

Urban development models' crisis have fostered during the history the emergence of urban social movements connected to an increasing number of conflicts over contested urban transformation strategies. These often become a catalyst for broader public discourses on the **legitimacy deficit of the strategies adopted by planners, local governments and politics increasingly challenged and contested in their democratic dimension. It is connected to the emergence of claims related to** the necessity to 'rethink' strategies of "space production" (less authoritative and more negotiated) and the political culture of local policy-making and the apparent legitimacy deficit of public decision-making procedures.
Matters producing social injustice and mechanisms of exclusion foster the emergence of urban social movements. These are often connected to some **unsolved capitalist cities' fundamental spatial issue**, such as the problem connected to: the constant production of "urban voids;" the extraordinary urbanizations that produced "urban peripheries of devastating poverty and inequality" (Holston, 2009); the pervasive urban space control (Foucault, 1975) and the cyclical shrinking of "space of democracy" (Arendt, 1993). These are often justified by the **"necessity" of order for capital accumulation and economic growth**. During the phases of predominance of market over the public good, connected to phases of State deregulation and weakening of national models of socio-economic governance (i.e. first phase of Liberalism and the today's Neo-liberalism), these phenomena became more obvious. Nevertheless, during the post War era, when the State could strongly define and affirm its interests and spatial strategies (in the framework of a Fordist system based on welfare state) non-negotiated/dominant categories of "spatial production" (Lefebvre, 1978) and urban ideologies, fundamental for the bourgeois capitalist State's reproduction (Habermas, 1989), have been authoritatively imposed. It provoked on one side the functional spatial and social capitalist organization, but on the other the reproduction of spatial and social injustices (Castells, 1972, 1983). The **exclusion from the negotiation of alternatives** from dominant strategies of urban transformation (such as the contested destruction/reconstruction urban renewal strategies – Jacobs, 1972), of "**space production"** (the modernist idea of "functional city") **and everyday life** (imposition of bourgeois capitalist society values) **provoked the emergence of forms of grassroots/radical resistance and space reappropriation**. The claim for more participation to and autonomy of a public realm, or sphere, originally intended as "coextensive with public authority" (Habermas, 1989), was intended as fundamental for the development of a real democratic dimension. It fuelled the emergence of a **debate over the actually participative dimension and local democracy** (Arnsteing, 1969; Habermas, 1992), the role of radical or advocacy planning and of planners as negotiators of conflicts (Davidoff, 1963; De Carlo, 2008; Fisher & Forester, 1993; Friedmann, 1987).

Today, within the framework of the affirmation of the **"actually existing neoliberalism"** (Brenner & Theodore, 2002), even if the claims for more participation and recognition of bottom-up practices have been incorporated into the software of urban development models, **lack in legitimacy of the dominant urban development strategies adopted are generating increasing forms of conflicts and the emergence of new urban social movements.** The planners and policy makers have faced the **urge to redefine and understand their role** in an overall framework of: increasing divestment of the State, welfare state crisis; issues of budget, debts and bankruptcy of cities; cyclical economic stagnation and increasing competition between cities to attract capital inflows and boost the local economies. Side effects of the shift to a neoliberal paradigm based on competition, the attraction of global capital inflows and the increasing privatization/substitution of central government tasks, have been the increasing casualization and precarity of labour, housing and social system that have ultimately resulted in relevant social and economic costs for the community. Urban development and the politics adopted by the public administrations, imitating global approval development patterns, while being enthusiastically presented as the great chance for economic growth at local level, have been perceived by certain groups as not related to (or capable to address) local issues but instead as the engine behind the growth of social inequality. **Because of this,** movements of insurgent citizenship are emerging as organized in many forms. The practice of reclaiming urban public or indeterminate spaces it is an element of connection between many of theme as connected to the radical exercise of the "right to participate" and the "right to appropriate" as fundamental to achieve the "right of the city" (Lefebvre, 1967).

1.1 | The existential crisis of cities and modern planning: the contestation of "grand strategies" and the recognition of "practices of everyday life"

The historical role of urban planning guiding and ensuring the orderly development of settlements through technical and political processes concerned with the use of land and design of the urban environment, has been questioned, in particular since the backlash against post-war urban development. Since that «(t)he practice of modernist urban reconstruction following such models had fallen from grace with the general public and left a generation of planners substantially disillusioned, not only because their economic, social and environmental damage had become obvious, but equally because the very essence of urbanity and its role in the history of civilisation appeared under threat.» (Jan Scheurer). In the passage from modernism to post-modernism, have been made clear how planners (i.e. policy/decision-makers and strategic planners) have to confront constantly with wicked problems. According to Rittel and Webber (1973) "wicked problems" are characterized by ambiguous or uncertain settings in which unstructured, multi-causal interdependencies dynamically evolve (e.g. about immigration, poverty, unemployment, environmental pollution, property and violent crime, or unequal opportunities for minority groups and so forth). Planners are confronted with "wicked" problems that meant that unique one-shot operations process of understanding and resolving a problem was concurrently no stopping rule for resolution process.

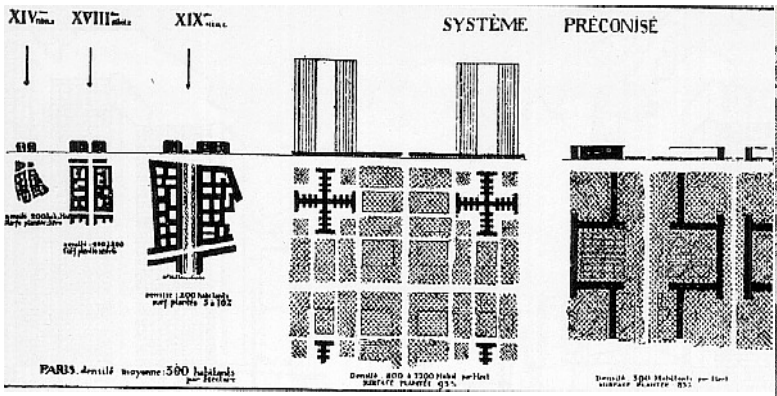
Urban Planning as:

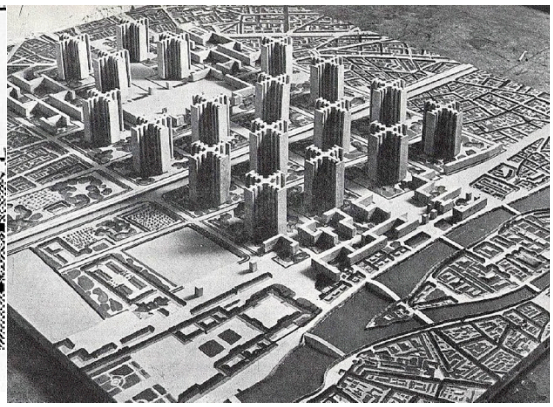
- A mean for paternalistic, "illuministic" government of civil society and its civilisation? Or a mean capable to making visible the invisible legitimizing and negotiating forms of "insurgent planning"/ bottom-up practices?
- A mean able to empower civil society and produce political subjectivity and participation? Or a mean in the hands of capitalist/liberal/bourgeoisie/elites' Power?

A crucial perspective of analysis of urban policy for social sciences is offered by the post-structuralism debate, that contesting the assumptions of structuralism movement, assert that **dynamics and forms of human experience** (as other social issues) cannot be only analysed as observable phenomena for what they appear to be, but also as **socially constructed and elaborated discourses which emanate from a variety of different meanings**. Moreover, Jean-Francois Lyotard (1979) argues that "grand narratives" or "master narratives" are the means through which totality, stability, and order are maintained in modern societies. These are described as stories a culture tells itself about its practices and beliefs. For instance, a "grand narrative" in American culture might be the story that democracy is the most enlightened (rational) form of government, and that democracy can and will lead to universal human happiness. Lyotard further argues that all aspects of modern societies, including science as the primary form of knowledge, depend on these grand narratives. **Postmodernism then is the critique of grand narratives**, the awareness that such narratives serve to mask the contradictions and instabilities that are inherent in any social organization or practice. In other words, every attempt to create "order" always demands the creation of an equal amount of "disorder", but a "grand narrative" masks the constructedness of these categories by discursively showing "disorder" as really chaotic and "bad", and "order" as really rational and "good." «Postmodernism, in rejecting grand narratives, **favours "mini-narratives"**, stories that explain small practices, local events, rather than large-scale universal or global concepts. Postmodern "mini-narratives" are always **situational, provisional, contingent, and temporary**, **making no claim to universality**, truth, reason, or stability».[10] It means that **precepts of Planning like the modernist idea of "Functional City"** (Athens Charter, 1933) with the definition of guidelines under the categories of living, working, recreation and circulation - seen as an overly simplified, paternalistic urbanism, which has in time proved unable to mirror the complexity of urban life - **could be questioned as "gran narratives"** actually **used as a mean** to **mask the contradictions and instabilities that are inherent in any social organization or practice and to maintain totality, stability, and order in modern societies**.

For instance, the practice of modernist urban reconstruction in the post-war urban development fostered extraordinary urbanizations that produced endless and soulless urban peripheries and the radical transformation of the city itself. Even if it produced many contradictions in alimenting the crisis of the historical city and its everyday practices, it was justified through the definition of a "grand narrative" where destruction and displacement had to be accepted by population due to the need to modernize cities, using them as engine for economic growth. «The tall building "giants" around the Place d'Italie were threatening to invade the old city and clasp the hand of that awful Tour Montparnasse. The proposed expressway down the Left Bank, the soulless high-rise public housing (HLMs) out in the 13th arrondissement and in the suburbs, the monopolized commodification on the streets, the plain disintegration of what had once been a vibrant neighbourhood life built around artisanal labor in small workshops in the Marais, the crumbling buildings of Belleville, the fantastic architecture of the Place des Vosges falling into the streets. […] Paris from the early 1960s on was plainly in the midst of an existential crisis. The old could not last, but the new seemed just too awful, soulless and empty to contemplate.» (Harvey, 2012, X).

[10] Hjørland, B. & Nicolaisen, J. (eds.), The Epistemological Lifeboat - Epistemology and Philosophy of Science for Information Scientists.





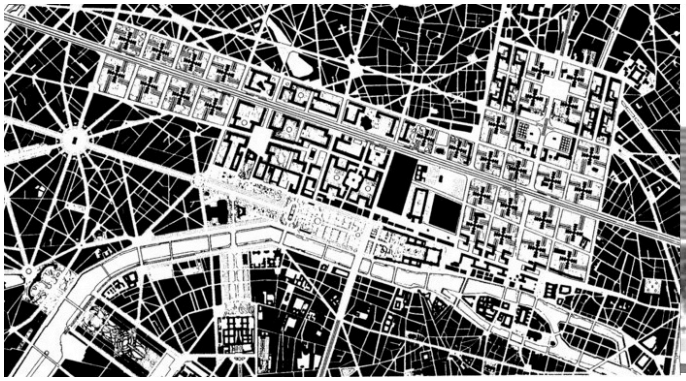
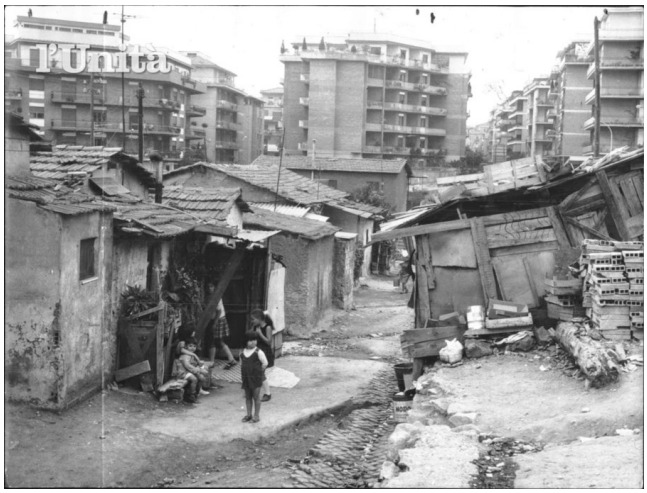


Image 1-2-3: The Le Corbusier's Ville Radieuse and Plan Voisin for Paris (1925)[11] as the very example of functional city
Image 4: Jean-Luc Godard's 1967 film, *Deux ou trois choses que je sa is d'elle* (Paris): it shows the protagonist on the background of the soulless high-rise public housing (HLMs)[12] in post-war district inspired by the modernist functional city model[13]

In the framework of the city existential crisis emerged from the great re-urbanization imposed over historical European cities in the after-war period, emerged the critical analysis of the Situationists and authors like Lefebvre (1968), Castells (1972) and later de Certeau (1984). While in those years, the critical analysis ranged on the various aspects of actuality and the neo-capitalist modernization, the practical-theoretical focus was increasingly concerned about urban planning and architectural criticism. For the Situationist International[14] (SI), in the late Fifties, the fight for the revolution was played on the field of culture, the critique of everyday life, the use of collective space-time: the "*homo ludens*", a human community that it was able to re-establish itself on the *Vita Activa* (Hannah Arendt, 1958), on play and leisure time, had to oppose and supplant the "*homo economicus*", the atomized individuals who see enslaved its existence to the very sense of capitalism (resumed in the four functions of work-consume-dwell-circulate). The "new life" given by neo-capitalism of those years included a rationalization of the city whose meaning did not elude those who watched it from a critical point of view: the urban centres had to be cleansed of the general population to become the heart of the economic machine (banks, offices, institutions), and the working and middle class had to be deported on the outskirts, in newly developed neighbourhoods that had a precise prototype, that of the dwelling unit that Le Corbusier was building in Marseille while Chtcheglov, under the pseudonym Gilles Ivain (inspirer of Situationist thinking and much urban critics of that time), was writing the "Formulary for a new urbanism" in 1953 (Lippolis, 2013). According to Chtcheglov and the SI, «Capitalism was extending its utilitarian blanket over all spheres of life, colonizing the collective experience and imagination on the time and space of the goods. All of consumerism products of the fifties, from the car to television, were united by the tendency to isolate, separate, alienate. Resistance and counterattack must be on the same field: if the mental illness that was invading the planet was banalization, it was necessary to re-enthuse life, re-enchant the world. The old towns of the fifties still maintained the popular characters, free zones of vitality and sociability; still neighbourhoods with relations of solidarity and shared life, anti-economic forms existed; proletarian experience - to say it as some friends of the Situationists - was still alive and capitalism knew it had the need to

[11] The Athens Charter (French: Charte d'Athènes) was a document about urban planning published by the Swiss architect, Le Corbusier in 1943. The work was based upon Le Corbusier's Ville Radieuse (Radiant City) book of 1935 and urban studies undertaken by the Congrès International d'Architecture Moderne (CIAM) in the early 1930s.
[12] «It depicts married mothers engaging in a daily routine of prostitution, as much out of boredom as of financial need, against the background of an invasion of American corporate capital into Paris, the war in Vietnam, a construction boom of highways and high-rises, and the arrival of a mindless consumerism in the streets and stores of the city.» (Harvey, 2012).
[13] http://image.toutlecine.com/photos/2/0/o/2-ou-3-choses-que-je-sais-d-ell-3-g.jpg
[14] The Situationist International (SI) was an international organization of social revolutionaries made up of avant-garde artists, intellectuals, and political theorists, prominent in Europe from its formation in 1957 to its dissolution in 1972. [see Sadie, P. (1992). *The Most Radical Gesture.* New York: Routledge].

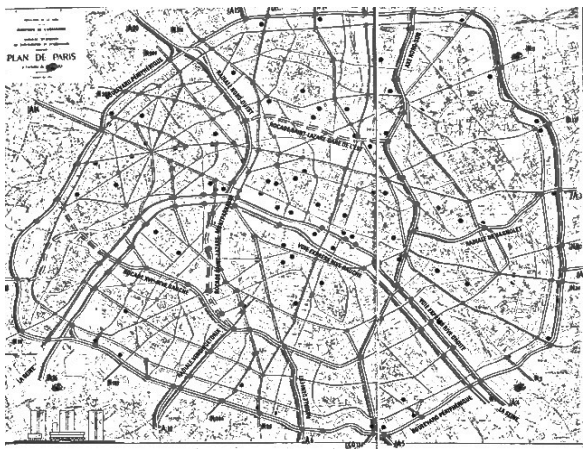
eradicate it so brutal and quick to complete its transformation; communities had to be dismembered, individuals had to be separated and isolated so that the *homo economicus* proved to be the only possible horizon. The urban planning was the police discipline to achieve this.» (Ibid., 2013, 6).[15]



The progressive destruction of informal settlements - reproducing the village dimension in the city - and the growing city behind

A scene from the movie "the Ceiling" by the director De Sica. Both images refers to Rome and its post-war development

In 1967 Henri Lefebvre wrote his seminal essay on The Right to the City. For Lefebvre that right was both a cry and a demand. The cry was a response to the existential pain of a withering crisis of everyday life in the city. The demand was really a command to look that crisis clearly in the eye and to create an alternative urban life: less alienated, more meaningful and playful, conflictual and dialectical, open to the perpetual pursuit of unknowable novelty. «The traditional city has been killed by rampant capitalist development, a victim of the never-ending need to dispose of over accumulating capital driving towards endless and sprawling urban growth no matter what the social, environmental, or political consequences […] a problem: to claim the right to the city is, in effect, to claim a right to something that no longer exists, later morphed in his thinking into the more general question of the right to The Production of Space (1974)» (Harvey, 2012). Starting from that, it was no longer needed for art, culture and politics to deconstruct language but to bring criticism into the very analysis of the existent and the reality of everyday life, where sudden changes of capitalism in those years were distorting everything quickly, and not for the better. From this emerged the opposition to the authoritative transformation of the European city into the neo-capitalist city producing boredom and repetition. Situationist International found in "the drift", an alternative way to "read", understand and experience the urban space, an attitude to exploration and disorientation, starting from the sense of freedom in encouraging new associations, forbidden passions, unexpected encounters and dormant curiosities. The "Drift" and "Psycho-geography" announced that the shape of the city reflects the orders of the dominant society determining behaviours, and that the overcoming of the art and the realization of its promises of happiness implied a passionate reinvention of everyday experience (Ibid., 2013). These forms of resistance are able to challenge the understanding of the city as how it is imposed from an hegemonic position of professional planners, that impose a new city structure, weakening grassroots everyday relationship with the space and so imposing new everyday city experiences through capitalist modernization.



Plan Autoroutier (circulation system) for Paris (1960)

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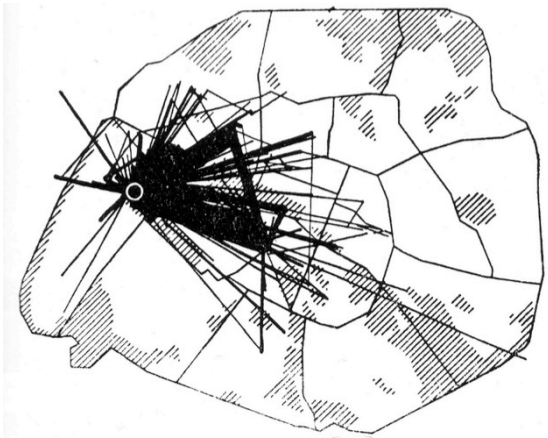
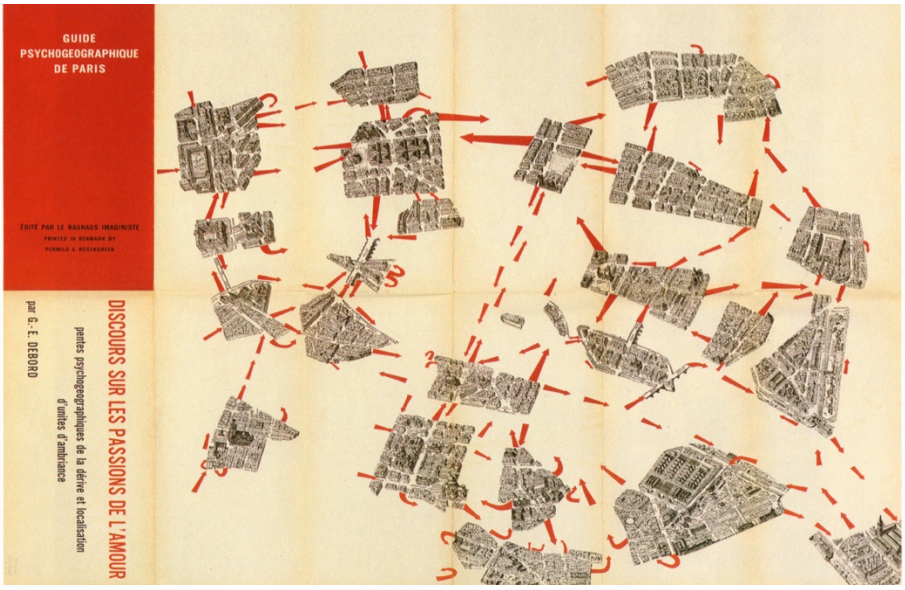


The Situationists' map of Paris defined through the "Drift" and "Psychogeography"

[15] Translation made by the author.



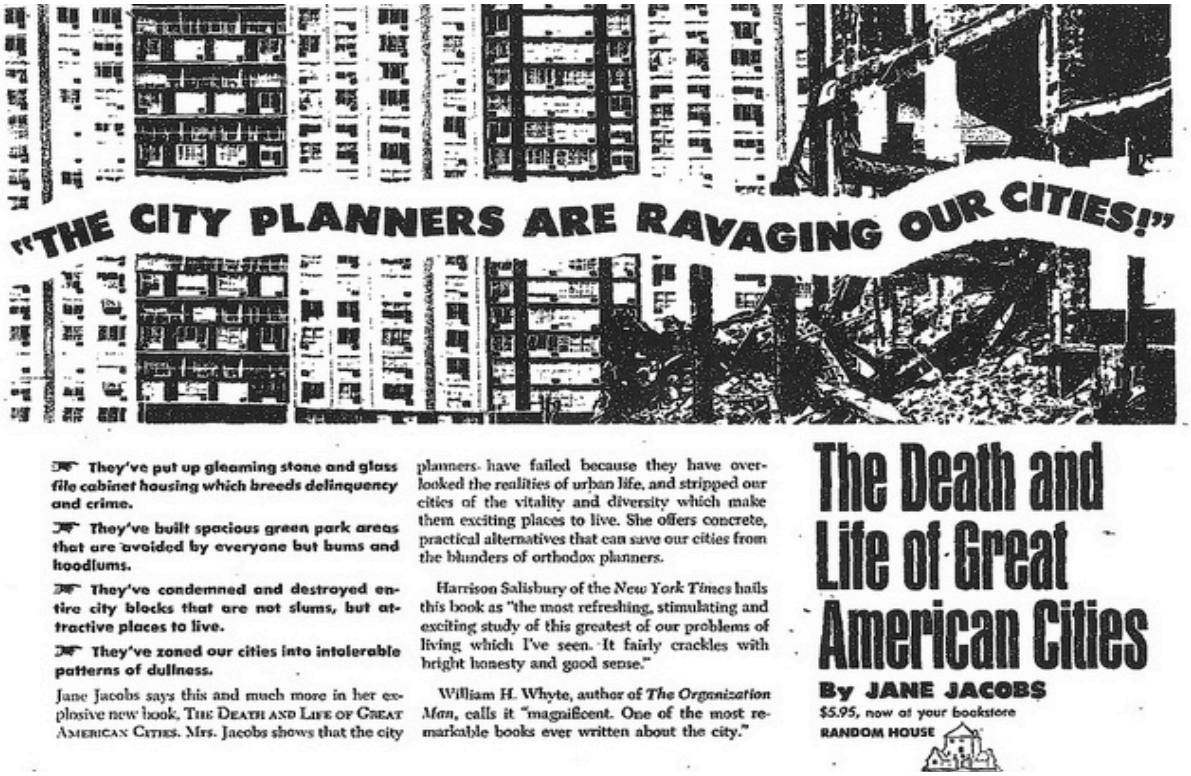
Guy Debord's
"Guide Psychogeographique de Paris"

The Psychogeographic approach and the Drifts were intended as forms of creative reappropriation of city's interstitial spaces, pioneering exploration of the city, unpredictable routes, and new city's daily experiences

In the book practices of everyday life (1984) De Certeau describes through a metaphor this disillusioned understanding of the technical and rational approach, based on the "geometrical" or "geographical" space of visual, panoptic, or theoretical constructions, used by city planners. He recognizes the importance of "escaping the totalization produced by the eye" through the experience of the everyday. «The 1370 foot high tower that serves as a prow for Manhattan continues to construct the fiction that creates readers, makes the complexity of the city readable, and immobilizes its opaque mobility in a transparent text. Is the immense texturology spread out before one's eyes anything more than a representation, an optical artifact? It is the analogue of the facsimile produced, through a projection that is a way of keeping aloof, by space planner urbanist, city planner or cartographer. The panorama-city is a "theoretical" (that is, visual) simulacrum, in short a picture, whose condition of possibility is an oblivion and a misunderstanding of practices. […] The ordinary practitioners of the city live "down below," below the thresholds at which visibility begins. They walk – an elementary form of this experience of the city; they are walkers, *Wandersmänner*, whose bodies follow the thicks and thins of an urban "text" they write without being able to read it. These practitioners make use of space that cannot be seen; their knowledge of them is as blind as that of lovers in each other's arms. The paths that correspond in this intertwining, unrecognized poems in which each body is an element signed by many others elude legibility. It is as though the practices organizing a bustling city were characterized by their blindness. The networks of these moving, intersecting writings compose a manifold story that has neither author nor spectator, shaped out of fragments of trajectories and alterations of spaces: in relation to representations, it remains daily and indefinitely other. […] These practices of space refer to a specific form of *operations* ("ways of operating"), to "another spatiality" (an "anthropological" poetic and mythic experience of space), and to an *opaque and blind* mobility characteristic of the bustling city. A migrational, or metaphorical, city thus slips into the clear text of the planned and readable city.» (De Certeau, 1984, 92-93).

1.2 | From the post-structuralism debate to the radical, advocacy, negotiated planning

For Marxist thinkers, this hegemonic construction of "grand narratives" and discourses can be defined as a mean in the hands of Power to influence the everyday life of individuals. For Lefebvre (1967) it occurred with the deep transformation of "the city" into "the urban" which culminated in its Omni-presence and the "complete urbanization of society." Lefebvre argues in "The Production of Space" (1991) that space is a social product, or a complex social construction (based on values, and the social production of meanings), which affects spatial practices and perceptions. This argument implies the shift of the research perspective from space to processes of its production; the embrace of the multiplicity of spaces that are socially produced and made productive in social practices; and the focus on the contradictory, conflictual, and, ultimately, political character of the processes of production of space (Stanek, 2011).
As a Marxist theorist Lefebvre argues that **this social production of urban space is fundamental to the reproduction of society, hence of capitalism itself and that it is commanded by a hegemonic class as a tool to reproduce its dominance**. Gramsci developed an acute analysis of how the ruling capitalist class – the bourgeoisie – establishes and maintains its control (Anderson, 1976), to explain why the socialist revolution, predicted as inevitable in capitalist societies by orthodox Marxism, by the early 20th century, had not occurred in the most advanced nations. The bourgeoisie developed a hegemonic culture, which propagated its own values and norms so that they became the "common sense" values of all. People in the working-class (and other classes) identified their own good with the good of the bourgeoisie, and helped to maintain the status quo rather than revolting. In this framework revealing the hegemonic nature of values based on the bourgeois culture, the search for scientific basis for confronting problems in social policy, showed all its undemocratic nature.



The crisis of the traditional planning model and the importance of everyday practices for the vitality of cities it is strongly affirmed also in the book "The Death and Life of American Cities" by Jane Jacobs in 1961: «The simple needs of automobiles are more easily understood and satisfied than the complex needs of cities, and a growing number of planners and designers have come to believe that if they can only solve the problems of traffic, they will thereby have solved the major problem of cities. Cities have much more intricate economic and social concerns than automobile traffic. **How can you know what to try with traffic until you know how the city itself works, and what else it needs to do with its streets?** You can't.» (Ibid., 1961, 7).

The public housing complex Pruitt-Igoe built in 1956 and inspired by the Le Corbusier dwelling unit. The complex built on the outskirts of Saint-Louis by architect Minoru Yamasaki, is blown up at the request of its own inhabitants in July 1972[16]

[16] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pruitt%E2%80%93Igoe#/media/File:Pruitt-igoe_collapse-series.jpg

In 1973, Rittel & Webber predicted that "the search for scientific bases for confronting problems in social policy is bound to fail, because of the nature of these problems": «Policy problems cannot be definitively described. Moreover, in a pluralistic society there is nothing like the undisputable public good; **there is no objective definition of equity**; policies that respond to social problems cannot be meaningfully correct or false; and it makes no sense to talk about "optimal solutions" to social problems unless severe qualifications are imposed first. Even worse, there are no "solutions" in the sense of definitive and objective answers.» (Ibid., 1973, 155). Together with analysis of urban policy for social sciences offered by the post-structuralism debate (based on a philological, social and political analysis), also in the field of urban policies and planning the Euclidean, deterministic, and one-dimensional treatments of the "scientific" approaches of the 1960s and 1970s started to be questioned since the 1960s on in the attempt to explore the changing relationship between planning action and the dynamics of place (Graham, Healey, 1999).

The "terrain of planning theory" and **what constitutes legitimate planning practice became increasingly a central concern after the end of the era of "consensus**,**"** when claims for more democratic decision-making strategies were raised by an increasingly conflictive and complex society, pushing for a more participatory oriented democracy. According to Friedman (1987), the basic dualism that characterizes the development of the planning theory, that between technocracy and democracy, knowledge and action, balancing between public and private interest, try to identify the correct positioning of the planning instrument, inside the tradition of social reform. This duality results in a method of analysis that goes back to the historical materialism, through which the author interprets the history of planning as an expression of contradictory social forces opposing each other and the history evolutive dimension from a prospective of "class struggle," identifying as classes the main categories of "market interest" and that of the "public domain." In this **radical planning perspective**, planning refers to the ***deliberate*** **transfer of knowledge to action in the public domain for the purpose of moving towards a shared vision of the "good society"**, using the "good society" to represents the need for planning to pursue a normative goal (Beard, 2003). Among the **"planning theory traditions"** Friedmann identifies four broad traditions, the "social reform", "policy analysis" and "social learning", where *planning* is understood *as social guidance*; in the fourth **category**, namely, the one of **"social mobilization"**, which is founded on the utopianism, social anarchism and historical materialism and other radical ideas, **planning aims at a structural transformation of society from below** (Friedmann, 1987, 75).

As counterpart of **"top-down" leading of society in which planning as social guidance is articulated through the state, and its concerned chiefly with systemic change, planning "from below" is intertwined with the practices of transformation of the system** typical of political radicalism (planning as social transformation). He identifies radical planning as capable of creating "an organized civic power" with the aim to pursue projects aimed at social transformation, and (following a Gramscian understanding) the radical planner as the "organic intellectual", that is an essential carrier of technical knowledge that filtering, generalizing and mediating the knowledge of basic groups (mobilized groups) is able to build arguments to support the practice of emancipation. **The radical planning based on self-organized actions of people want to be a solution to the crisis of planning opposing the State as no longer able to meet the legitimate needs of the population**, in order to achieve a restructuring of the political community from the bottom and through the **principles of "collective interest" and "common good"** be able to define strategies for a urban life based on increased welfare of the community (Friedman, 1987). This radical understanding of the discipline expanded the idea of professional planning beyond the work of the professional planning practitioner working for the state. One of the first important planning theorists that opened the debate over a necessary turning point in the discipline in this direction has been Paul Davidoff already in 1965 theorized the "advocacy planning." According to Davidoff, «(t)he right course of action is always a matter of choice, never of fact. **Planners should engage in the political process as advocates of the interests of government and other groups**.» (Ibid., 1965, 331).

Participation was seen as a key element also to De Carlo, that beyond theorizing it, experimented it in several of its planning/architectural projects, such as the one for the working class neighbourhood called "*Villaggio Matteotti*" (1973). According to De Carlo, **participation allows a cultural exchange between the parties and permits to overcome the brutal and blind technicism of the modern urbanism**.[17] «The modern movement has lost the reliability understood as historical legitimacy, as capacity to target its audiences and being in connection with the events of reality» (De Carlo, 1970, 12). Equally important to him was the "struggle" that produces opportunity for these experiences of **radical participation**. Both these elements also **allow the planner to become aware of** a number of **"independent variables"** useful for the **definition of a project that is responsive to the specific problems of the place** instead of proceeding according to absolute models of intervention that have and continue to give an example of a depersonalization in the confrontation between planning action and the dynamics of places (De Carlo, 2008). Even if the turning point toward a more inclusive and participated approach to planning practices was accepted as necessary for the discipline of professional planning, what Sherry Arnstein pointed out in her article "A ladder of Citizen Participation" in 1969, still relevant today, was that **not all the "participatory processes" are equal**: they vary in how they might suit different problems and circumstances, in their complexity, and in their effectiveness. Her "ladder" of participation established a typology categorising levels of public involvement ranging from "non-participation" and

[17] De Carlo was a harsh critic of the Modern Movement and CIAM formalized idea of functional city that saw architecture as an economic and political tool that could be used to improve the world through the design of buildings and through urban planning.

manipulation of the public to "citizen control", defined by a high degree of participation which allows the public to have direct influence over decision making (Arnstein, 1969). In fact, some produce and hold out false promises; some appear threatening to public officials; and only a small number actually create power-sharing partnership. According to Fisher and Forester (1993), the **planners have to become a mediator** of such processes regularly confronting with the **challenge of achieving diverse and empowering participation**, since in the passage from government to governance, the development of the neoliberal city impose the negotiation between competing interests and related conflicts and negotiations in the urban public sphere.

1.3 | The shift to post-modernism and the emergence of practices of autonomy

According to Chtcheglov «the construction of a renewed world does not start from a new form of architecture, understood as building technique, but by a new sense of time and space; break the habits, the pressures of daily life; explore the neighbourhoods to see what effect do on our feelings, attend public spaces where the encounters are possible: while waiting to build the "dreamed city," it was necessary in the meantime to overturn and excite the existing ones.» (Lippolis, 2013, 7).

In the late 1970s, these grassroots practices developed creative forms of appropriation of space that started proposing alternative forms of "urbanity" addressing the contested strategies of Modernist Planning and post-war urban development. The recognition of the importance of grassroots practices even contributed to the shift to post-modern forms of urbanism in the urban planning field (see Jacobs, 1972). Moreover, the recognition of the value of the dynamics of place and their relationship with planning action reflected the opposition to the more contested goals and outcomes of that overly simplified, paternalistic urbanism unable to mirror the complexity of urban life and pursuing an **on-going deconstruction of urban complexity**.

A young squatter in Berlin in the late 1970s: on the wall is written "Repairing occupation (*Insrandbesetzt*) against expensive modernisation"[18]

In Berlin, for instance, the first squatting movement (*Instandbesetzung Bewegung*) was primarily moved by the will to protect urban fabrics and inhabitants by modern forms of urban regeneration based on wild destruction and reconstruction strategies. The illicit occupation of these spaces was strictly tied to the idea of (re)appropriate the right for informal actors to construct/reconstruct and take care of the city autonomously and doing so directly claim the right to radically participate and appropriate decision making processes through forms of self-empowerment (Vasudevan, 2011).

Through the appropriation, transformation and "re-imagination" of places, where to integrate and experiment multiple activities (Davis, 2008), was produced the **contestation towards the modern idea of mono-functional urban district** that is intended to either accommodate residential or commercial or industrial or recreational uses - but seldom a mix of more than one. Moreover, they proposed **more sustainable strategies of urban renewal** more respectful of neighbourhood's original social mix (see struggles over Kreuzberg SO36 in Holm & Kuhn, 2011). In the words of Feldtkeller, a long-term practitioner of "caution urban renewal" in Germany, modern-urbanism was producing that: "No longer is the spatial context of things important - residence, employment, urban culture - but the perfection of the singular in a retreat from the context" (Feldtkeller 1994, 22). The **model produced by these realized utopian spaces** within cities was bringing to the fore again the importance of the **small-scale integration of urban activities** within a compact space (like a district, a street, even an individual building) that not only served historically to self-construct a **public realm that formed the base of a city's informal, social and cultural exchange** (Engwicht 1992, 1999) but also, central subject in progressive urban planning debate, to facilitate productive exchange between interdependent trades.

[18] Source: http://its-alex-rodenberg-love.tumblr.com/image/86649411080

Among the forms of social mobilizations that emerged since the 1960s on, the youth movement (since May 1968) was strongly inspired by these critics over the hegemonic model of space production and the existential crisis of the city (Harvey, 2012). Among many forms of antagonism, contestation and dissent, the self-making and practices of subjectivation in historical and interdisciplinary perspective have taken a certain relevance. The merging of the counter-cultural forms of antagonism, contestation and dissent based on space (re)appropriation practices, with the one of other urban social movements, mainly characterized by excluded social groups, shows how **citizens in authoritarian political contexts learn radical planning for social transformation**. According to Laclau and Mouffe (1985, 11) «condition of over determination of the points of antagonism and the diverse struggles is a repressive political context» (in this case the implementation of authoritarian, top-down, non-negotiated urban development strategies) that ultimately produce a "mechanism of unification" of single isolated struggles in a more general struggle against what is identified as "the system." In fact, in Europe and North America, in a framework of an historical moment of crisis of the political, economic and social system, together with increasing antagonism against State institutions and powerful elites, practices developed by individuals and groups of "inhabitants" [19] to reappropriate the city, emerged against the totalizing control of individuals' everyday lives (through governmentalization, bio political control, the statification and marketization of everyday life, the hegemony of capitalist, bourgeois values).

As mentioned above, in this desire for social transformation, the attempt to translate the social mobilization in new policies and planning practices, takes on a sense of urgency contextualized in the moment of crisis of the actual system. Friedmann argues that, the "radical planning", which comes from below, from the people, towards the emancipation from oppression and the building of social ties in the community, seems to be the only active form of social transformation. For instance, **«Cumulative participation in state-directed planning, community-based planning, and covert planning over time resulted in a sense of collective agency that served as a foundation for demanding political reform at a moment when state control was weakened.»** (Beard, 2003). In this framework, when "the modern movement has lost the reliability understood as historical legitimacy", in that moment the state control is questioned and progressively weakened. In this moment of "power vacuum" the sense of collective agency built over the previous decade by the political commitment of planning practitioners and political urban social movements, emerged since the early 1970s in forms of alternative space production. The innovative social transformation of such grassroots collective practices was entailed in their attempt to suggest alternative strategies of production of space, to the capitalist hegemonic one, through the individuation and implementation of self-managed and participated collective alternative projects.

Yet, the positive discourse about citizens' autonomy from the State, that the urban revolution in process made possible, became part of a collective culture and have been fuelling active citizenship bottom-up strategies. These alternative strategies tried to address the issues of the contemporary city through creative, sustainable solutions to local problems challenging the traditional goals behind urban development (e.g. economic growth as such).

The reappropriation of such spaces, when organized as a collective political action, can stand the chance to become a strategy, a way to "speak truth to the power" and create, propose physically and spatially existing alternatives "within the enemy's camp." Doing so it is capable to create a "new sense of time and space; break the habits, the pressures of daily life;" explore the neighbourhoods and its abandoned/neglected/interstitial spaces; attend (newly created) public spaces where the encounters are possible. Moreover these radical practices perform a corrosive criticism on the territory that is "all in the hands" of the hegemonic capitalist domain. The **cultural shift from modernity to post-modernity in toward a renovate recognition of the value of everyday practices** have been fundamental for the cultural construction in **understanding which actors have the right to participate to the production of the city**. Starting from that, the conflictive dialectic between devices of power and forms of resistance could emerge: that conflictive dialectic where should be read existing relationships between cities, art, architecture and politics (Lippolis, 2009).

De Certeau (1984) summarizes the passage from modernity to postmodernity in the comparison between strategy and tactics: the **strategy** is a calculation of the balance of power made from a vantage point, from its own place of belonging and otherness with respect to the external enemy, from which expand to the conquest of the territory; **tactics** instead always plays within the enemy's camp, do not have their own base from where to move, but should bet on the time to seize the opportunities and sneak in the other's field. **In the postmodern, as the territory is all in the hands of the domain, it seems possible only tactically to find space of practicability on the edge and between the meshes of power** (de Certeau, 1984). Starting from that, why the **large amount of land** and spaces "available" in the capitalist cities has taken a central role in the development of insurgent practices of space reappropriation? These spaces are often considered as "voids" in the planner maps and invisible to them. Since, according to de Certeau (1984), "the practitioners make use of space that cannot be seen" and "their knowledge of them is as blind as that of lovers in each other's arms" and since these spaces results "indeterminate" (in terms of regulation, ownership, etc.), **they constitute "space of practicability on the edge and between the meshes of power," a valuable resource for the development of grassroots "tactics" and insurgent practices**.

[19] Lefebvre refer to inhabitants that includes all the people that live, cross and transform the urban space more than to citizens, that includes just the subjects recognized for their nationality.

According to Guy Debord (1967), that identified the path that would lead Western society through the development of forms of advanced capitalism, **the shift from modernism to post-modernism, from anonymous urban landscapes to the "the spectacle" of the post-modern city** (from "the society of the spectacle", Debord, 1968), was the shift towards consumerism able to break down the revolutionary aspirations of the working classes.

According to Boltansky and Chiapello (2007), the demand of autonomy of the new movement of the sixties, the counter-culture, has been harnessed in the development of the post-Fordism network economy and transformed into a new form of control, like the aesthetic strategies of the counter-culture. Those demands have been recuperated by capitalism and used to promote the condition required by the current mode of capitalism regulation. Nowadays, artistic and cultural production play a central role in the process of capital valorisation through the introduction of new strategies of urban regeneration based on the "creative city" concept (Florida, 2002) that often results in the co-optation of the creative dimension and discourses of alternative spaces in mainstream strategies, neutralizing their attempt to challenge the dominant model and re-discuss new forms of autonomy from the State. Moreover, their demands of autonomy and participation have been introjected in the dominant system but neutralized in their subversive contents. This approach reveals how **the crucial dimension of the transition from Fordism to post-Fordism was a discursive re-articulation of existing elements**. «And this is what, permit us to apprehend it as a hegemonic struggle» (Mouffe).

1.4 | The understanding of urban politics as a dispute between pro- and anti-growth coalitions

The neoliberal economy over the past forty years has played his moves on the **capitalist city**, assuming it **as "growth machine"**. Harvey Molotch formulated this idea in 1976 in his famous article on "American Journal of Sociology". «In this essay Molotch argued that the imperative of urban economic growth attracts a number of competing interests and related conflicts and negotiations in the urban public sphere. As a result, coalitions and public-private partnership take shape in support of projects of urban renewal and broader strategies of urban economic development. On the other hand, Molotch also pointed out that US cities witnessed the formation of "anti-growth" coalitions, formed by citizens and social movements advocating an environmentally sustainable urban development. In the following years, **the understanding of urban politics as a dispute between pro- and anti-growth coalitions** was revealed to be a highly fruitful hypothesis inspiring many studies undertaken in the US context and elsewhere (see for instance DeLeon, 1992; Purcell, 2001).» (Rossi, Vanolo, 2012, 79). It explained how, around the imperative of growth, were gathered the interests of local elites and their strategies of economic statement, while at the same time, were constituting specular **"anti-growth" coalitions animated by citizens and social movements more interested in improving the quality of urban life to the promotion of economic growth as such.**

During 1983's massive demonstration in Washington, protesters questioned the very foundations of American society (Rolling Stones, issue 406, 13th October 1983)

In relation to these phenomena of resistance against this imperative of growth in recent years, and over the will to renegotiate urban transformation that are producing increasing urban inequalities, we have recently witnessed in many European cities the mobilization of a **growing number of citizens against the private market and in defence of spaces considered "for the community"**. This has emerged due to different scenarios that have emerged as a result of urban neoliberalization pursued by the government in the time lap that goes roughly from the '70s up to today. While, proponents of neoliberal ideology argue that «open, competitive, and unregulated markets, liberated from all forms of state interference, represent the optimal mechanism for economic development» (Brenner, Theodore, 2002, 2), however, academics in the field of study of the "actually existing neoliberalism" claim that, while neoliberal ideology criticizes state intervention, actual neoliberal policies and practices involve «coercive, disciplinary forms of state intervention in order to impose market rule upon all aspects of social life» (Ibid., 2002, 5). Such policies and practices

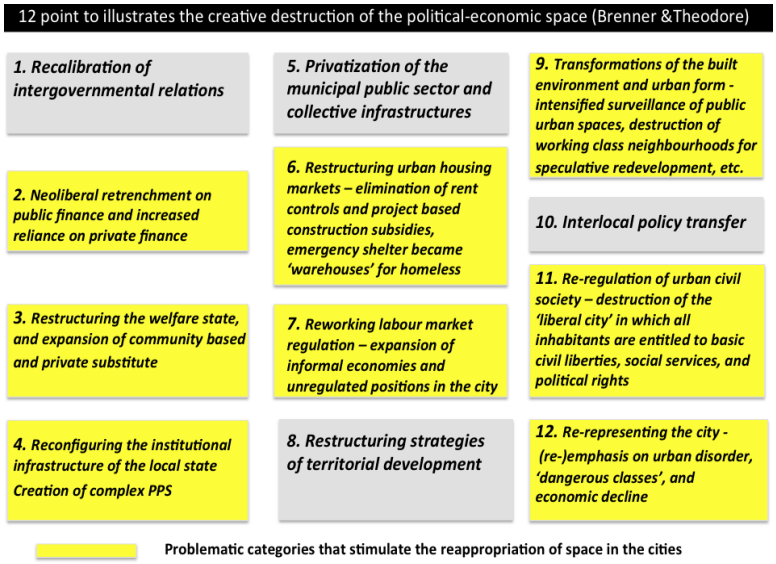
are complex, contradictory, and contested, and operate at multiple levels of governance. In order to clarify this process and how neoliberal policy has developed, Peck and Tickell (2002) identify two interrelated phases or processes: "roll-back neoliberalism" and "roll-out neoliberalism."

The first scenario can be defined in relation to the **crisis of the welfare state system and its gradual dismantling**, according to the logic of neo-liberal market, when in the phase of "Roll-back neoliberalism" it has been implemented «the active destruction or discreditation of Keynesian-welfarist and social-collectivist institutions (broadly defined)» (Peck, Tickell, 2002, 37), which has led to an increase in demand for social services. This first scenario is connected to the process that involves the retreat from previous governmental control of resources and state regulations, including public services, nationalized industries, labour and social rights. «Also known as *privatization*, it is the "sharing or delegating of authority to non-governmental agents" (Handler, 1996, 78-80). Privatization takes many forms, including the sale of public assets, voucher programs, deregulation, cutbacks in public services, and the contracting out of those services to for-profit and non-profit agencies.» (Aguirre, Eick, Reese, 2006). It has triggered the decline of the public city and the emergence of a privileged field of action and influence where the restricted circles of local and regional economic and political elites could act. A second scenario, results from **politics devoted to the imitation of approval development patterns imposed by global economic strategies** and insistently recommended by supranational organizations - creative urbanism, "creative cities", "culturalization" of processes of urban development, the politics of "big events ", etc. -, which **stimulates the growth of market interests over cities** consequently provoking gentrification and its side-effects (e.g. phenomena of discrimination, spatial segregation and social exclusion). A third scenario is the product of **"**governmentalization**"** (Foucault, 1991) in advanced neoliberalism, which has led to a strong awareness of the **citizen, receiver of a governmental rationality**, as an individual belonging to a community and directly responsible for it. Last but not least, the scenario defined by the emergence of an autonomous imaginary and forms of spontaneous urbanism catalysed over "urban voids", "gaps" and "residual areas" left between the meshes of the same planned capitalist city. These processes of appropriation and "temporary uses" are today identified as potential urban catalysts and "motor of urban change" (Urban Catalysts, 2003). On the other side, the insurgent practices have for decades attempted to show how the indeterminate places within cities could be a resource for the development of instant solutions to urban problems. Despite the discursive definition given today of these practices, whose added value is recognized only in terms for their capacity to enhance economic value of otherwise abandoned areas. The second, third and forth scenarios emerges from the implementation of to the second phase of neoliberal process, the "roll-out neoliberalism." It refers to «the purposeful construction and consolidation of neoliberalized state forms, modes of governance, and regulatory relations» (Peck, Tickell, 2002, 37). Moreover, it has involved the creation of new trade and financial regulations by international governance institutions (e.g. the World Trade Organization and the IMF); socially interventionist policies and public-private initiatives that are paternalistic and punitive (e.g. the "anti-panhandling" ordinances, the militarization of national borders, new zero tolerance approaches toward forms of "urban deviance", and welfare-to-work programs); **«these policies and programs seek to discipline, criminalize, and control poor and marginalized social groups**, who experience the brunt of the effects created by "roll-out" neoliberalism**»** (Aguirre, Eick, Reese, 2006). Results clear that «these **interrelated processes of neoliberalism** have greatly **diminished the rights of ordinary citizens, particularly low-income people and other disadvantaged groups**, such as immigrants, racial minorities, and single mothers» (Ibid., 2006).

In the framework of the above mentioned conditions, today's cities are living a rekindled interest for issues related to citizens' empowerment, participation and democratic decision making processes that are connected to the contested strategies of urban development inspired by neoliberal restructuring socio-spatial project (Purcell, 2009). From the point of view of neo-Marxist theorists, these new urban social movements (Harvey, 2012) are asking and proposing more sustainable alternatives capable to invert the trend of increasing urban inequalities connected to the hegemonic idea of "exchange value" and commodification of the city's spaces as discursively prevailing over "use value" of places and the relation that they have with the population (Brenner, Marcuse, Mayer, 2009). The right to the city, and the variety of its understanding (Harvey, 2012), is then played and struggled over those spaces that are still accessible to the inhabitants, active citizenship or "multitude" of people (see Paolo Virno): the public spaces and the indeterminate spaces. These spaces are constantly shrinking because of the unrestrainable trend of: urban public space's privatization due to the increasing reliance on private actors for the provision of public services; strong influence of economic elites on urban development projects focused on the rhetoric on densification, temporary uses and economic enhancement of indeterminate spaces; financial restructuring based on the privatization of many of the municipal and State companies and goods for the adjustment of national and local governments budgetary frameworks.

Since cities, in the frame of the neoliberal reform projects and the shift towards multi-scalar levels of governance (supranational, national, local), assumed an increasing strategic role in the "contemporary remaking of political-economic space," the contemporary cities have been plunged in the need to move toward a globalised economy based on service economy, to become "competitive", and attractive place for multinational companies to invest. At the same time, contemporary cities have witnessed a state of fluctuating economic stagnation, constant bankruptcy and complete dependence on the rules of the market and private investment, rescaling state economic intervention to privilege strategic supranational and subnational spaces of accumulation (Brenner, Theodore, 2002; Harvey, 2001; Peck, Tickell, 2002). In this framework, the urban development projects and strategies have been increasingly related to rhetoric of

economic growth and competiveness based on private initiatives, local entrepreneurialism, privatization of public services, fiscal austerity measures and reduction of public expenditures, deregulated and more flexibility planning tools and public-private partnership interventions. Summarizing, «(i)n this context, neoliberal doctrines were deployed to justify, among other projects, the deregulation of state control over major industries, assaults on organized labour, the reduction of corporate taxes, the shrinking and/or privatization of public services, the dismantling of welfare programs, the enhancement of international capital mobility, the intensification of inter-locality competition, and the criminalization of the urban poor» (Brenner and Theodore, 2002).



In the face of globalization tendencies, we then observe the weakening of national and local models of socio-economic governance and the slow transformation of the role of local authorities from providers to facilitator negotiating/mediating decisions, resources distribution, projects. This transformation goes hand in hand with the increasing neoliberal rhetoric of promoting and supporting individual initiatives, participated decision-making processes, more flexibility and stakeholders empowerment to propose bottom-up projects. It should have empowered as the private investors as the active citizenship to participate and directly influence, if not properly decide, the future visions and strategies for the urban development and spatial planning.

On the basis of these premises, planning tools as the strategic urban planning have been developed with the aim to create a more participated, flexible and effective urban renewal projects, able to rapidly boost the local economies. Jordi Borja (2007), in his article "*Revolución y contrarrevolución en la ciudad global: las expectativas frustradas por la globalización de nuestras ciudades*", talking about Barcelona, remarks the contradictory character of such processes: «(t)he **positive discourse about citizens' liberties** that the urban revolution, currently in process, makes possible forms part of our culture. These are the two sides of this reality. Many cities, European and American, have promoted regeneration of their central areas that, in many cases, deal with almost an entire municipality, with a revaluing of the compact, heterogeneous city characterized by the quality of public space. However the **urban developments**, the metropolitan regions, **multiply inequalities over the landscape, generating spaces that are physically fragmented and socially segregated**. The current urban revolution is frustrating. The political, urbanistic and cultural challenge today is to "make the city" in all regions characterized by urbanization.» (Borja, 2007). Also Hausermann and Kapphan (2000), in their article *"Berlin: von der geteilten zur gespaltenen Stadt? sozialräumlicher Wandel seit 1990"*, talking about Berlin, said that «(i)n the face of globalization tendencies, the purported weakening of national models of socio-economic governance and the intensification of interlocality competition […], a **"postmodern" form of urbanization** began to crystallize in the late twentieth century that has been characterized by **increasing socio-spatial polarization, more disparate social problems, weaker forms of state intervention and a greater role for private interests**» (Brenner, 2002). Brenner and Theodore (2002) mention how contemporary neoliberalization processes, as catalysts and expressions of an on-going creative destruction of political-economic space, profoundly reworked the institutional infrastructures upon which Fordist-Keynesian capitalism was grounded so to understand that "creative destruction" as a useful means for describing institutional/spatial change (see previous Figure titles "12 points to illustrate the creative destruction of the political-economic space").

In this framework, in 1990s and then in the new millennium, struggles of anticapitalist forces continue to proliferate throughout the world and have come to identify neoliberalism as a major target for oppositional mobilization (Ibid, 2002). In this frame **«neoliberalization had a corrosive impact on cities and urban life»** and **democratic movements have been «particularly promising way we might resist it»** (Purcell, 2009, 141). In fact, the big issue seems to be the relationship between democracy and neoliberalization since tools developed as democratic and inclusive, such the ones related to communicative planning, looks to do not fundamentally challenge existing power relations but, instead, «to become more salient when we consider the challenges posed by neoliberalization, which is understood here to mean the on-going project to install market logics and competitive discipline as hegemonic assumptions in urban politics and policy-making.» (Purcell, 2009, 140). **In this process, neoliberal models seeks to actively co-opt, incorporate grassroots initiatives** (also the anti-capitalist ones) that can be used as "urban catalysts" (SenStadt, 2007) of growth and local entrepreneurialism, in line with inter-local competitiveness strategies and to **manipulate, repress or neutralize the subversive ones.**

1.5 | Counter-production of space: proposing alternative social, spatial, and operational values

If we look back in time, over the last forty years, the process of re-appropriation of space, as the "squatting" (illegal occupation), associated with urban social movements claiming for social rights and/or the right to establish counter-hegemonic political and cultural identities, have been a characteristic feature of the development of many cities in the advanced capitalist societies (Holm, Kuhn, 2011). **Practices of temporary reappropriation** and reconversion **of disused areas (to ensure "public")**, revealed in major European cities **participatory experiences interesting from the point of view of the social practices of self-organization** and empowerment and for their capacity to **trigger** phenomena of spatial, social and sometimes even economic **regeneration.** Distinguishing feature: the capacity to detect local urban problems and to know how to tackle it through conflictive, radical but also immediate solutions. In those dismissed / abandoned parts of the city (e.g. peripheries or dismissed industrial districts), where the institution have failed in adequately plan forms of urban regeneration, these grassroots practices and radical experiences, which resulted from bottom-up initiatives, have somehow taken an important role in attempting to restore a function in otherwise abandoned spaces. Moreover, it gave visibility to the ability of "informal actors" to realize collective projects of active citizenship thanks to a growing demand for participation. These reappropriated spaces have shown in recent years a **programmatic capacity and a proactive potential in suggesting and implementing "Public Policies from the Bottom"** (Paba, 2010): e.g. "banking and financial policies" through the activation of forms of microcredit; "training and educational policies" offering a wide range of free or very affordable courses; "policies of management and recycling of waste, housing policies, policies to support youth and women entrepreneurship, policies addressing the problems of immigration, cultural and sports policies;" "architectural heritage renewal policies," and others. As mentioned above, significant for the development of strategies based on "insurgent appropriation of space" was the presence of many "urban voids," or "wastelands" (Doron, 2000), the product of the expansion and transformation of the capitalist city.

Most of these **"voids"** often inserted in a rhetoric of "re-urbanization" and "densification" (Hain, 2001; Ladd, 2000), are **anything but "dead" spaces**; they, in fact, can give hospitality to social groups and a multitude of activities: those "micro-politics" (Cupers, Miessen, 2002); the spaces for "alternative cultures" (Shaw, 2005); the places for transgression and/or inclusion for marginalized social groups; the social-centres for self-organized public services and social welfare (Membretti, 2007a). As yet "indeterminate", these places allow unveiling the generative conflict on different meanings of the city. **In these processes the "urban void" plays a key role** because, according to Borret (2009), the "empty" **can be seen as a productive element in the urban public space, as it is not tied to a single interpretation or intention.** For this reason, it has the opportunity to become a truly public space in which the conflicting interests are constantly negotiated and no final resolution ever defined, a "sustained instability" essential to democracy. In addition to the regenerative potential, these practices have played, over the time, a central role both in conveying and giving voice to dissent and attract the public attention on invisible/unheard problems. The spatialization of such issues have pushed to **include in the collective culture a more complex and conflictive understanding of controversial issues, such as the ones related to "wicked problems"** that characterize contemporary societies (e.g. housing issue and management of spatial resources), forcing to include into the group of recognized participants that are supposed to collectively solve it, excluded subjects, ideas and ideologies. Yet, they had the ability to raise the debate over the development of more democratic and sustainable urban policies and planning strategies, through the inclusion of participation processes (referring to Berlin see: Holm, Kun, 2012). It would seem, therefore, necessary to learn to acknowledge and recognize these practices of "self-made city" and as potentially a legitimate expression of a "right to the city", implemented by a civil society whose instances, albeit minoritarian, have the right to be heard and included in the processes of transformation of the city.

One of the most significant, albeit very controversial, phenomenon of radical/insurgent reappropriations of space enacted by anti-capitalist forces have been the **squatting practice. «**Contemporary urban squatting in Europe can be seen as flowing from organized squatting in the 1960s, but squatting is not dependent on a climate of countercultural upheaval. The fact that squatting took place on a large scale shortly after the second world-war (Friend, 1980; Johnstone, 2000) testifies to this.» (Prujit, 2012). The phenomenon of Squatting, for instance, have been discursively identified with the simple definition of living in or using a dwelling without the consent of the owner and in these terms dismissed as a problem of illegality and social deviance. Of course, the practice to occupy empty houses or spaces to dwell has started as an individual strategy for shelter and is existing since a long time, but from the late 1960s on, this practice has been take over by urban insurgent movements, as for the Squatter movement (Corr, 1999; Prujit, 2012; Mudu, 2004, 2014a, 2014b; SqEK, 2014). Squatters take buildings intending relatively long-term use. The squatter movements use the occupation as a collective strategy, seeing empty buildings as opportunities and imagining that collective support for occupying those buildings can be organized. Various authors portray the movement as a collective actor pursuing a particular goal (Prujit, 2012). According to Corr (1999, 3), its goal is «to redistribute economic resources according to a more egalitarian and efficient patterns», according to Wates (1980) it is used to address housing issues, while Mamadouh (1992) acknowledge it as a means to assert a romantic small-is-beautiful vision against the dominant functionalistic practice of city planning. Kallenberg (2001) classifies squatting among the utopian struggles, which would imply that the goal of the squatters' movement is a better society. Katz and Mayer (1985) suggest that the goal is to enable and further self-help. Adding to the variety, there are authors who see squatting

not as goal-directed but as a movement driven by a need for countercultural and/or political expression (Lowe, 1986; Van Noort, 1988). Some of the assessments proposed by the various authors diverge. Clarke et al. (1976, 58) see squatting as an example of a middle-class counterculture and Wietsma et al. (1982, 4) as a «way to shape one's life and one's living environment in a way that breaks with imposed norms and laws». For McKay (1998) it represents a manifestation of Do-it-Yourself culture. Della Porta and Rucht (1995, 121-123) classify the squatters' movement as a "left-libertarian" movement, while, in sharp contrast, Katsiaficas (1997, 115) pictures squatters as a wing of the "international *Autonomen*," a more or less Leninist strand of political activism struggling for the "de-colonization of every day life." According to Prujit (2012), squatting is a combination of all these aspects since «(n)one of these assessments is completely incorrect; overviews of squatting show a great variety of squatting projects within countries and also within cities».

Summarizing, the element that results of interest for the field of planning theory are: the capacity to (re)activate otherwise abandoned places giving them new symbolic meanings and making them useful for the implementation of so many different uses/activities; the capacity to make visible invisible issues giving voice to unheard problems and subjects; the possibility to challenge the totalizing and dominant understanding of urban ideology lacking in democratic legitimacy. Moreover, these practices can be endowed with political legitimacy since they can be **used as a form of class struggle**, as political organized groups (that can be organized, supported or inspired by social movements) of urban poor and marginalized social groups (working/underclass), or new young generations of precarious (middle class) who experience the brunt of the effects created by "roll-out" neoliberalism (i.e. precarious job, housing situations due to assaults on organized labour, the shrinking and/or privatization of public services, the dismantling of welfare programs and the criminalization of the urban poor) and the lack in political representation. In the urban social movement field this radical/insurgent practice is recognized as a **political means to scale up protests** and **transform relations of power within a situation of conflict, questioning the sovereignty of formal actors**.

The housing occupation in Rome called "Metropoliz": the occupied building is a former salami factory located on the outskirts of the city (Tor Sapienza neighbourhood) that remained abandoned for several years.[20] [Source: photo on the left published on the "radio Onda Rossa" website (http://www.ondarossa.info/sites/default/files/img/notizie/metropoliz%2C%20Roma.jpg?1462884345); photo on the right by Prof. Miguel Martinez published on the Squatting European Kollective webpage (http://occuprop.blogspot.it/2014/06/squatters-of-rome.html)

According to Leonardo Lippolis (2009), the fate of the contemporary world seems to be fatally enclosed in the dialectic between the description - accomplished by intellectuals, philosophers, urban sociologists, novelists and filmmakers - of a catastrophic dystopia already in place and the willingness of artists to find a melancholy refuge in urban heterotopias. If we understand these practices as the practical experiments of other possible worlds, as "utopian exercises," then we can understand how they become central in and necessary when the urban model is in crisis. Can these become also mainstream strategies or just represent that "melancholy refuge in urban heterotopias"?

[20] This very big abandoned private property is now hosting about 200 people both Italians and migrants coming from all over the world. Also a Roma community lives in the big Metropoliz housing occupation. It is considered the first case in Rome of Roma people living together with other populations. Moreover, a museum for contemporary art have been founded in Metropoliz with the name of MAAM- Museo dell'Altro e dell'Altrove di Metropoliz (Museum of the Other and the Elsewhere by Metropoliz). It means that many artists, both from the underground and the mainstream scene, have crossed this place to contribute with their artworks. Due to the capacity to host a great mix of social groups and activities this place has been called "città meticcia" ("mestizo city") to underline that all the populations have been migrants and the today's society is the result of the historical mix of different populations and cultures. It stands for the constant negotiation and experimentation of interculturalism.

2. SPONTANEOUS URBANITY, AUTONOMOUS IMAGINARIES and INSURGENT CITIZENSHIP

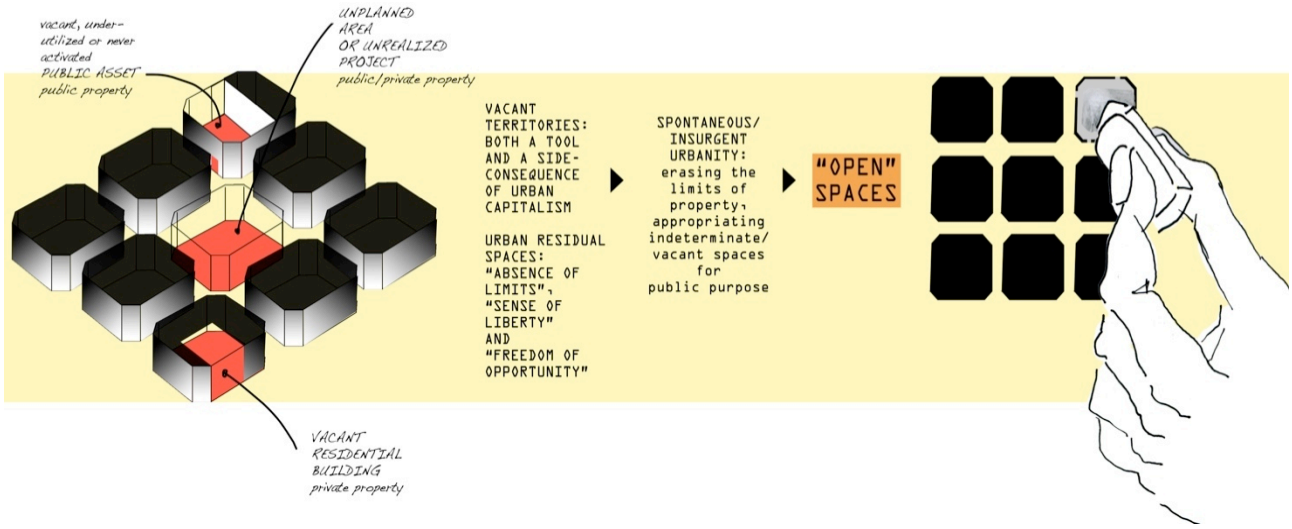
«I think that "the Disobedience" is the starting point of a practice
that is charge of invention and able to change the scenarios,
shuffle the cards with which you are playing,
even to change the deck»
(Virno, 2012)

INTRODUCTION

The pervasive control over space and its production, cyclically imposed by the State or by market rules (de Certeau, 1984; Foucault, 1975; Agamben, 2007) and the **lack of spaces where develop "practices of freedom"** (Foucault, 2002) are two issues that have marked contemporary society. Moreover, the lack of accessible spaces has **paradoxically increased together with the constant production of vacant "indeterminate" spaces** (Groth, Corjin, 2005), permanent feature of capitalist cities. Generally speaking, «**Urban residual spaces** that are weak in spatial terms may, due to their 'indeterminate' character and a certain degree of "semantic emptiness which reigns supreme" (Boeri, 1999) **provide opportunities for new, transitional reappropriations that are assumed by civil or 'informal' actors coming from outside the official, institutionalized domain of urban planning and urban politics**» (Groth, Corijn, 2005). The coexistence of the two main above mentioned issues, i.e. imposition of not-negotiated forms of "determination" of space and the big presence of "indeterminate territories", triggered, since the late 1960s on, in the main European cities, the **emergence of certain patterns of space reappropriation intended both as forms of resistance and as practice of alternative "tactics" of everyday life** (de Certeau, 1984) from the bottom. Among them and connected to the wider category of radical/insurgent space reappropriation practices, and very significant in qualitative and quantitative terms, is the squatting practice **(**consisting in occupying an abandoned or unused plot or building without the permission of the owner). According to Meyer, (2013, 3) «it is possible to identify certain patterns and waves of squatting that (are) correlate(d) with movements cycles and different phases of urban development and urban politics». According to Prujit, **squatting** is at least inspired (if not organized or supported) by social movements: «the inspiration comes from an activist-promoted master framework that is based on empowerment and enables 'cognitive liberation' (Nepstad, 1997, 471) inasmuch as it **lets people see empty buildings as opportunities and imagine that collective support for occupying those buildings can be organized**.»

The "cognitive liberation" that connects these practices with other social movements referring to the practices of radical re-appropriation of space is the shared autonomous imaginary. In fact, the proposed innovative and counter-hegemonic idea is based on the experimentation of forms of collective self-management and autonomy by the institutions (Kranz, Meyer, 1982; Meyer, 2013; Membretti, 2003; Virno, 2012). Because of that, for decades, these radical forms of space reclaiming where left aside by an institutional process and considered irrelevant for the development of urban development strategies: these were mostly considered radical illegitimate urban conflicts to be treated through repression or pacification strategies. On the other hand, some radical and Marxist academics argued that these insurgent/grassroots movements addressing the (re)appropriation of urban space based on radical forms of collective participation, were to be **considered legitimate due to their capacity to physically reclaim and experiment the "right to the city"** through the autonomous "counter-production of space" (Castells, 1983; Foucault, 2002; Groth and Corjin, 2005; Harvey, 2001, 2012; Holston, 2009; Lefebvre, 1968, 1978, 1991; Meyer, 2013; Purcell, 2002, 2009; Prujit, 2012; Virno, 2012). Certainly, the use that have been made over the time of "indeterminate territories" in urban areas, linked to an increasing will for great social commitment and participation (Groth, Corjin, 2005; Holm and Kuhn, 2011; Mudu, 2004, 2014a, 2014b; Vasudevan, 2011), have been able to physically create alternative solutions, uses, utopias, visions and discourses in the attempt to contest/challenge/transform the "hardware" of the hegemonic urban models. Moreover, they're often **deeply connected with the political domain of social reform** and then to neo-Marxism, Autonomism, Anarchism ideologies. This insurgent practice, over time, resulted in the creation a net of spaces of "resistance" within the city (Membretti, 2007b). The today's paradox is that **many of these spaces remained unrecognized** over decades **and results as "urban voids" on planners' maps**. **The everyday problems of people affected by social exclusion and inadequate / not-negotiated rights** in housing, education, health, labour and culture, not addressed by the state, **became increasingly the reason for the emergence of radical and contested forms of space reappropriation**. The main goal of organized actions of collective illegal occupations of vacant spaces ("Squatting"), for instance, is to find immediate solutions to these problems challenging the right to keep private/public properties vacant (Corr, 1999). In this sense, it unfolded the paradoxes produced by the capitalist system: occupying empty buildings and rebuilding lives and communities in the process (Meyer, 2013).

2.1 | Spontaneous urbanity and the value of "indeterminate" spaces



In the capitalist urban context, the cyclical phases of speculation and systemic crisis have left, along with the advance of an ideological vacuum, the physical presence of several abandoned buildings and vacant or underutilized urban assets, which have been suitable spaces for the radical experimentations of transitional reappropriations made by "informal actors." «That is to say, **vacancy is both a tool and a side-consequence of urban capitalism**. Squatters are never completely sure whether they are interrupting the speculative engine or just taking advantage of the malfunctioning of the urban growth machine» (Squek, 2014). "Where the institution has not arrived to adequately plan the future of dismissed places, spaces and often entire districts and economic sectors, these experiences resulted from bottom-up initiatives, have assumed somehow an important role in attempting to return a function in otherwise abandoned spaces, giving visibility to the ability of 'informal actors' to achieve active citizenship's collective projects thanks to a growing demand for participation" (extract from an interview to Andrea Catarci).[21] These "voids" since are "not fixed to a single interpretation or intention" have the opportunity to become truly public spaces where conflicting interests are continually negotiated and no final resolution ever arrives (Borret, 2009). Sheridan (2007) define "**Indeterminate territories**" as «(a)pparently abandoned, disused, indeterminate urban areas not readily identified and included in the understanding of cities». Sheridan (2007) proposes an understanding of indeterminate territories «[…] as any area, space or building where the **city's normal forces of control have not shaped how we perceive, use and occupy them**», that further explain that perception "absence of limits", "sense of liberty" and "freedom of opportunity" of "indeterminate spaces" where the low degree of determination or ordering not reduces "the possibilities and potential embodied in the vacant site" (Sola-Morales, 1995). According to Ignasi De Sola-Morales (1995) indeterminate spaces can be defined:

Berlin's postcard: Tacheles 1995 (by Sheridan, 2007)

- through the romantic definition of "*Terrain Vague"*;
- through the interpretation of 'indeterminate' as the absence of limits, often resulting in a sense of liberty and freedom of opportunity;
- in association with the idea of Architecture with a degree of determination or ordering that reduces the possibilities and potential embodied in the vacant site.

«To do this we will look at the specific historical, cultural, and sociological context of Berlin, where the existence of such indeterminate territories has had a significant effect on the cultural life of the city. These places which are not readily identified and included in the understanding of cities, nevertheless have a consequential, symbiotic although often under-recognised relationship to the rest of the city.» (Sheridan, 2007, 28). According to Sheridan, analysing

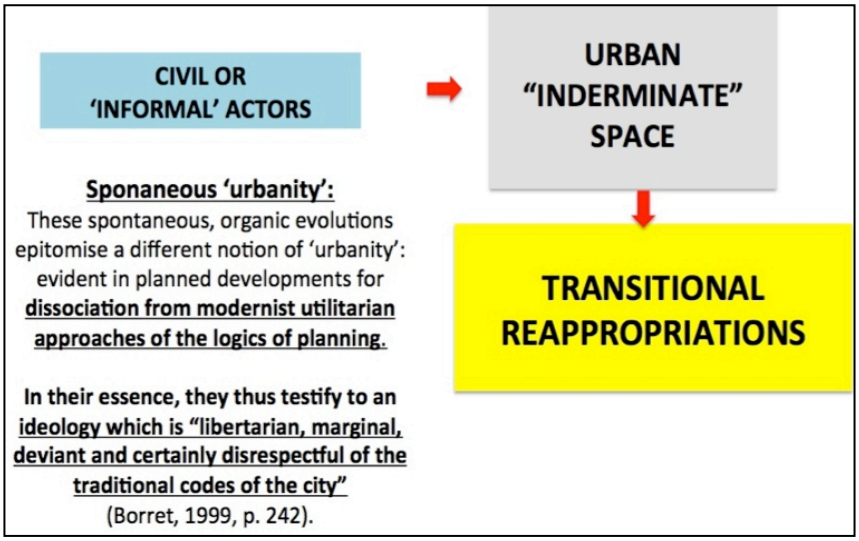
[21] The chief of the VIII Municipal Borough in Rome (*Sinistra Ecologia e Libertà* leftist party)

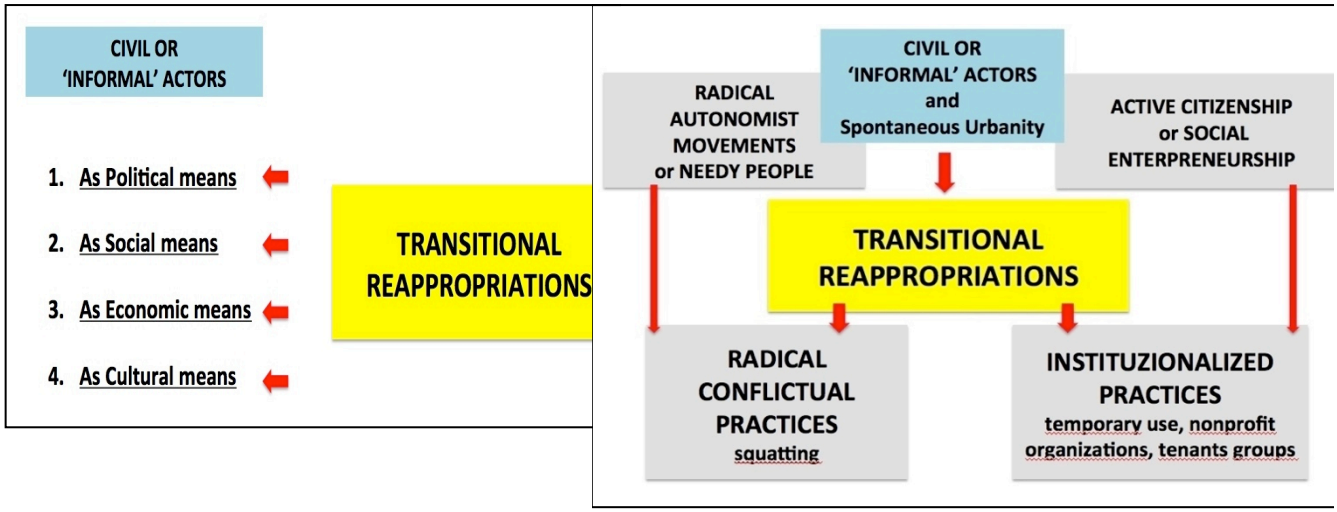
«existing ways of understanding these areas and the urban subjectivity they imply» it is possible to extend «the notion of indeterminacy to include its cultural and sociological effects reveal(ing) these indeterminate territories as the space of subculture within the city». According to Groth and Corjin (2005) indeterminate spaces are «spaces left out of 'time and place' with regard to their urban surroundings, mainly as a consequence of rampant deindustrialisation processes and the 'shrinking' city». Moreover indeterminate territories can be defined as:

- resulted from a combination of spatial gaps within the city and gaps within the cities' regulatory forces;
- taken on the form of both empty or abandoned buildings, and vacant terrains;
- buildings, ruins and urban landscapes that have all varied spatial characteristics and urban properties;
- absence of the deterministic forces of capital, ownership and institutionalization that, to a large degree govern people's relationship to the built environment (Sheridan, 2007)
- sites **where clashes in 'urban meaning' manifest themselves**, since different pathways of urban development are envisaged > by an often temporarily limited activity > which eventually may even stand the chance of altering existing planning prerogatives

The unclear and undetermined status of these urban "no-man's-lands" may allow for the emergence of a non-planned, spontaneous 'urbanity'. The spontaneous 'urbanity' is based on different motives:

- marginal lifestyles,
- informal economies,
- artistic experimentation,
- a deliberately open transformation of public space allowing for equal access and equal representation or a high degree of social and cultural inclusion





The predominant question then is how these new forms of urbanism «can be given a place in city planning in order to pay more justice to the social and cultural complexity that constitutes contemporary urbanity» (Groth, Corijn, 2005, 503)?

2.2 | From governmental authority to emphasis on individual initiatives: how indeterminate spaces & neoliberal restructuring have fuelled autonomous imaginaries

In the last decades, the city has been increasingly described by his diverse and multifaceted nature. Many of the leading contemporary scholars researching the city (Castells, Harvey, Sassen, Soja, Sannett, Davis, Dear, etc.) have recognized the **inadequacy of a single point of view on the city,** taking note of: the combination of different ways of production (from activities characterized by a high added value to information based activities); the **fragmented nature of contemporary society** defined by the combination of different classes, social groups, ethnic groups and cultures (Sandercock, 1998, 2003; Fincher & Jacobs, 1998; Sibley, 1995; Milroy, 1992); the stark contrast between wealth, creativity and abject poverty, multiple temporal and spatial shifts that characterize the different urban lifestyles[22] (Amin, Thrift, 2005). So the city could be described as a physical space (geographically and politically defined) that is inhabited by a multiplicity of different players (differences in sex, age, social classes, geographical origin, culture, religion, political views, experiences, possibilities, etc.). The observation of the eloquent banality of everyday life (Lefebvre) make evident that this multiplicity/diversity/complexity of processes and players produce a constellation of **different / multiple needs and imaginaries and utopian views** projected on the space of the city. These needs, interests, imaginaries **could integrate with each other or could be autonomous, sometimes contradictory and sometimes oppositional**. Oppositional points of view generate often a dimension of conflict on the space of the city (Mouffe, 2000b), confronting competing hegemonic visions, strategies and models. The "determinate spaces" in urban areas, are spaces that have been already defined (sometimes physically built) by forces of capital, ownership and institutionalisation. These urban spaces are mostly been produced by the past or the current hegemonic institutional framework and regulatory strategies. Lefebvre (1974), for instance, considered the social production of space as commanded by a hegemonic class that use this tool to reproduce its dominance. The "production" of urban space, is intended as a production of complex spatialities whose significance is socially produced, i.e. the social space (Ibid., 1974). This "determination" of spaces (determined by institutionalisation, capital forces, ownership, etc.) carries in the same time to the opposite result: the surplus of vacant, abandoned, residual areas that are considered as still "indeterminate." If we consider the **"indeterminate" urban areas** as **places where different interests and desires play a significant role**, we can understand the importance that is here played by power relations on interests (political, economic, social interests), needs and hegemonic/subaltern visions. On one side, there are "determinate" urban spaces where the conflict confrontation of alternative visions, strategies and practices is less frequent because undermine an a priori physical exclusion of the "other" and of his possibilities for "the production of space" or the production of alternative visions. It makes less possible and more complex the overturn of the present situation. On the other side, there are the "indeterminate" urban spaces, considered as spaces still not defined by deterministic forces of capital, ownership and institutionalisation (Sheridan, 2007). On these spaces are played culturally diverse representations of the groups that use these spaces. That means that on these places are played conflictual confrontations on alternative visions, strategies and practices that are possible because are «area(s), space(s) or building(s) where the city's normal forces of control have not shaped how we perceive, use and occupy them" (Sheridan, 2007). These undefined spatialities can't undermine an a priori exclusion of "autonomous" (Castoriadis, 1974) imaginaries for "the production of space" and **make thinkable and sometimes possible the confrontation between hegemonic and subaltern/excluded visions**. Moreover, the utopian idea created by the **neoliberal ideology** (based on free market, self determination of the individuals and freedom from the interference of the state) was necessarily **related to the concept of civic and private autonomy**. In this frame, the idea to have right to pour the personal vision ("how the city should be") on indeterminate city spaces, have taken place. It results even more relevant if we consider the idea of "governmentalization" in advanced liberalism.

2.3 | Autonomous movements: inspiring or being inspired by radical democracy and "the concept of civic and private autonomy"?

The era of advanced liberalism is characterized by an increasingly pervasive "governmentalization" of urban experience, in which the unfolding of a series of complex and varied instruments of urban governance take place. In this context, the citizen becomes the recipient of the formation of a governmental rationality and its emphasis on rights, responsibilities and duties, becoming the protagonist and participant in a cohesive and organized civil society. «When Foucault identified the "population" as the target of the rising governmental rationality in the modern age, in societies of advanced liberalism this role is assumed by the "citizen," who is asked to be increasingly aware not only of rights and entitlements – as occurred at the time of the Keynesian state – but also of duties and responsibilities, leading to the generation of a self-governmental society (Imrie and Raco, 2000; Marinetto, 2003).» (Rossi, Vanolo, 2012, 104). According to Habermas, in his book "Between Facts and Norms" (1992): «[…] then one can understand how popular sovereignty and human rights go hand in hand, and hence grasp the co-originality of civic and private autonomy». This **idea of self-determination and autonomy brought**, I argue, **to a different way to conceive the production of space**. In the frame of new perspectives of autonomy from the "statification of everyday life" (Katsiaficas, 1997; Meyer,

[22] Translated by the author.

1982), the people started a (re)appropriation of mechanisms of social reproduction. In this frame started taking place the first experiences of self-help communities (Meyer, 1982) and the first autonomous social movements in the late 1960s early 1970s whom based their political actions on practices of civil disobedience ("social disobedience" and "radical disobedience"). These practices were directed against the rules imposed by the State, challenged the concept of "rules" itself as a processes imposed by an hegemonic culture that was producing an oppressive idea of "normality" applied on the daily life and the forms of spatial production (Virno, Lefebvre). Indeed, if we observe the forms of (re)appropriation of space that are part of wider progressive or radical social movements, we can observe how, during the 1970s and 1980s, the illegal act of (re)appropriation of "indeterminate" spaces became a political spatialization of autonomous urban movements' claims and their practices of radical disobedience. The illegal act of squatting, for instance, became a tool useful not only to solve basic needs but also to draw public attention to massive social and housing problems, the high social cost of speculation, or the waste of public land and buildings, challenging the primacy of the individual right to private property (Meyer, 2013, 3). Indeed, it could be considered as a form of **radical disobedience** to the rules that regulate the production of urban space. This radical disobedience, fostered by social movements, the urban poor, the exploited, the ones that are left outside the decision processes and all the people that don't want to accept/recognize the rules imposed by the hegemonic order, individuate a sort of **"state of exception" in the moment in which the disobedience start taking place**. Even if radical autonomous subjects did not recognize the institutions and the concept of "citizen" as recipient of governmental rationality, they probably influenced each other. The emphasis placed on the link between rights and responsibilities has wide range of consequences, which can be viewed either as complementary or contradictory to each other. On the one hand, a great deal of attention has been drawn to the nurturing of a collaborative ethos within a revitalized civil society, on in which the "responsible" citizen contributes to the generation of a sense of belonging to the urban community through membership of non-profit associations and other forms of active citizenship (Amin, 2005). On the other hand, there is the "authoritarian" side based on the selection of "reliable" citizens and communities for important prerogatives concerning the management of security devices and anti-crime measures (Raco, 2007). «Albeit partly contradictory, these phenomena shed light on the increasingly moral connotation of urban government in advanced liberal societies. The **idea of citizen participation in the public sphere** and the related ideal of the "active citizen" **are pursued through the mobilization of a variegated repertoire of policies and regulations orientating the moral conduct of the urban community** (understood as a collective entity and as a complex of individuals), while **classic goals of socio-economic emancipation and justice appear to be marginalized from the urban policy agenda** despite persistent struggles making reference to them.» (Rossi, Vanolo, 2012, 104-105).

2.4 | The creative appropriation of informal spaces and the negotiation with constructed public spaces

As we mentioned above, the phenomena of insurgent/radical reappropriation of space, are enacted over indeterminate spaces of the city. Starting from an exam of informal spaces and the creative way they are appropriated: «(it) challenges prevalent critical discourse about place making and the character of social order in the city in relation to these informal spaces. Such spaces punctuate the homogenous, staged, controlled, 'official' public spaces and the everyday, ubiquitous spaces of the contemporary city. However, they are overlooked, and are often relegated as 'wastelands', 'derelict areas' and 'urban voids' (Doron, 2000).» (Shaw, Hudson, 2009).

But whether these practices have the possibility to be negotiated or not, and to affirm their right to stay put, is widely considered connected with the typology of property ownership of these spaces and the institutional context. When the space is public, there is a higher chance to overcome the mere concept of "trespassing[23]" and discuss of the legitimacy of the action itself. **Public spaces are defined as "all areas that are open and accessible to all members of the public in a society." They are often so defined in principle though "not necessarily in practice"** (Orum, Neal, 2010, 1). More in general, the increasing privatization/substitution of public spaces (Lo Piccolo, Bonafede, 2011), that today results more consumption-oriented, is leading to "new sociologies and geographies of exclusion" (McLeod, 2002). While Sorkin (1992) talks about the "death of public space", other authors suggest that public and quasi-public urban spaces are becoming increasingly privatised, commodified and sanitised (Bryman, 2004; Davies, 1998; Chaplin and Holding, 1998): it is connected to locate new forms of public space within private spaces for example, shopping malls and museums. «In accord with such claims, evidence exists (Dehaene and De Cauter: 2008, Hajer and Reijndorp: 2001) to suggest that town centres are now borrowing the management techniques of malls/shopping centres as they increasingly provide the model for the organisation of public spaces. City centre management teams formed from key private and public agencies promote and manage public space, appear to be increasing, as do the number of laws that criminalise certain marginalised groups such as the homeless. These laws and acts attempt to remove the symptoms of disorder without addressing their causes.» (Shaw, Hudson, 2009, 1). According to Holston (2009, 246), «although insurgent urban citizenships may utilize central civic space and even overrun the centre, they are fundamentally manifestations of peripheries. In so far as the urban civic square embodies an idea of centrality and its sovereignties, its

[23] Trespass (to land): An unlawful intrusion that interferes with one's property. Tort Law originated in England with the action of trespass. In modern law trespass is an unauthorized entry upon land. A trespass gives the aggrieved party the right to bring a civil lawsuit and collect damages as compensation for the interference and for any harm suffered. Trespass is an intentional tort and, in some circumstances, can be punished as a crime.

architectural design, institutional organization, and use represents the hierarchies, legalities, segregations, and inequalities of the entrenched regime of citizenship that the insurgent contests. The forces of centrality are entrenched in the civic square by design and that entrenchment establishes the terms of an official public sphere. Insurgent movements may adopt these terms to frame their protests—property rights, urban infrastructure, justice, even motherhood, for example.» In fact, public spaces are often identified with "determined" understanding connected to institutional representations of the public sphere. It can produce the actual or symbolic exclusion of vulnerable, marginal and "voiceless" subjects and groups, of minoritarian narratives and discourses, of marginal cultures, etc. struggling to be represented by conventional forms of political representation. These public spaces, identified as exclusionary spaces, lack notions of liberal tolerance due to the absence of a social mixture. Moreover these spaces are governed by hegemonic socio-spatial strategies that encourage what many authors define as "spatial apartheid."

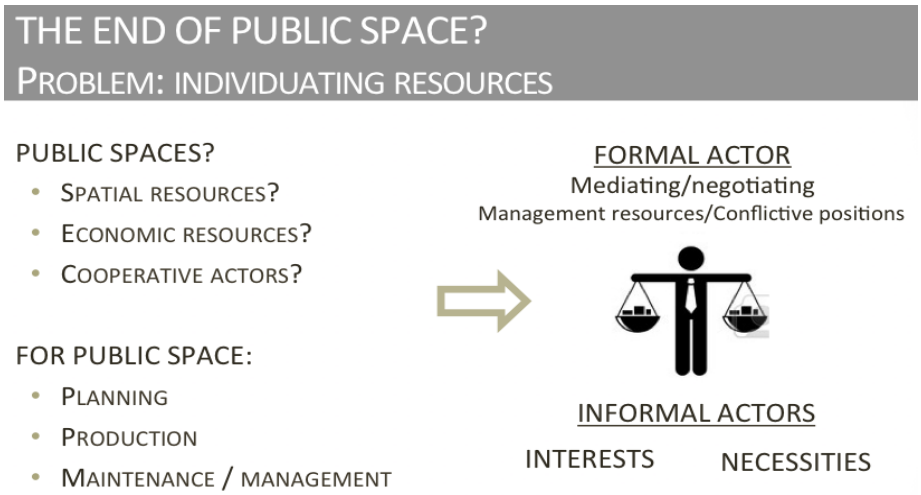
According to Arendt (1958), though, the presence of different subjects and discourses is what characterizes the plurality of human condition. It leads to fruitful discussions not only on the "sense of politics," but also on the complex relations that exist between groups and social identities, and new forms of collective claims that arise in the contemporary city. Over the public spaces intended as the "space of democracy" different identities and collective claims are played and it is where they should find the space to democratically negotiate their plurality of opinions, interests, needs. In fact, in contrast to an homogeneous conception of society, in the city emerges a **multitude of initiatives and public space applications able to create networks on the basis of intercultural**, educational, human services, solidarity, fair trade and **supportive interests** (Lo Piccolo, Bonafede, 2010). According to Chantal Mouffe (2012), Arendt puts great emphasis on human plurality and insists on political deal with the community and reciprocity of human being, which are different, but "she never acknowledges that this plurality is the origin of the antagonistic conflicts." «According to Arendt, to think politically is to develop the ability to see things from a multiplicity of perspectives. As a reference to Kant and his idea of "enlarge thought" testify, Arendt's pluralism is finally not fundamentally different from the liberal conception that we find for instance in Habermas, because it is inscribed in the horizon of an inter-subjective agreement (pluralism without antagonism)» (Mouffe, 2012). Indeed what Arendt look for in Kant doctrine of the aesthetic judgment is a procedure for assert an inter-subjective agreement in the public space (Arendt, Kant lecture on political philosophy). Arendt like Habermas envisages **the public space in a consensual way.** In the case of Arendt, the consensus is going to be reached not by some kind of rational discourse, like in Habermas, but it result by exchanging of voice and opinion. «An American feminist and political theorist Linda Zerilli says: while for Habermas consensus emerges through what Kant call "*disputire*", that is an exchange of argument constrained by logical rules, in the case of Arendt is a question of straighten that this agreement are produced through persuasion not through irrefutable truth. However, neither of them is able to acknowledged the **hegemonic nature of every form of consensus and the ineradicability of antagonism** (the "*Widersteit*" – German term for conflict, or what Llyotard call "*le difference*").» (Ibid., 2012).

It has been largely observed how, in the last years, public space became a space where to stage the dissent for an increasingly wider category of insurgent citizenship and radical practices. According to Lo Piccolo and Bonafede (2010), due to a general crisis of political representation, especially in context of widespread public space erosion, characterized by institutional traditions not interested in public decision-making procedures (Brand and Gaffikin, 2007), «new forms of cohabitation and conflicts, that lead us to reflect on alternative forms of democracy and the consequent participatory practices in planning, are (in)surging. […] **Despite the "marginal areas" are socially constructed and determined**, with all the implications of control, repression and domination, **the "inhabitants"** of these spaces sometimes **show a remarkable ability to** act in ways and forms that **undermines the intentions and regulatory control/suppression of the dominant groups**». The implication of grassroots insurgent citizenship for Leonie Sandercock is fundamental for the planner. The multicultural city (multi-ethnic, multiracial), that implicate the "plurality of perspectives" (Arendt, 1993) and active subjects, continuously creates places of struggle. [...] **Negotiating these spaces, claiming them, securing them, impressing new identities on them, is a dynamic in which planners should play a central role** (Sandercock, 1998). Moreover, we could consider the process of material and symbolic "reclaiming spaces" as allowing us to both give a different representation of daily living, and suggest to the planner how to create and develop public spaces which work in terms of building relationships within internal social contexts (Cellamare, 2011).

«Do the opportunities offered by fragments of the city, in the absence of the deterministic forces of capital, ownership, and institutionalisation affect cultural formation and development?» (Sheridan, 2007). These "fragments of the city" play their role on "indeterminate spaces" intended as "urban voids." As mentioned above, these "voids" since are "not fixed to a single interpretation or intention" have the opportunity to become truly public spaces where conflicting interests are continually negotiated and no final resolution ever arrives (Borret, 2009). In fact, institutionally determined public spaces, that "embodies an idea of centrality and its sovereignties, its architectural design, institutional organization, and use represents the hierarchies," more often are spaces where the "plurality that origins the antagonistic conflicts" is refused in order to impose consensus and its "hegemonic nature." Unlike institutionally determined public spaces, those indeterminate public spaces, discursively described as "voids" within the city, not being connected to an hegemonic, consensual, fixed single interpretation or intention "have the opportunity to become truly public spaces where conflicting interests are continually negotiated and no final resolution ever arrives" (Borret, 2009). More often,

these simply vacant places are reflecting a vitality given by a series of collective spontaneous activities, more or less legal and tolerated. On these "public indeterminate spaces" these forms of plural/insurgent/radical reappropriation stand the chance to influence the cultural formation and development of the city and to alter planning previsions. «These alternative occupations, momentarily subvert the determinism of the planned environment, encouraging a counter public space to emerge.» (Shaw, Hudson, 2009, 9). According to Mouffe (2012), **to "revitalize democracy** in our post-political societies, what **is urgently needed is to foster the multiplication of agonistic public spaces** where there is everything that the dominant consensus tend to obscure and obliterate."

It suggests that these "insurgent practices" of reclaiming spaces could play an important role in defining **more democratic specific urban strategies for the production and management of public spaces** and the enhancement of the existing "network of local solutions to global problems" produced by those grassroots practices (Nigrelli, 2005). Moreover, the dominant idea of constructed determined space, "functionally segregated city structure" managed by authorities (Gehel, 1996, 87) is here challenged. **It opens to the discussion over the generative potential of maintaining "indeterminate public spaces"** where is not imposed a single/hegemonic/consensual interpretation but whose indeterminacy is important for a real democratic negotiation of clashes in urban meanings.



This results even more important if we consider the difficult challenge that urban policies and planning have to face today in identifying resources (spatial, economic, cooperative partners) necessary to oppose the "end" of the public space and to manage the many interstitial, dilapidated, dis-used and marginal sites that punctuate «the staged and controlled official public spaces and the everyday, ubiquitous spaces of the contemporary city.» (Shaw, Hudson, 2009).

It looks even more central if we take into consideration the possibility to challenge the «mainstream claims that the current distribution of land and housing is historically just and economically efficient, and points to land and housing occupations as an important facet of the decentralized yet worldwide struggle to redistribute economic resources according to more egalitarian and efficient pattern.» (Corr, 1999, 3).

Finally, it is worth mentioning the lucid analysis by Urban Catalysts (2013, 2-3) over the causes of urban crisis and the individuation of elements, within the contemporary city, capable of catalysing change and economic growth: «Since the 1970s, post-industrial change in Europe has generated very different social, economic and spatial conditions in urban centres – a polarised map where certain cities enjoyed unprecedented boom and regeneration while others failed to absorb vast, often centrally located areas left discarded after the closure of industries decades ago. […] While traditional state initiated planning is no longer affordable, the radical shift to neo-liberal planning policies has failed to offer inclusive models. Boom and gentrification can lead to social exclusion and an increasingly divided urban society, while the failure of market driven development to adapt in the context of economic collapse has led to apathy and stagnation. Both **gentrification and neglect are symptoms of a crisi**s, which should be considered as an opportunity to critically examine and question the existing planning procedures and consider alternative models of development.» In this direction are moving many in the urban planning research field, proposing operative solutions for local governments that are focusing on the great potential implied in the "re-use" of neglected spaces and the activation of temporary uses, more dynamic and responsive of the necessity of contemporary city and its society. According to Urban Catalysts (2013) and the manual *Temporiuso* (2013), the temporary reuse of abandoned spaces can be a great example of social and spatial innovation through the mechanism of the invention of new uses for "old", abandoned, forgotten, underused spaces. In the manual Temporiuso this thesis is supported by citing the thought of Chauney Wright, American pragmatist of the nineteenth century, who claimed that the ability to use old tools (objects, tools but also spaces) for new uses represents a constitutive element for change, the way in which practices, in their continuity and solidarity, make room for the possibility of innovation (Temporiuso, 2013, 6). I argue than, that the recognition of value and the negotiation of these grassroots, informal, alternative, radical uses of the indeterminate spaces should be a central concern for the urban policies and planning fields since it could help individuating important resources (ideas, new cooperative partners, new human, managerial, economic resources) capable to address the increasing reduction and exclusivity of public space starting from the big presence of "wastelands" that punctuate contemporary cities. «In refuting claims that such spaces are valueless, we rethink these informal spaces as social breathing spaces.» (Shaw, Hudson, 2009).

2.5 | "Insurgent citizenship" and "urban informality" as relevant theoretical concepts for the analysis of practices of reappropriation

According to Swyngedouw (2014): «The scandal of actually existing instituted (post-)democracy in a world choreographed by oppression, exploitation and extraordinary inequalities resides precisely in rendering masses of people inexistent, politically unheard, without a recognized voice». This statement by Swyngedouw seems to refer to phenomena that are mostly characterizing the developing world where much of the urban growth of the 21st century is taking place. According to Holston (2009), though, the transformations produced by urbanization and urban growth, happened worldwide during the XX century, are deeply connected to the diffusion of democratization. «Their combined developments in particular places have also produced a remarkably similar condition worldwide: most city people live in impoverished urban peripheries in various conditions of illegal and irregular residence, around urban centres that benefit from their services and their poverty.» (Ibid., 2009, 245). In response to this "urbanization of injustice" characteristic responses are generated in these "peripheries" where the residents start to organize in movements of "insurgent citizenship to confront the entrenched regimes of citizen inequality that the urban centres use to segregate them." At the same time, these struggles are rooted in the claims to have a right to the city and the right to rights such as access to basic resources of daily life and shelter. «The resulting contemporary metropolis is a site of collision between forces of exploitation and dispossession and increasingly coherent, yet still fragile and contradictory movements for new kinds of citizen power and social justice.» (Holston, 2009, 245). These characteristic insurgent responses are not produced in all peripheries but in so many cases that is possible to "qualify this collision of citizenships as a global category of conflict."

According to Roy (2005) in order to escape a cultural imposition of Western models over the field of urban development would be important to overcome the discussion in academic circles about "whether the time has come to move from the Chicago school of urban sociology to the Los Angeles school of postmodern geography (Dear, 2002)", and understand that the urban future lies instead in "Third World" cities like Rio de Janeiro, Mumbai, Hong Kong. «There is an urgency for urban studies and planning to move beyond the dichotomy of First World "models" and Third World "problems." One possible route is through policy approaches that seek to learn from Third World cities (Roy, 2003b; Sanyal, 1990).» Starting from that, she articulate an interesting theoretical analysis of the epistemology of Planning starting from discussing one key theme of Third World research: urban informality and policy responses to informality, such as slums upgrading and land titling.

While the general acknowledging of the phenomenon of urban informality is centred on "Third" world, I argue that this should represents a central concern also for the "First" world countries where the issue of homelessness and connected forms of urban informality is significant (in quantitative terms) and increasing due to the economic crisis and the retrenchment in welfare policies. In fact, while barely discussed by governments and public authorities, homelessness remain an increasingly problematic "wicked problem" to confront with in many European countries. The data seem to confirm that we are dealing with a new housing emergency due to the increase of urban poverty and the crisis in public housing sector in this phase of structural changes is bringing about new housing needs, which imply a review of the intervention and welfare policies. Based on RAIS data (2010), an estimated 3 million people are homeless in Europe. The European Union statistics agency (EUROSTAT) has released data on the amount of people at risk of poverty or social exclusion: in 2011 it concerned a quarter of EU's population, having increased by 6 million since 2009 to 120 million in total. In Rome, for instance, the number of people affected by housing crisis is about 100.000 people between migrants, evicted families, low income families, young people with temporary jobs and old people (Caudo and Sebastianelli, 2010) and even more lives in a condition of homelessness and housing exclusion - like the about 4.000 "invisibles" that live in shacks along the Tibers and Aniene rivers and in little tent cities (Il Messaggero 12 Settembre 2009) plus the 10.000 people living in illegal squats. Whilst other continents successfully achieved to reduce poverty, in Europe the poverty rate is increasing. There are no reasons to believe that the total number of homeless people will decrease in the next years, since the actual housing emergency is not just a problem connected to poverty or a lack of low prices houses: it is the outcome of complex dynamics depending on the overlapping of different factors such as the economic crisis, urban poverty and the implementation of mainstream policies of social and spatial transformation.

Starting from this consideration the urge for urban studies and planning to move beyond the dichotomy of First World "models" and Third World "problems" is an actual necessity and discuss the possibility to define policy approaches that seek to learn from Third World cities' (Roy, 2003b; Sanyal, 1990) central concerns. I argue that the radical/insurgent practices of space reappropriation analysed in this research can refer to both the idea of insurgent citizenship and the debate over urban informality. In fact, the phenomena further analysed in the empirical research will show how also in the selected case of Berlin and Rome residents start to organize in movements of "insurgent citizenship to confront the entrenched regimes of citizen inequality that the urban centres use to segregate them" and, at the same time, these struggles are rooted in the claims to have a right to the city and the right to rights such as access to basic resources of daily life and shelter (Holston, 2009). Moreover, mostly referring to the case of Rome, these practices refer to urban informality debate since according to Roy (2005) urban informality is the product of the formal urbanity itself. For instance, according to Mudu (2014b) «as in other cities, housing policies in Rome, provide a powerful mechanism which operates to perform class selection and social exclusion within the population through explicit spatial patterns.

Resistance to such a mechanism is a relatively new phenomenon, which has occurred during the last 60 years.» According to Roy «(t)his in turn means that informality must be understood not as the object of state regulation but rather as produced by the state itself. Here the concept of the state of exception is useful. Following Carl Schmitt, Italian philosopher Giorgio Agamben (1998) sees sovereignty as the power to determine the state of exception. For him, **the paradox of sovereignty is "the fact the sovereign is, at the same time, outside and inside the juridical order**. If the sovereign is truly the one to whom the juridical order grants the power of proclaiming a state of exception, and therefore, of suspending the order's own validity, then the sovereign stands outside the juridical order and nevertheless belongs to it […]" (p. 15). Informality can be seen to be the expression of such sovereignty. It is not, to once again use Agamben's (1998) terminology, the "chaos that precedes order, but rather the situation that results from its suspension" (p. 18). **The planning and legal apparatus of the state has the power** to determine when to enact this suspension, **to determine what is informal and what is not**, and to determine which forms of informality will thrive and which will disappear. **State power** is reproduced through the capacity to **construct and reconstruct categories of legitimacy and illegitimacy**— such as in the American welfare efforts to sort out the "deserving" from the "undeserving" poor» (Roy, 2005, 149).

2.6 | From the "right to the city" to the squatters' movement to new social mobilizations

Starting from that we can define a *file rouge* of the history of urban social movements triggered by **"the people" dissent that starts to disrupt the system** when **in times of crisis emerges the need to imagine and achieve a better and different future**. Enacting spatial radical forms of dissent "The people (is those) who, refusing to be the population, disrupt the system" (Foucault, 2007) produce "spaces of exception from the bottom": that consist in the attempt to subvert the categories of legitimacy and illegitimacy reproduced by state power and to challenge sovereignty and power of the state to determine when to enact the "state of exception." European cities (mainly in the Netherlands, Germany, UK, Italy, France and more recently Spain and Greece) faced a big phenomenon of insurgent citizenship, emerging during cyclical periods of systemic crisis and power vacuum, whose goal was to address social problems and social inequalities. The strategy of (re)appropriation of space for most of the social movements was carried on with the aim to challenge the hegemonic power and the sovereignty of the state (Mouffe, Laclau, 1985) and so to push for transformations in power relations. Thanks to the stock of abandoned buildings (mainly industrial and military) and vacant or underutilized urban assets (resulting from the crisis of the previous system), the strategy of insurgent citizenship, mostly organized in social movements, included the "reclaiming" of urban physical spaces. These physical spaces – from temporary occupation of urban public spaces for strikes to permanent re-appropriation of indeterminate urban spaces for housing, conservational, entrepreneurial or political strategy (Prujit, 2012) – were wilfully appropriated by citizens using "occupation" as a legitimate tactic of protest, since its definition of "informality" (intended as not formally provided by the state regulation) produced an high potential for confrontation with the State.

To analyse this topic looks, then, important to define first a general analysis of the urban insurgent practices theory (urban social movements, autonomists, squatter movements, insurgent citizenship, new social movement for the right to the city) to define the broader urban political context in which they arose and the cultural influence that such practices have had on urban vacant territories and on the local political agendas in the last decades. Kranz and Meyer (1985), for instance, introduce the self-help struggles that have been based, in cities like Berlin or New York, on the squatting practice and/or in general on removal of property from the market rules, highlighting the potential of such struggles in address and challenge the hegemonic model and attempt to recover a self-organized empowering social life (e.g. in West Berlin self-help struggles it was grounded in a critique of monetized relationships, professionalism and dependency, absence of substantive democracy, etc.). This, we suggest, is a foundation upon which so-called new social movements have emerged, and upon which their relationship to the state can be understood. It also helps to account for the **centrality of self-help as a theme and social practice in the movements**. «It is **not merely a matter of material survival, but also an attempt to recover a self-organized empowering social life** […] but also contains themes of autonomy, self-organization and the self-definition of needs» (Kranz, Meyer, 1985, 16).

This analysis starts from the definition of the historical context that created the condition for the rise of the phenomena of (re)appropriation of urban physical spaces related to the arise of the urban social movements (USMs) emerged, firstly, during the "red decade" (1967-1977) in Europe and North America. This becomes immediately apparent when the historical framework of Berlin social movements is analysed: «It paved the way for sectarian experiments involving the setting up of new revolutionary parties and for the increasing radicalization […]. A turning point came when sections of the movement **reacted to** […] **the level of government repression** at the time by **withdrawing from mainstream society and setting up specific alternative projects**.» (Holm, Kuhn, 2011, 162-163). Starting from the urban social movements emerged during the 1960s a cycle of social movements started all around the north western countries with a quick wide resonance finding proselytises all over the world. «Urban Social Movements have, since the 1960s, been conceptualized as a particular and separate form of 'new' social mobilization arising out of the economic, social, cultural and political transformations of capital societies.

According to Novy and Colomb (2013) urban social movements are:

- "New social movements": were characterized as a form of collective action not defined by (or centred on) relations between capital and labour, which had been at the core of 'old' social movements.

- "Urban social movements": (USMs) for their part have been defined as a 'type of social movement rooted in **collectivities with a communal base and/or with the local state as their target of action'** (Fainstein and Fainstein, 1985, 189).

- In "the city and the grassroots: a cross-cultural theory of urban social movements," Castells (1983) argue that the most **USMs could do was to produce resistance against hegemonic ideas and projects, and thereby change urban meaning, that is the way how and for whom a society defines what a city is for.**

These new urban social movements (**USMs**) are described by Castells (1983) in three categories:

1) those focusing on issue of collective consumption, i.e. **struggles around social provision of and access to collectively managed services financed by the State**;

2) those **defending the cultural and social identity and character of a particular place**;

3) those **seeking to achieve control and management of local spaces, institutions or assets**.

The acquisition of political subjectivity by the groups excluded from the definition of hegemonic models and decisional processes, triggered by the broad crisis of the previous socio-political-economical system (Fordism - Welfare state), fostered the arise of movements against the imposition of the new hegemonic capitalist system (Post-Fordism - Neoliberism) and the arise of a socio-political struggle, particularly in the sphere of social reproduction (Brenner, Theodore, 2002), i.e. "anti-growth" movement, self-help struggles, etc.

Stuttern (2011) in his book "Concrete is burning: Squatters and self-government in Berlin, Vienna and Zurich during the 80s", sees the youth movement (*"Jugendbewegung"*) in Zurich, the squatters' movement (*"Hausbesetzerbewegung"*) in West Berlin and "the Castle's Garden" movement (*"Burggartenbewegung"*) in Vienna as "autonomous city movements" (*"Autonomen Stadtbewegungen"*) (p. 11) and arrange them into the context of "post-Fordist turn" (p. 14) and the "crisis of the modern city" (p. 329). He traces how the basis of other new social movements such as the alternative movement, the women's movement and the anti-nuclear movement as well, formed the "autonomous city-movements" (p. 11), starting from the punk subculture.

«Generally speaking, squatting is about the illegal occupation of properties, used without the previous consent of its owner, which could be a public institution, a particular individual, a private corporation or any sort of organization» (Squek, 2014). Of the many different types of squatting, the one highlighted is part of wider progressive or radical social movements (Meyer, 2013) that define their counter-hegemonic practices through spatial and local dimension, starting from the neighbourhood where is localized. Squatting as the "illegal" or "un-authorized" occupation of public or indeterminate public/private spaces has been always regarded as an illegal practice. **The illegal act of occupation that marks this insurgent strategy, challenging the issue of the private property, puts the movements at risk of repression even when they enjoy broad legitimacy and popular support** (Holm, Kuhn, 2011). In response to that, repressive or containment strategies developed by the state to "normalize" such "illegal" practices, often force the movements to "choose" either eviction or some form of legalization (Meyer, 2013, 3). Stuttern shows how these **policies fluctuate constantly between massive police operations and far-reaching concessions, while politicians and young people met with incomprehension and speechlessness.** Nevertheless, we can easily demonstrate how this movement had a strong influence on the definition of new urban strategies in cities like Berlin and Rome. That was related to the capacity to push for an "evolution" in the power relations, empowering the citizenship (Arnstein, 1969), for instance through the creation of policies for the inclusion of no-profit Trustee for the management and development of public estate, through the development of and the inclusion in participation and decision making processes, capable to include bottom-up ideas and practices.

Suttner (2011) understands the squats and autonomous youth centres as a **"counter places of modern urban renewal" and a "culture of transition" to a "postmodern state"** (p. 351). He works out that while many empty factory buildings were occupied, **the city and union building companies were among the main opponents** of the youth revolt that resulted in "people's kitchens" (called "Vokü" that it is short for Volksküche) and generally collective life forms beyond the more common nuclear family. Analysing the case of Berlin and Rome looks evident how the dynamics of squatter movements are strictly connected not only with the political context but also with the context of urban policies (and the changing strategies associated with urban renewal).
In order to understand that it is important to first mention the Hans Prujit's (2012) **five categories that reflect the dynamics of squatters' movements** from the 1980s to the 2000s:

1. Deprivation based — i.e., homeless people squatting for housing need

2. An alternative housing strategy — e.g., people unprepared to wait on municipal lists to be housed take direct action

3. Entrepreneurial — e.g., people breaking buildings to service the need of a community for cheap bars, clubs etc.

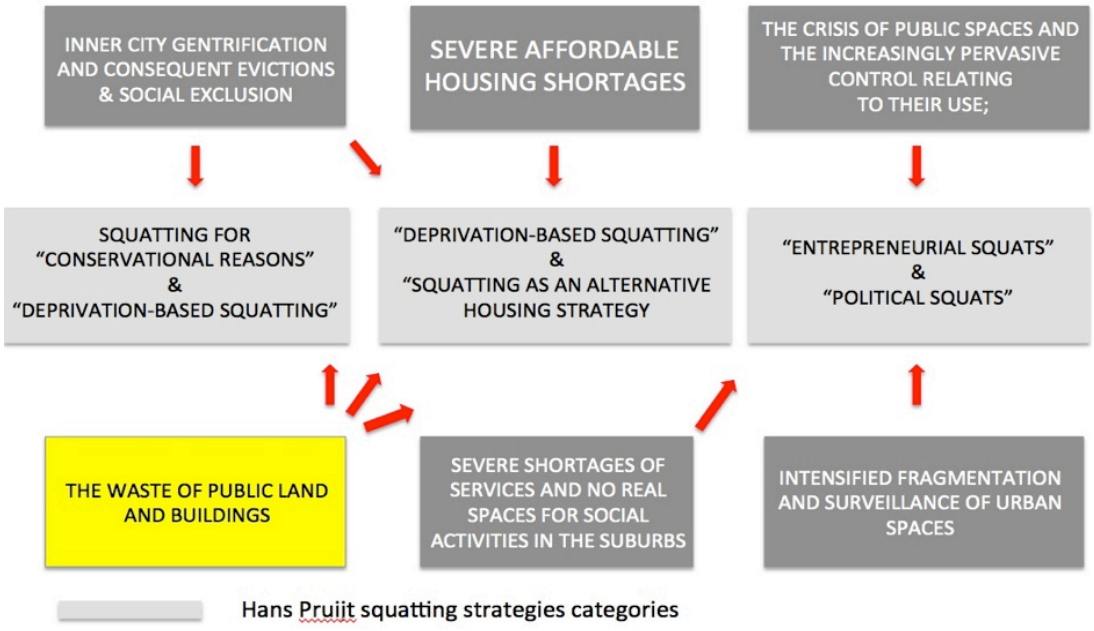
4. Conservational — i.e., preserving monuments because the authorities have let them decay

5. Political — e.g., activists squatting buildings as protests or to make social centres

In fact, the dramatic transformation of the inner city and social exclusion, on the former inhabitants of the gentrified neighbourhood, stimulated squatting for "conservational reasons." "Deprivation-based squatting" and "Squatting as an alternative housing strategy" were an answer to the severe affordable housing shortages. The crisis of public spaces and the excess of social and spatial control, together with the shortage of services and places for the community in the suburbs, led the new generations to search for places for collective and free individual expression (free of rules and bans) and to develop the most diverse activities, giving rise to the "entrepreneurial" and "political squats" (self-managed social centres, art squats, etc.). I argue, in fact, that the reason why these processes of (re)appropriation of urban spaces arose is related mostly to the political, economic, social and spatial situation produced by the different models of urban development, adopted in post-war European cities, based on dominant capitalist values such as trading and consumption applied on the urban production of space.

The "urbanization of injustice" (cfr. Merrifield, Swyngedouw, 1996; Mitchell, 2003; Nicholls, Beaumont, 2004) are highlighted by widely recognized side-effects that the actual mode of production of urban space and the highest costs of speculation have generated, such as:

- Inner city gentrification and gentrification-induced displacement;
- Severe affordable housing shortages;
- The crisis of public spaces;
- The waste of public land and buildings;
- Severe shortages of services and spaces for social activities in the suburbs;
- Intensified urban fragmentation.



Which is the relationship between the "urban inequalities" and the strategies developed by the squatters' movement?

Moreover it is possible to individuate a connection between forms and reasons for squatting and the categories defined by Castells in order to describe the typologies and reasons connecting urban social movements and squatting actions.

SQUATTING CATEOGORY	< >	URBAN SOCIAL MOVEMENT TYPE
1. "DEPRIVATION-BASED SQUATTING" **2.** "SQUATTING AS AN ALTERNATIVE HOUSING STRATEGY" **3.** "ENTREPRENEURIAL SQUATS"	< 1 >	Those focusing on issue of collective consumption, i.e. struggles around social provision of and access to collectively managed services financed by the state
4. "CONSERVATIONAL SQUATTING" **1.** "DEPRIVATION-BASED SQUATTING"	< 2 >	Those defending the cultural and social identity and character of a particular place
3. "ENTREPRENEURIAL SQUATS" **5.** "POLITICAL SQUATS"	< 3 >	Those seeking to achieve control and management of local spaces, institutions or assets

2.6.1 | From the right to the city to the new social mobilizations

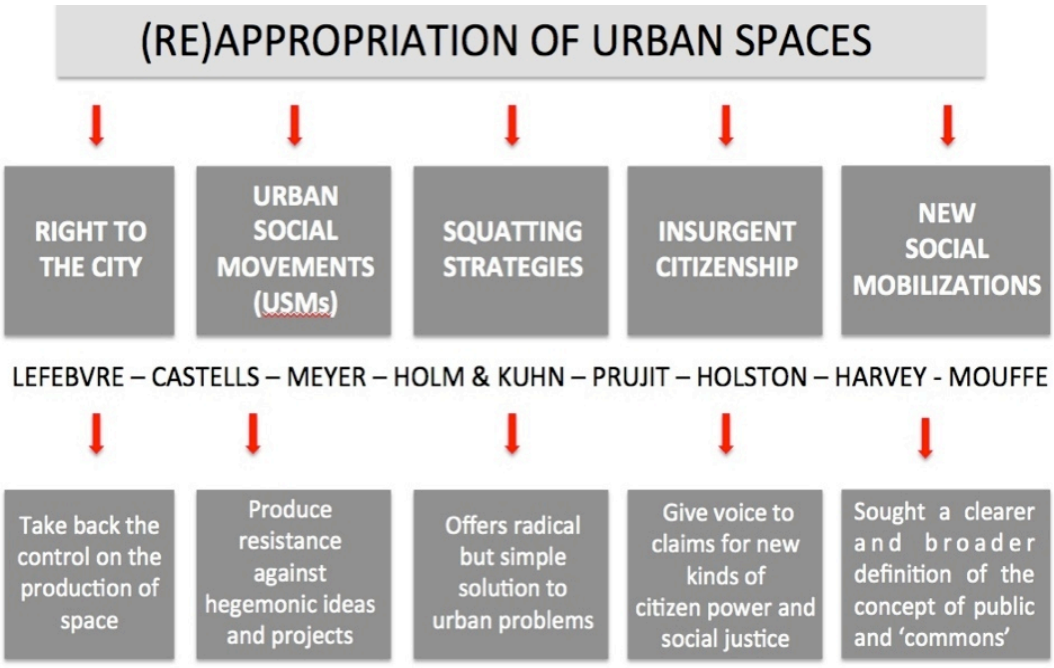
The active citizenship seems to act today to express the will to make visible a "cry and a demand" (Lefebvre, 1967) asking for: a more sustainable urban regeneration processes, "cities for people not for profit" and strategies to make risky capital investment within the city, inclusion of self-made city practices, more focus on social capital, "light urbanism" approaches Vs land consumption, etc.; «to paraphrase Harvey (2001), whether 'spaces of hope' within which alternative politics can be both devised and pursued are truly emerging» (Colomb, Novy, 2013). These cry and demand for more socially, environmentally, spatially, economically sustainable approaches emerge from the necessity to react and resist governmentality and the everyday political operations that produce societal effects including:

- The exclusion of "diversity of perspectives" (Arendt, 1993) not incorporable in the dominant political/ideological form of capitalist globalisation that has extended market discipline/competition/commodification logic through all sectors of society (Brenner, Theodore, 2002);
- The dramatic intensification of coercive, disciplinary forms of State intervention to impose market rule upon all aspects of social life (Ibid, 2002);
- The increasingly growth-oriented and gentrification-friendly approach to urban development and recent adoption of 'creative city' policies;
- The contradiction between conflicting discourses and representation of the city: "the urge for economic growth" (neoliberal urban renewal, strategies of urban marketing, urban branding, gentrification, social entrepreneurship, etc.) Vs "the urge for sustainable urban approach" (communitarism, cooperative cities, autonomous practices,etc.);
- The spatial precariousness, the flexible, "open source" urbanism, the urban austerity policies and consequent more rights and effort put on private intervention and on the other side public disinvestments on public services;
- The perception of a lack in democratization and the need for new democratic processes defining the right to the city (deliberative democracy, agonistic pluralism, autonomism, self-made city, etc.): the exclusion of the 'inexistent'[24] (spatial exclusion, economic exclusion, political exclusion, cultural exclusion) and the self making practices as forms of self-empowerment and "process of democratization"[25] (Badiou, Rancière).

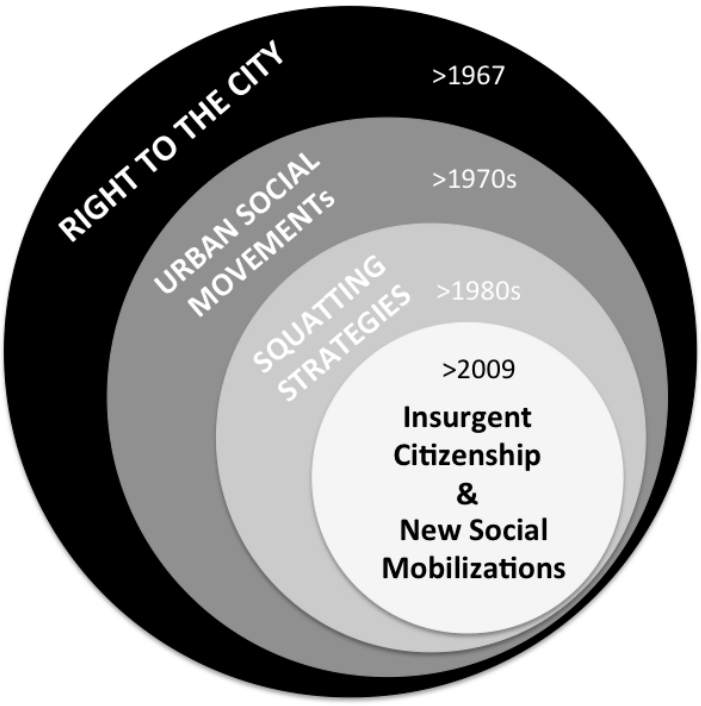
In this framework, the strategies of reappropriation emerge often connected to a wider context of social movements and practices for social innovation.
The renewed interest for the concept of "occupation" (from the occupy movement, to the numerous forms of insurgent citizenship arisen throughout the world since 2011), intended as a way to "reclaim the city." «As a consequence of occupying space in creative and unofficial ways, the transgressors put into question who has the right to the city, as they

[24] Alain Badiou refers to them as the 'inexistent', the masses of the people that have no say, "decide absolutely nothing, have only a fictional voice in the matter of the decisions that decide their fate" (Swyngedouw, 2014).
[25] «For Jacques Rancière, democratizing the polis is inaugurated when those who do not count stage the count, perform the process of being counted and, thereby, initiate a rupture in the order of things, 'in the distribution of the sensible' […]». «Democratization, he contends, is a disruptive affair whereby the *ochlos* (the rabble, the scum, the outcasts, 'the part of no part') stage to be part of the demos and, in doing so, inaugurate a new ordering of times and places, a process by which those who do no count, who do not exist as part of the polis become visible and audible, stage the count and assert their egalitarian existence» (Swyngedouw, 2014).

show alternatives versions of inhabiting places within the city's boundaries.» (Shaw, Hudson, 2009). As mentioned before, I argue that there are many evidences of how the urban social movements that used the reappropriation of space as a mean for social and political transformation, can be linked each other in an evolutive perspective of renovated claims and strategies trying to address the societal effects produced by the functionally segregated and consumption-oriented constructed spaces of the contemporary city.



The Theoretical frameworks on social movements and the relationship with the processes of (re)appropriation of urban spaces



Temporal evolution of urban social movements': goals and strategies

The concept of the right to the city meant the will to take back the control on the production of space. According to Harvey (2012) it happens «only when it is understood that those **who build and sustain urban life have a primary claim to that which they have produced**». As mentioned above, according to Holston (2009), "The resulting contemporary metropolis is a site of collision between forces of exploitation and dispossession and increasingly coherent, yet still fragile and contradictory movements for new kinds of citizen power and social justice (Holston, 2009). «The fact that the strange collision between neoliberalization and democratization in Brazil in the 1990s produced clauses in the Brazilian Constitution of 2001 that guarantee the right to the city has to be attributed to the power and significance of urban social movements, particularly around housing, in promoting democratization. The fact that this constitutional moment helped consolidate and promote an active sense of "insurgent citizenship" (as James Holston calls it) has nothing to do with Lefebvre's legacy, but everything to do with on-going struggles over who gets to shape the qualities of daily urban life» (Harvey, 2012).

In this context, I argue, **the incapacity to confront with the conflictive dialectic played between devices of power and forms of resistance** (De Certeau) have produced, a **radical increment in the level of conflicts over urban**

planning and politics issues and have unlighted the difficulty to unfold the agonistic potential entailed in the confrontation with, and legitimation of, everyday practices.

Some authors see conflict as (Bonafede, Lo Piccolo, 2010):

- a disruptive force that causes imbalances in a system of interrelated parties;
- as a potentially positive force that can promote change, integration and adaptability (Turner, 1991);
- Friedmann (1992, 1999; Holston, 1998) and Harvey (1999) suggest that participatory innovation (and, especially, external assistance) arise in a situation of social conflict.

In the context of increasing urban conflicts, new urban social movements have assumed a political significance within the current model of post-Fordist urban renewal since seem to have started addressing community problems through more universal values (such as the ideal of "common good" or "social justice") to create a comprehensive insurgent project trying to include the needs, desires and interests of a big part of the community. In fact, these movements are not anymore composed solely by "the inexistent" or the ones excluded by the construction of hegemonic discourses, they are created by citizens with a cross-sectional generational / political character, mostly middle class, organized against state policies that are perpetrating at the same time austerity programs and luxury urban renewal that are related to the sale (and so privatization) of the public city to the local or transnational economic elites whom hold power. New citizen's mobilizations address today: «[…] a clearer and **broader definition of that public that not only can truly access so-called public space, but can also be empowered to create new common spaces for socialization and political action**» (Harvey, 2012).

Occupy Movement In San Francisco Marks One Year Anniversary Of Start Of Protests[26]

This new urban social movements are again concerned by the political culture of local policy-making and the apparent legitimacy deficit of public decision-making procedures. This new generation of "insurgent citizenship," inspired by the common good, seems to have reached a sort of "higher level of public legitimization" than the old practices. «Leftist movements today are again taking up urban restructuring as a theme, and a 'movement of free spaces' seems to be picking up the loose ends left by the squatter movements in the 1990s» reviving «[…] the debate on urban restructuring and free spaces» (Holm, Kuhn, 2011). But, **do these new urban insurgent practices had to sacrifice the political verve of the old practices (like squatting)**, whose target was the radical questioning of the current system and social transformation, **to achieve a higher level of universal legitimacy?**

[26] http://www.zimbio.com/pictures/QvE5VqKXUt5/Occupy+Movement+San+Francisco+Marks+One+Year/6QPYEhhF9xP

3. RESISTING AND REINFORCING NEOLIBERALISM

«Neoliberal urban policies thus on the one hand manage to hijack and incorporate alternative and subcultural activism including the creativity of squatters (who, in the process, may find it difficult to maintain their political autonomy), while on the other they entail intensifying repressive strategies, stricter laws, tougher policing, and hence more evictions and fiercer criminalization of squatting»
(Meyer, 2013, 5)

INTRODUCTION

The neoliberal city is a proper field of action for individuals who share the perspectives offered by the neoliberal system, both for those who are part of resistance movements and claim a world which is more devoted to the common good and less to the logic of market. Besides, in neoliberal era policies, devoted to imitate the approved development patterns imposed by global models, have not only brought economic growth and opportunities for urban development, but have also fed the formation of an urban community willing to take risks in order to claim social, civil and political rights (Rossi, Vanolo, 2012). It highlights the constant challenge between insurgent practices and neoliberal strategies. In fact, the process of globalization takes concrete and recognizable strategies of realization, but at the same time also conflicting relationships between space and social groups in constant evolution. I argue that the "spaces of resistance", created by "insurgent citizenship[27]," have been constantly challenging (and been challenged by) the unidirectional model proposed by the capitalist city (Purcell, 2009) and the bourgeois democratic state (Holsto, 2009); that's the reason why these spaces of resistance have been an important evolutionary force existing within the city. From their birth, these alternative and insurgent practices have been protagonists of a corrosive criticism against the rules imposed by the system, and a force capable to revitalize the democratic debate on urban policy (Purcell, 2008). Their central goal has always been to put the demand for social justice at the centre of an institutional process, otherwise solely influenced by the interests and demands of the political and economical elites (Rossi, Vanolo, 2012).

This co-evolutive trend of generative tension, capable of producing innovation in urban policy and practice, needs this confrontation between urban insurgent practices and the dominant urban development model. For instance, in cities like Berlin, strategies "defending the cultural and social identity and character of a particular place" and "seeking to achieve control and management of local spaces, institutions or assets" (from the categories of USMs – Castells, 1983) resisting some top-down urban renewal strategies have suggested more democratic approaches that have been incorporated in the software of the dominant system - e.g. "cautious urban renewal" and participation (Holm, Kuhn, 2011). However, it is worth stressing that (almost) every attempt that was produced for the integration of the demands fostered by the insurgent and alternative/subcultural movements or for the (temporary) legalization of some practice based on transitional reappropriation of space, has ended with the loss of the subversive contents of the movements' demands and insurgent practices that were co-opted and neutralized (Prujit, 2012). According to Mouffe (2012), Neoliberalism keeps occupying its hegemonic position because of this strategy that Gramsci called "Hegemony through neutralisation" (or "passive revolution"). It refers to situations where demands, which challenge the established hegemonic order, are recuperated by the existing system that satisfy those demands but in a way that neutralize their subversive potential. Moreover, the hallmark of the neoliberal city includes a number of characterizing aspects like a high degree of social tolerance; representations able to break into the collective imagination; a strong emphasis on the individual and his freedom of action and independence from pre-constructed memberships (the "creative subject" by Richard Florida); aspects that this model actually shares with the "alternative" models, which places like "Entrepreneurial Squats"[28] offer. This is a paradox that highlights both how the neoliberal model is hijacking, absorbing and commodifying the characteristics of the very insurgent movement it wants to control and defeat and that these opposed models actually share the condition of seeking autonomy from the state. This is why, even if in the last thirty years neoliberalism has sought actively to co-opt and incorporate democratic rhetoric and practice to legitimize neoliberalism and its 'democratic deficit' (Purcell, 2009), and to neutralize the subversive contents of counter-hegemonic movements (Mouffe, 2012), nowadays cities are living a new era of citizens' mobilization.

[27] I want to adopt the Holston (2009) definition of "insurgent citizenship" as "movements for new kinds of citizen power and social justice".
[28] "Entrepreneurial Squatting" offers opportunities for setting up a lot of different activities (Pruijt, 2012). In Italy entrepreneurial sqauts are labelled as "Self-managed Occupied Social Centres" (Centri Sociali Occupati Autogestiti, CSOA).

3.1 | The neoliberal urban strategies: pro or against the recognition of alternative practices?

We have strengthened that the constant production of vacant spaces is a characteristic that marks contemporary society and capitalist cities, because of market rules imposed over the space. Another element emerged from the first analysis is that, over the last forty years, different groups and social movements have reappropriated such spaces in order to reclaim their right to the "production of space." Yet, the space value is based by the dominant discourses on the "utilitarian" dimension or "exchange value" of a place based on profit, denying the legitimacy for alternatives based on the production of space intending the supremacy of "use value." Neoliberalism, occupying a hegemonic position in urban policy, has been stimulating at the same time, the autonomous initiatives and the resistance to that, **supporting the ones related to profit and repressing the others, intended to be entailing subversive contents in the use of space**. In this framework have been fostered policies to include all those autonomous practices reclaiming urban vacant spaces aligned with the idea of free market and initiatives; public/private entrepreneurialism; citizen responsibility; compensation to public social services disinvestment; privatization of strategies of urban renewal and economic revitalization; spatial precariousness and flexible "open source" urbanism; temporary strategies of self-made city. On the other side, at the same time, have been fostered the production of new laws, deliberately constructed to defend both private property and the interests of the local or extra-local elites (while existing legal provisions were already doing a good job in protecting them) to the detriment of old and new dynamics of collective citizens' actions that spontaneously took over vacant spaces to experiment alternative uses related to non-utilitarian and solidaristic activities and define new symbolic meanings of places. According to Purcell (2002), «(t)he conception of urban space as private property, as a commodity to be valorised (or used to valorise other commodities) by the capitalist production process, is specifically what the right to appropriation stands against.» According to Holm, we're witnessing a contraposition between on one side, people, mostly the local and trans-national economic elites, structuring strategies and asking for policies capable to transform cities in secure capital investments (city for profit) and on the opposite side other people, mostly inhabitants organized in movements of insurgent citizens, structuring strategies and asking for policies capable to transform the city in a "risky capital investment" (city for people). This second group of actors is constituted by organized citizens and new urban social movements contrasting gentrification, and the uncontrolled market dramatically increasing rental rates and commodification of spaces for culture, social activities and leisure and the privatization of public spaces and goods.

Contested "Media Spree" project, one of the biggest plan for urban transformation in Berlin. The luxury apartments visible in the render have been built in the former "death strip" that is included between the longest portion of Berlin Wall still existing (today's East Side Gallery) and the Spree River

Vacant area included in the "Media Spree" master plan reclaimed by citizens as a strategy of resistance to contested forms of urban transformation and as propose an alternative collective space. The area has been temporary transformed in a "free" autonomous space (*Cuvrybrache*). Today the illegal alternative project has been evicted[29]

In this confrontation between conflicting interests, opinions and values expressed over the production of space, in the last decades, the economic elites have been privileged by the public administration, for several reasons - the adoption of neoliberal models based on free market and private initiatives, the bankruptcy of local administrations, the progressive dismantling of public sphere, the call for global urban competitiveness, etc. The fact to privilege an interest/opinion/value on others, have fostered the increment of conflicts and enlighten the lack of balance on the "who does the city belong?" issue. **The claims for a democratic confrontation over this topic have grown together with the conflicts and together with the coercive forms of repression and containment on urban insurgent practices**. The incapacity to confront with these conflictive forms of insurgent citizenship, have also unlighted the difficulty to unfold the agonistic potential entailed in the confrontation with and legitimation of everyday practices (and not just ignoring or temporarily legalizing them), that should mean giving voice to urban plurality in a real democratic confrontation. On the contrary, the concept of the "political," that refers to the antagonistic relations that are always

[29] https://reclaimyourcity.net/content/cuvry-brache-stays-free

present in human society (Mouffe), was day by day neutralized, mostly through the adoption of "communicative action" and "consensus building" excluding minoritarian positions, radical differences and conflictive dimensions.
Starting from that, in the major western cities, authoritarian strategies (such as Giuliani's 'zero tolerance' policy in New York), shaping urban policies, were adopted cyclically launching large scale (media or military) offensives against every kind of "insurgent practice" that was considered a generator of urban deviant behaviours and conditions for conflicts within the cities (not authorized protests, reclaimed public spaces, squatting practices, etc.). These pre-conditions have made difficult to opening a discussion about the legitimacy of these insurgent practices of reappropriation diminishing the possibilities of discussion over neoliberalism and its 'democratic deficit' (Mouffe, 2000a; Purcell, 2009). On the other hand, the idea of "temporary uses", which has today become central in the neoliberal urban policies for many Western cities, has been inspired by "reclaiming space" practices and commodified by the dominant system. According to Sheridan (2007) «(i)nterstitial spaces, like these rare collective spaces, are subsumed and commodified day by day, by a neoliberal planning system» that, apparently wants to get rid of them but at the same time «seeks to feed on their vibrancy and creativity».

In fact, the practice of appropriation, occupation or reclaiming of "indeterminate" spaces has been increasingly performed, since the late 1970s on, by a multitude of grassroots practices, "informal" actors, active citizens, using the transitional reappropriation of such spaces as a mean to develop social, economic, cultural alternative projects or as forms of protest. For a long time, such practices have been mostly excluded by the urban development discourses and defined as illegal situations of social deviance, a problem to solve through a repressive or "normalizing" approach, fostering pacification of radical urban conflicts. Some **space for negotiation** have been created, **in moments of systemic crisis and power vacuum**, since: «particularly during periods of systemic capitalist crisis, **a period of institutional searching and regulatory experimentation** ensues in which diverse actors, organizations, and alliances promote competing hegemonic visions, restructuring strategies, and developmental models» (Brenner, Theodore, 2002).

Today, the confrontation between conflicting interests, opinions and values still defines two main discursive frameworks that can be used to acknowledge these radical phenomena:

1) **Illegal acts**, **forms of social deviance and an issue of security** within the city, which have to be contained, repressed and defeated;
2) **Useful strategies** to create instant alternative solutions to urban problems through a set of **self-help creative, unplanned, multifaceted, solutions/dynamics/strategies and diverse "temporary uses of space"** that can be gradually harnessed into urban development policies and city marketing discourses and strategies.

Considering this first analysis we can observe how the neoliberal urban policies and discourses developed in the last three decades have attempted to include/exclude these practices:

- as in relation to the dialectic of neoliberal and neoconservative security policies, that have adopted repressive and coercive strategies to deal with phenomenon of insurgent practices of appropriation of urban spaces and with phenomenon of social deviance (like homelessness, informal dwelling, etc.); or
- in relation to self-help strategies for alternative public policies and social welfare and creative policies for city marketing that led to the development of new inclusive strategies to co-opt the added value of spaces of alternative culture.

It is possible to resume the strategies adopted by the Institutions, in several different countries (UK, Netherland, Germany, Italy, Spain, etc.), in order to repress/control/normalize/co-opt/include grassroots/insurgent/alternative practices in the urban agenda, in three general approaches:

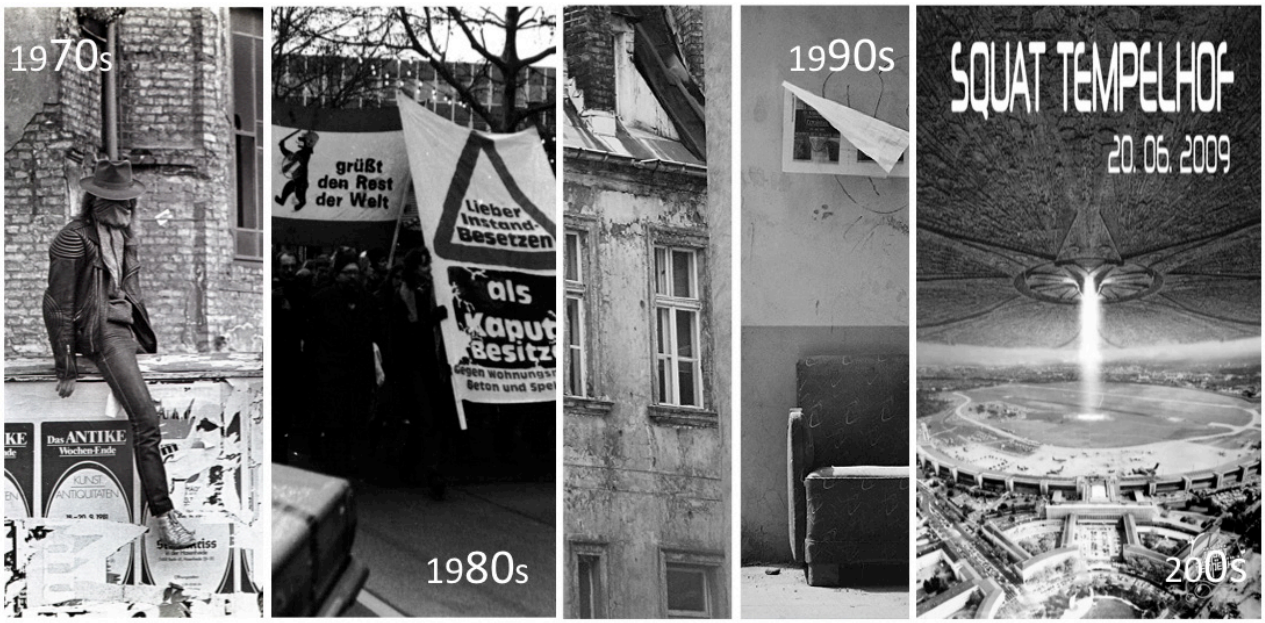
1. **"Selective neglect":** in the case in which the state is not capable to or is not interested in solve the situation of conflict; it implies to ignore the latent problem or conflictual situation and confine it in a "back stage" position;

2. **"Control over space"** (within which are grouped to approaches):

   a) **Repressive strategies:** that through repression, stigmatization, criminalization of these practices lead to waves of evictions, intensification of coercive policies, creation of anti-terroristic pools that deal with these movements as with a dangerous organized form of social deviance and subversive conspiracy;
   b) **Containment strategies**: that are related to forms of legalization, mostly temporary ("selective integration", temporal allocation, "temporary uses") that are related to the technical-disciplinary field

3. **Integration/co-optation:** this approach entailed the inclusion of bottom-up strategies in the "city branding" policies, as for the "temporary uses" (*zwischennutzung*), or in the urban renewal strategies, as the policies to allocate spaces for self-managed maintenance (IBA Berlin).

The cyclical implementation of these approaches by institutions has **triggered the co-evolutive relationship between these radical grassroots practices** emerged by the attempt to challenge/resist the hegemonic system proposing alternatives from below **and the institutional actors** trying to co-opt these solutions inside new (sometimes experimental) normative and regulatory tools. The adoption of such strategies has produced the institutionalization and normalization of such practices within the dominant system and achieved the goal to renovate it pacifying its contestation. In resistance to processes of co-optation and normalization, new bottom-up practices emerged fuelling, again, new attempts of institutionalization.



Historical evolution of insurgent citizenship movements and practices in Berlin since 1970s on (deeply analysed in the empirical chapter)

In a framework of **increasing exclusion of the dimension of conflict and criminalization and repression of non institutional practices** within the cities, this co-evolutive transformation have produced the emergence of less radical and **increasingly institutional and conventional forms of dissent** that can rise the level of legitimacy and recognition in a confrontation with state institutions and its set of rules. However, as will be described in the following chapters, these processes had the possibility to be somehow included in the local agenda and spatially recognized thanks to the implementation of a set of normative strategies enabling DYI and self-help strategies (Prujit, 2014) in the framework of the increasing retrenchment of public resources. Since the urban policies of capitalist cities have shifted toward the Florida's theory of "creative city", the confrontation with such practices seems to have become more related to co-optative approaches and recognition of the added value of spaces of alternative culture (Colomb, 2012; Shaw, 2005).

3.2 | The neoliberal urban strategies and the legitimacy of alternative/radical practices from below[30]

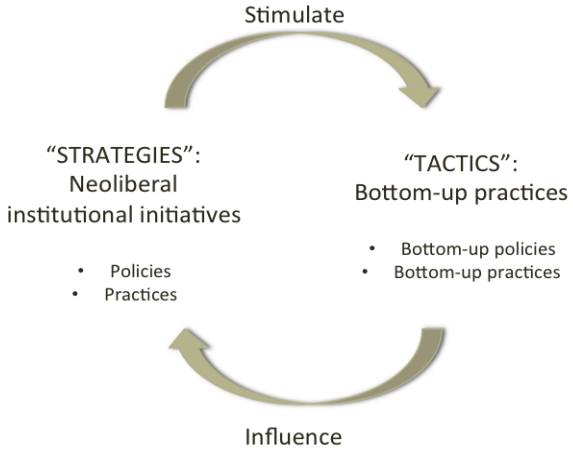
Urban conflicts over resources' democratic distribution and provision are exacerbated problems of the local administrations, in particular of those that have a poor level of communication and a lack of transparency in planning processes as well as a scarce adoption of tools that enable/facilitate/encourage the participation of citizens in the debate on destination and management of public properties and goods (i.e. south European countries). The new flexible strategies of negotiation of urban development, increasingly based on private initiative, contribute as well in producing locally the geographically uneven, socially regressive, and politically volatile trajectories of institutional/spatial change that could only been consolidating under these conditions. This contemporary "actually existing neoliberalism" (Brenner, Theodore, 2002) as catalysts and expressions of an on-going creative destruction of political-economic space has evidently operated at multiple geographical scales that include, for example, the disposition of the European Union over the dismantling of the institutional infrastructures upon which Fordist-Keynesian capitalism was grounded, the national reforms of labour market regulation (see the "Mini job" in Germany and "Job Act" in Italy approved during 2000s), and finally the recalibration of intergovernmental relations. In brief, at a socio-political scale this has meant dismantling the earlier systems of central government support for municipal activities and assigning new tasks, burdens, and responsibilities to municipalities that under the pressure of a growing indebtedness and lack of resources, in turn

[30] Quoted by the chapter tilted "Generations of squatting in Rome: the constant challenge between radical practices of resistance and neoliberal strategies" (Mudu, Rossini) of the forthcoming SqEK book (2016). The paragraph was written over the analysis of the Italian and Rome context and has been readapted here in order to describe a more general analysis of the topic.

proceeded to the gradual privatization of their tasks. Within this framework, where the Constitution itself has lost credibility (see the Italian example),[31] there has been the activation of a variety of practices of resistance against the progressive privatization of physical and symbolic places, considered as crucial for equal development of all inhabitants. After the Second World War, forms of active, radical citizenship have emerged in major European cities to dismantle, overall, the creation of non-negotiable "master narratives" (Lyotard, 1979) and to specifically re-activating the city's "indeterminate spaces" (Groth, Corjin, 2005). Such initiatives have experimented and envisioned alternative solutions to local problems through collective forms of "project-action" (Cellamare, 2011) and "insurgent urbanism" (Holston, 2009) - intended as disruptive of the sovereignty of formal actors as the sole legitimate decision-makers (Roy, 2007). These forms of "creative" resistance are not limited to sterile dispute but are distinguished by their ability to experience pro-active strategies based on the principle of autonomy, self-management and/or subsidiarity between formal and informal actors (as for instance required by Article 118 of the Italian Constitution[32]). In the case of subsidiarity,[33] active citizenship that stands in the activation of these practices can be seen as a potential new cooperative partner in governance system.[34] Indeed, this complex confrontation between urban movements and their practices and the institutions has involved the appropriation on one side of alternative strategies on the other of institutional ones. In order to analyse this process, for instance in the German context, it is worth quoting Clarke and Mayer: «The early USMs were highly politicized and markedly anti-state in their orientation (Clarke and Mayer, 1986). In the 1980s the relation between USMs and the state changed significantly. The emergence of 'Alternative Lists', and in 1980 the Green Party, onto the local electoral scene meant that many of the claims of early USMs came to be channelled through and represented in city councils (Clarke and Mayer, 1986; Mayer, 1993). Community organizations, which were at the forefront of, or emerged from, the grassroots movements of the 1970s were increasingly supported and funded by the state, institutionalized as part of the 'third sector' or co-opted into partnerships with state organizations for service delivery and neighbourhood regeneration (Mayer, 1993; 2006; 2009). **Sites of cultural and artistic resistance and spaces occupied for autonomous alternative ways of living started routinely cooperating with the state, subsequently losing much of their radical political edge** (Köhler and Wissen, 2003). They also began to be 'used to establish urban–cultural ambiance' and **'displayed by the city as (cultural) locational factors in the competition to attract investors'** (Mayer, 1993, 161). Meanwhile, **those movements or initiatives that resisted cooperation or integration found themselves increasingly marginalized or repressed.** Torn between co-optation/legalization and repression/eviction, Germany's squatters' movement was a case in point (Clarke and Mayer, 1986; Mayer, 1993)». (Novy and Colomb, 2013)

This co-evolutive discursive process of appropriation/production of new strategies can be intended as related to strategic "neutralizations" and "*détournements*," respectively Gramscian's and Situationist's concepts useful to describe the strategies adopted in the last decades by both hegemonic and counter-hegemonic cultures. Capitalism and neoliberalism keep occupying their hegemonic position thanks to the discursive re-articulation of existing elements (Mouffe, 1999). The radical movements in Berlin and Rome (as will be further analysed in the next chapter), **through the performative use of dissent, made visible that the order that exist today, the neoliberal order, is the result of hegemonic practices, and that other possibilities have been excluded.**

The generative tension, capable of producing innovation in urban policy and practice, is based on the confrontation between urban insurgent practices and the State authority system. In order to obtain that it is necessary to identify the basis for a negotiation between the practices implemented by "informal actors" and the strategies developed by "formal actors." The former confronting local problems and proposing conflicting momentary solutions; the latter both creating the conditions to give voice to these claims negotiating solutions proposed from the bottom, and combining elements of openness and "unpredictability" with tools traditionally used to control or to drive change (Rossini, 2014).



Generative potential of new "strategies" and "tactics"

[31] Consider for example the Article No.3 of the Italian Constitution: «All citizens have equal social status and are equal before the law, without distinction of sex, race, language, religion, political opinion, personal and social conditions. It is the duty of the Republic to remove those obstacles of economic and social nature which constrain the freedom and equality of citizens, prevent the full development of the human person and the effective participation of all workers in the political, economic and social organization of the country».

[32] State, regions, metropolitan cities, provinces and municipalities shall promote the autonomous initiatives of citizens, individually and in combination, for the performance of activities of general interest, on the basis of the principle of subsidiarity.

[33] Principle of subsidiarity: assuming that Public Administration (P.A.) and citizens are both active subjects and collaborating in the management of public affairs on the basis of the principle of subsidiarity, when the P.A. fails (in this case in terms of economic support) the citizen is a resource for the management of the public interest.

[34] The innovative character is that this is a "collective" locally/community based cooperative partner, which refers to active citizenship, aiming to collectively self-manage spaces.

Indeed, in Europe, these phenomena of "resistance" pursued through the strategy of (re)appropriation of urban vacant places «has a long and complex history, interwoven with the changing and contested nature of urban politics over the last forty years» (SQEK, 2012). The opportunities that may arise from proper use of the existing tools for inclusion, recognition and institutionalization of these practices-often underutilized - or the identification and development of new tools able to introject these processes in the urban agenda for the production of alternatives and negotiated strategies, are numerous. Starting with tools for democratic participation, giving voice to the need and expectations that come from the bottom, as well as involving citizens directly in the management of public affairs; citizens' empowerment can bring to the generation of self-government capacity.

In Italy, for instance, the radical movements implementing occupation strategies (called in Italy *Occupazioni* instead of Squatting) in order to force public authorities to include their instances into urban political agenda have worked in recent years also on developing theoretical concepts, such as "the right to inhabit," capable catalyse the people concerned by housing crisis and to overturn the basic idea of illegitimacy due violation of "property rights." Yet, to legitimize the developed radical practices, they constructed arguments on different levels: from the technical analytical levels, of an empirical/practical kind (i.e. collecting data over housing emergency compared with a dramatic lack of affordable housing), to reflexive/regulatory arguments which are based on the constituent nature of rights such as the 'right to inhabit' or the 'right to culture' and last but not least, discussions on the ideological basis of the right to private property and the legitimacy of the laws of the capitalist State. In the lapse of time between the end of the '80s and today, the interaction between the housing movements and the authorities has generated a series of new policies that have sought to repress, on the one hand, and regularize and recognize, on the other, the *occupazioni*. Two main discursive frameworks have been used to define autonomous practices of resistance or insurgent urbanism (Holston, 2009). These autonomous practices can be seen: as strategies to create instant self-managed alternative solutions to urban problems. But they can be gradually harnessed into urban development policies and city marketing policies based on disinvestment of public funds fostering local entrepreneurialism, or they can be classified as forms of social deviance, illegal acts that represent an issue of urban security that need to be contained, repressed and defeat or temporary tolerated as a strategy of social pacification and control.

3.3 | "Resisting" new urban social movements: exploring the tools to post-politicize insurgent practices in the con-"temporary city"

As above mentioned, in the last decades, forms of insurgent re-appropriation of space have been a characteristic feature of the development of many cities in the advanced capitalist societies (Holm, Kuhn, 2011). These practices have constantly produced the attempt to challenge the rules imposed by the established hegemonic order. In some case they can be even considered as a force that have been capable to revitalize the democratic debate on urban democratic dimension. In the same cities, the concurrent neoliberal turn in strategies associated with urban policies and development strategies have provoked a new era of citizens' mobilizations, trying to oppose gentrification, urban marketization and progressive privatization of the public goods and services. Among them, new "strategies of resistance" have been developed and became the symbol of a struggle against big urban projects and the financialization of urban space, as it is possible to observe in many urban conflicts developed in cities like Berlin (e.g. Mediaspree Versenken, Bethanien, Tempelhof and others that will be further analysed in the empirical analysis chapter). Contention and conflict can be seen as key dimensions for understanding and conferring meaning to politics and to "the political" in cities. In these terms, we could affirm that, recent urban conflicts are making visible the emerging claim over the necessity to (re)politicize urban policies and planning as well as planning theory debates in a way that put make possible to put again the demand for social justice at the centre of the institutional process overcoming approaches solely influence by urban austerity and economic growth and competition models.

I argue that, increasingly in the last decades, the institutional mechanisms of confrontation with forms of resistance have been directed towards the development of strategies used to "heal" the conflicts producing the final effect of de-politicizing on one side the policies and practices implemented by formal actors (as oriented to universal values and interests) and on the other post-politicize the urban social movements and the related processes of reclaiming spaces.

I argue that the post-politicization of these practices is produced by the implementation of two strategies of conflict resolution:

- **the "neutralization" through discourses** that strive to co-opt include alternative/subversive discourses and strategies into the mainstream ones connected to capital accumulation and valorization; e.g. by the use of creative city's strategies for urban renewal, developed in the idea of "temporary uses" for urban space valorisation;

- **the "neutralization" through control of practices with the imposition of a bureaucratic processes of adaptation to the set of norms and rules** connected to forms of selective temporary legalization.

These two tools are based on two theoretical frameworks: the strategy that Gramsci called "Hegemony through neutralization" (Mouffe) and the theories on post-politics (Rancière, Badiou, Žižek).

As mentioned in the paragraph 2, cities are punctuated by urban voids and indeterminate urban areas: "if we consider the **"indeterminate" urban areas** as **places where different interests and desires play a significant role**, we can understand the importance that is here played by power relations on interests (political, economic, social interests), needs and hegemonic/subaltern visions." These "indeterminate" urban spaces are considered as spaces still not defined by deterministic forces where are constantly played culturally diverse representations of the groups that use such spaces as well as conflictual confrontations on alternative visions, strategies and practices that could be implemented or experimented on those spaces since these are «area(s), space(s) or building(s) where the city's normal forces of control have not shaped how we perceive, use and occupy them" (Sheridan, 2007). These undefined spatialities can't undermine an a priori exclusion of alternatives for "the production of space" and make thinkable and sometimes possible the confrontation between hegemonic and subaltern/excluded visions. On the other side, **on the "determinate" urban spaces, defined by deterministic forces of capital, ownership and institutionalization** that, to a large degree govern people's relationship to the built environment (Sheridan, 2007), **the conflict confrontation of alternative visions, strategies and practices incur a priori physical exclusion. These determinate places include official public spaces.** Since, «[…] power relations should be a central concern to researchers of urban democracy in relation to questions of who loses, who wins and whose voices are heard» (Bond, 2011, 163), **we can easily understand how much the issue of recognizing claims build over the reappropriation strategy of indeterminate/public/symbolic spaces is connected to claims for a more democratic understanding of strategies of space production and to the central question "who does the city belong?," today so central for many urban social movements**.

In relation to that, different forms of "insurgent urbanism" from the "Occupy movement", to the new urban mobilizations against urban development initiatives, from Squats as a collective housing strategy to political (as for radical political groups or refugee's squats) or art/cultural squats, all of these insurgent practices are today both embodying the will to exercise the "right to the city" (Harvey, 2012) and point out that «spaces became "public" not just because they are materially constructed as such, but because they are wilfully appropriated by citizens for public purpose» (Davis, Raman, 2012). **In the discussion about autonomous practices of (re)appropriation of urban space, then, the analysis of power relations refers to the democratic capacity to empower citizens, give voice to the unheard, the "excluded" and then possibly transpose the alternative practices and ideas, proposed in grassroots, insurgent, bottom up processes of active citizenship, into new more sustainable policies.**

The "new" sociological features of urban protests and citizens' mobilizations around contentious urban development initiatives, defined by citizens with a peculiar cross-sectional generational / political character, has been considered by many authors as the evidence of the recent emergence of a new generation of urban social movements.[35] The fundamental difference stays in the scale of the dimension of the conflict that yesterday interested minoritarian groups connected to specific class struggles, while today it became "large and public" since mostly connected to the middle class, organized against state policies. According to Mouffe, the big difference between the old and new forms of antagonism is what defines these new USMs as post-politicized: «We have been made to believe that the aim of democratic politics was to reach a consensus. Obviously, there are different ways in which this consensus is being envisaged. But the common idea is that the distinction between Left and Right is not pertinent any more. It is what we find in Ulrich Beck and Anthony Giddens. They argue that we should think beyond Left and Right, and, according to Beck, that we need to re-invent politics in terms of 'sub-politics'. This is of course typical of liberal thought, which, as Carl Schmitt indicated, has never been able to understand the specificity of the political. **When liberals intend to speak about politics, they either think in terms of economics – and that would definitely be the aggregative model – or in terms of morality, and this represents the deliberative model.** But what is specific to the political always eludes liberal thought. I consider this as a **serious shortcoming because to be able to act in politics one needs to understand what is the dynamic of the political**. I insist that the dimension of the political is something that is linked to the dimension of conflict that exists in human societies, the ever-present possibility of antagonism: an antagonism that is ineradicable. This means that a consensus without exclusion – a form of consensus beyond hegemony, beyond sovereignty - will always be unavailable.» (Markus Miessen interviewing Chantal Mouffe).
According to some academics (Anthony Giddens, Beyond Left and Right; Ulrich Beck), this post-political dimension should be considered an important advance for democracy since with the disappearing of the adversarial model of politics democracy is becoming more mature: in their vision, "no antagonism has been overcome, we can really have a consensual democracy" (Mouffe, 2012).

According to Swyngedouw (2014), «(a) wave of deeply political protest is rolling through the world's cities» and that «(u)nder the generic name of 'real democracy now', the heterogeneous mix of gatherers exposed the variegated 'wrongs' and spiralling inequalities of neoliberalization and actually existing instituted democratic governance». I do

[35] The new urban social movements to which I refer are related to the ones emerged mostly in the last decade in Europe, North-America and some other countries like Turky or Brasil, more then the ones emerged in the countries involved in the Arab spring, that have had very different sociological as well as political features.

not agree completely with the fact that the whole of these political protests is enacted by «those who do not count (that) demand a new constituent process for producing space politically». Instead I argue that, confronting this new generation of urban movements in Europe and North America, mobilizing for claims concerned with "urban renaissance" processes (Porter, Shaw, 2009) and "democracy" (reclaiming the "polis" and the "political" - Swyngedouw, 2014), with the one celebrated by Manuel Castells' seminal "The City and the Grassroots" (1993), these two result profoundly different. In fact, in "the city and the grassroots: a cross-cultural theory of urban social movements," Castells (1983) argue that the most **USMs could do was to produce resistance against hegemonic ideas and projects, and thereby change urban meaning, that is the way how and for whom a society defines what a city is for**. While in the USMs described by Castells the democratization of the polis were inaugurated by those who did not count stage, that started performing the process of being counted and, thereby, initiating a rupture in the order of things, "in the distribution of the sensible," declaring that things could not go on as before (from the Jacques Rancière (1998) idea of "democratization;" Swyngedouw, 2014), these new mobilizations are mostly carried out by the "having rights" middle class. The urban social movements arisen in the 1950s-60s-70s in western countries were carried out by the "having not" (Arnstein, 1969) like Afro-Americans, women, students, workers, etc. then evolved "the Multitude" (see Paolo Virno) and "*Disobbedienti*," in the 1980s, 1990s that were addressing claims related to higher inclusion in democratic debate, development of participation processes, freedom of the individuals in terms of self-determination, emancipation from a subaltern situation, a more equal distribution of resources, improvement of work quality conditions, anticapitalist forms of social and spatial reproduction, claims that were strongly politically situated.

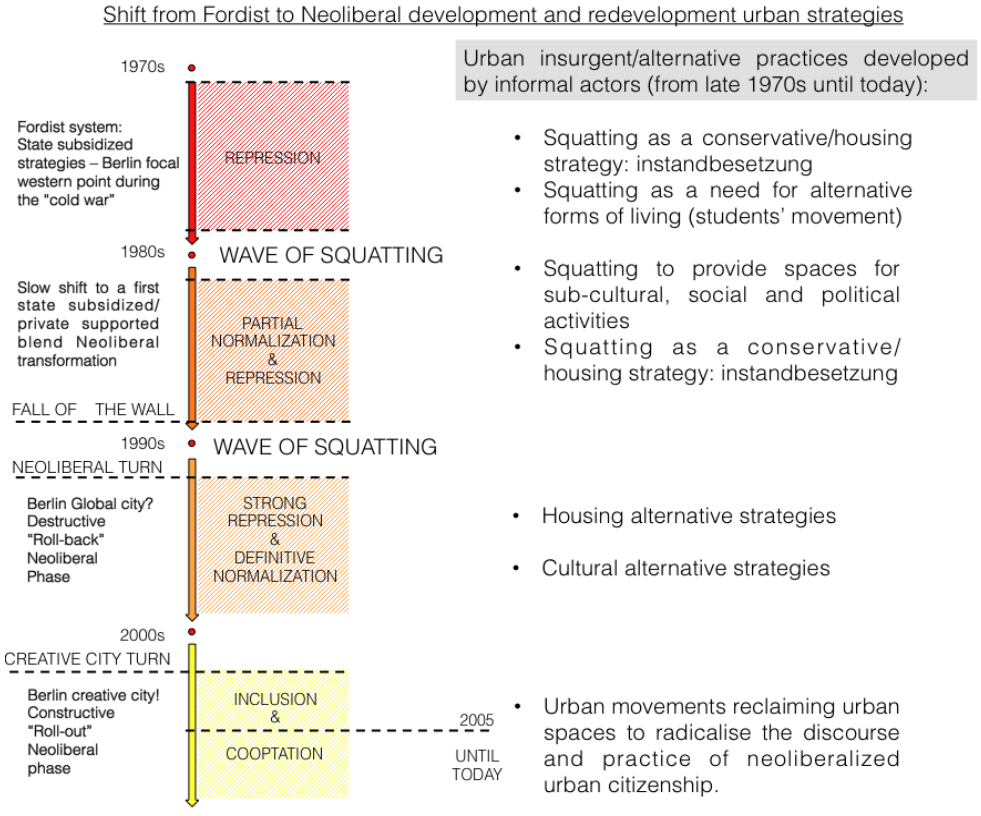
Side effects of the shift to a neoliberal paradigm based on competition, the attraction of global capital inflows and the increasing privatization/substitution of central government tasks, have been the increasing casualization and precarity of labour, housing and social system that have ultimately resulted in the increasing fragmentation of society, politically situated claims and class struggles.

I argue that the **post-political dimension of new USMs is resulted from a long process of de-politicization of politics, on one side, and of political actions and their practices within cities, on the other**, that is occurring since the 1970s on, when, after a period of political and social upheaval and systemic crisis, another capitalist system has been affirmed as hegemonic, imposing a process of creative-destruction (Brenner, Theodore, 2002) on the previous one. Since the political and social upheaval of '68 through the 1970's systemic crisis and at every crisis since, European cities faced political actions, like phenomena of "reclaiming" of urban indeterminate spaces. These insurgent practices as much as the self-help struggles «are explicitly grounded in a critique of monetized relationships, professionalism and dependency, on the absence of substantive democracy and the erosion of a solidaristic social life» (Kranz, Meyer, 1983, 16). Yet, these reclaiming strategies were developed to contest the "statification of the everyday life" and then the "marketization of everyday life" imposed by the capitalist hegemonic order, asking for more participation and citizens' empowerment to be able to influence the "production of space" in urban transformation processes. Subsequently the affirmation of neoliberal models, these practices were transformed from counter-hegemonic, alternative forms of producing space and reproducing society (through revolutionary forms of everyday life), to hedonistic, postmodern, post-ideological and mass media-influenced practices (Adilkno, 1994) influenced by the shift **towards consumerism that was able to break down the revolutionary aspirations of the working classes and to finalize their assimilation into the audience of passive spectators of the capitalist "show"** (Debord, 1967). It has been connected to the two opposite way Neoliberal urban policies have been implemented to confront with radical issues like the one related to the squatting practice: on the one hand they have managed to hijack and incorporate alternative and subcultural activism including the creativity of squatters (who, in the process, may find it difficult to maintain their political autonomy), while on the other they have entailed intensifying repressive strategies, stricter laws, tougher policing, and hence more evictions and fiercer criminalization of squatting (Meyer, 2013, 5)

In reaction to that, these alternative projects became progressively sort of "spaces of resistance" against the totalizing hegemonic model trying to repress, normalize or co-opt them. This have influenced also the strategies adopted by these alternative projects to survive: on one side radical projects separated their spaces from the institutional city, in enclosed sometimes self-segregated spaces, mostly refuting negotiation and opposing a form of "exodus" from institutions to strategies of repression/normalization. Most of them, since opposing **legalization of the illegal occupation, act that marks squatting insurgent strategy, challenging the issue of the private property, has been repressed even when they enjoyed broad legitimacy and popular support** (Holm, Kuhn, 2011). In fact, repressive or containment strategies developed by the state to "normalize" such "illegal" practices, often forced the movements to "choose" either eviction or some form of legalization (Meyer, 2013, 3). On the other side, reformist/less radical projects, have chosen to negotiate legalization or institutional recognized strategies of transitional reappropriation in order to continue existing. Both, in different way, proposed self-help strategies and sub-cultural projects as an alternative to the absence of spaces for citizens' participation and empowerment, the welfare state crisis, the increasing affirmation of forms of "urban inequalities" within cities (like the problem in the provision of housing, the homelessness, gentrification and displacement and ghettoization of big parts of population), the reduction and marketization of public space and spaces for leisure, the atomization of society and the lack of social and cultural free spaces. The first trying to address the issue through a more revolutionary approach, pushing for a revolution of the dominant system, the second through a more reformist approach, pushing for an evolution of the dominant system from

below. In both cases, I argue, the incapacity to confront with the conflictive dialectic played between devices of power and forms of resistance, intended as a democratic challenge, incurred in the pitfall of develop politics that instead of include "the political" end up with the neutralization of "the political," instead of (as for what concern these radical strategies) understand and enhance the creative/democratic potential of the unplanned and dynamic diversity of such alternative spaces produced just the final pacification and silencing of opposed models and conflictive ideas. Moreover, the incapacity to confront with this same conflictive dialectic have produced a radical increment in the level of conflicts over urban planning and politics issues and have also unlighted the difficulty to unfold the agonistic potential entailed in the confrontation with and legitimation of everyday practices. Starting from these assumptions, the analysis of this topic looks crucial for a deep understanding of issues related to forms of democracy and democratic participation. This is why **the comprehension of such mechanisms of citizen empowerment/disempowerment is taking nowadays a qualitatively new political significance**. A first question emerges from this first assumptions: even if the political dimension, based on counter-hegemonic practices and discourses challenging/contesting/subverting some of the basic capitalist and liberal values (such us private property, the nuclear family, the utilitarian production of space, the concept of exchange value, etc.), it has made it complicated the interpretation of and the communication with such phenomena for policy makers and planning practitioners in the past, since the strong **emphasis put on participative, inclusive** and interpretative approaches in the present times, **why the claims fostered by insurgent citizenships**, throughout the world, **are not able to produce an "evolution" or "revolution" within the actual hegemonic system, but just undergo the effect to be normalized within the same system they contest?**

Today's umpteenth crisis reopened the issue from a global Occupy movement perspective, embodying a series of dynamics of "insurgent (re)appropriation" of public space fostered by a new configuration of active citizenship. **In the last years, at the same time a lot of "interstitial spaces" are being reclaimed, many of them are being incorporated in the city development strategies and discourses and most of them are in the process of being shut down by a large scale offensive against conflictive and non-authorized actions of dissent.** These coercive and incorporating processes seem to be pushed by property developers' and private interests, so important in the neoliberal cities. It has been made visible, in the last decade, by the adoption of more sophisticated laws and policies to repress grassroots and radical forms of reappropriation, while gradually harnessing creative and alternative "temporary uses of space" into urban development policies and city marketing discourses. Berlin constitutes an interesting case study since it has witnessed the implementation and development of a variety of USMs and strategies of urban space reappropriation characterized by an evolutive dimension and co-evolutive relationship with forms of institutionalization. For instance, over the last forty years, in Berlin, tenant initiatives, alternative experts, participative neighbours, squatters, self-help groups and collective enterprises have struggled, in the recent past, to demand the definition of a set of urban policy and practices capable to reflect the interests of the inhabitants, to guarantee their participation and to enhance their self-determination and self-organisation capacities, to confront the diversity of urban life with the monotony of commercial privatization (Kuhn, 2011).



The figure shows the evolution in the confrontation between radical practices of reappropriation and the institutional reaction to that in the shift form Fordist to post-Fordist approaches in Berlin

I argue that this process have ultimately produced the post-politicization of insurgent practices and movements. Yet, it has been intensified by the use of two tools. One is the **"neutralization" through discourses that have been pursued by State and local authorities.** It has been implemented through the use of rhetoric based on neoliberal emphasis; on private initiative/responsibility; participation and the emphasis on the creative class. It has produced the development of related public policies based on new urban imperatives of economic growth and competition, (Florida, 2002) creating city's strategies for urban renewal legitimized by the use of forms of "deliberative democracy" facilitating the inclusion of private initiative, in the public decisions; "direct democracy" and on strategies to pursue more flexible urbanism (i.e. public-private partnership for strategic urban planning and urban renewal strategies based on "temporary uses"). The second is the **"neutralization" through control of those practices** that are different or opposed to the "shared" or "dominant" urban representations and hegemonic discourses (produced by urban elites, and proposed in various ways to the permanent or occasional "users" of the city). It is **pursued through the imposition of a bureaucratic process of norms and rules** that produce the selective inclusion in the hegemonic discourse (for instance, legalization, temporary regularization) or the stigmatization/repression of such conflictive visions/practices/discourses.

ISSUES: how to confront with issues such as: management of "urban voids;" progressive privatization of urban assets; reduction/replacement of public spaces; urban renewal strategies for local economic regeneration; etc.

FORMS OF RESISTANCE: forms of "self-made city", reappropriations of vacant spaces for public purposes, alternative housing strategies, alternative cultural/social spaces

DEVICES OF POWER:

1) discursive strategies neutralizing the subversive potential of such practices trough:

the co-optation, commodification, hijack (urban marketing discourse, discourses related to alternative forms of urban regeneration)
or
the stigmatization and denigration (discourses on security, legality, incommensurability with liberal values in relation to the dialectic of neoliberal and neoconservative security policies)

of alternative discourses/imaginaries/practices

2) bureaucratic process of norms and rules and the selective legalization like:

creative policies tools related to the "creative cities", like "Zwischennutzung" (temporary uses), that led to the development of new inclusive strategies to co-opt the creative cultural and entrepreneurial dimensions embodied by these alternative spaces
or
repressive and coercive tools like, "zero tolerance" policies, new security laws for spatial and social control, etc. to deal with phenomenon of insurgent practices of appropriation of urban spaces and with phenomenon of social deviance (like homelessness, informal dwelling, etc.)

DIALECTIC: Pacification of conflicts; co-optation of demands and strategies; consensus building; post-politicization.

In this context, on one side, it has made it complicated for urban planning the interpretation of and the communication with such phenomena connected to a strong political dimension. On the other side, Neoliberalism, occupying a hegemonic position in urban policy, has been stimulating both the autonomous initiatives and the resistance to that. In this framework have been fostered policies to include all those autonomous practices reclaiming urban vacant spaces aligned with the idea of: free market and initiatives, compensation to public social services disinvestment and the idea of spatial precariousness and flexible urbanism.

Today, results crucial to identify how these "informal actors' practices" are "neutralized" and "post-politicized", considering the risk to constantly incur in the pitfall of develop politics that instead of include "the political" end up with the neutralization of "the political," instead of (as for what concern these radical strategies) understand and enhance the creative/democratic potential of the unplanned and dynamic diversity of such alternative spaces. It is worth to close this analysis with some unanswered questions that will be possible to further analyse in the empirical analysis chapter (chapter 3). From the analysis of recently emerged insurgent practices, in the city of Berlin, emerges a shift from the use of such practices to push for a "revolution" in the understanding of the political participation and the "right to the city" to the use of the same or new practices as a mean for a more moderate demand for the "evolution" in the understanding of the same issues: Is that a result of the post-politicization of the new urban social movements negotiating urban inequalities? Is this post-politicization been pursued by the use of discursive and normative tools capable to neutralize/suppress the disruptive/subversive/conflictive content of such practices?

4. NEGOTIATING CONFLICTS

«This interdependence of contention across space and time poses formidable challenges to the predominant theoretical paradigms in the study of contentious politics.»
(Koopmans, 2007)

INTRODUCTION

The new active groups' claiming to be recognized as capable to give voice or address new needs and issues emerged by the increasing complexity of urban society remained often unheard. **The exclusion of these specific demands and proposed alternatives has constantly triggered urban conflicts.** In fact, the legitimacy of the top-down strategies adopted to address such issues (e.g the constant presence of urban "inhabitants" actually excluded by the access to material and immaterial resources) is constantly being challenged by those who affirmed the absence of real democracy in the definition and implementation of strategies that affects the citizens' life: among them urban transformation models. This make visible the connection of the first social movements emerged during the 1960s with the new social movements that have been emerging in the last years, again, the debate on issues concerning the political culture of local policy-making and the apparent legitimacy deficit of public decision-making procedures incapable of incorporating a truly agonistic dimension of democracy even in long-term processes developing under conditions of highly critical public scrutiny. The fundamental difference stays in **the dimension of the debate: yesterday minoritarian and connected to specific class struggles, today including a more complex sector of society that is both more critically conflictive and consensual at the same time confronting with the USMs of the past**. Nevertheless, both refers to forms of space reclaiming as a political tactic from the bottom.

According to Chantal Mouffe theories, we could describe the connection between them as due to two main factors. Firstly, the crucial dimension of the transition from Fordism to post-Fordism, when capitalism have been reorganized according to a new model of production starting the era of immaterial labour, was "discursive re-articulation of existing elements," that pretended to include and address the urgent demand and claims coming from below for a transformation of the dominant model, finally just rearticulating the existent elements in a way that has been capable to satisfied those demands and neutralize their subversive content, while fragmenting those class interests fostering the precarity of labour, social and political system, the devolution of powers, the globalization of the economy and the transformation of recognizable categories of space and time over which conflict was built. In this framework, the claims for more participation and the individuation of policy-making procedures, capable to incorporate a truly agonistic dimension of democracy, have been neutralized through the incorporation into the software of neoliberal urban policies and the socio-political, of the demands fostered by social movements and radical groups, through the development of strategies of "consensus building", that consider differences (including power differences) "as wounds that should be healed" (Purcell, 2009). Moreover, the adoption of "communicative action" and "consensus building", as mentioned above, doesn't produce the space for a democratic confrontation over conflictive issues (important for democracy) and doesn't challenge the dominant capitalist system imposing forms of spatial, social and labour reproduction. Secondly, the neoliberal strategies adopted in the last four decades, has produced in the western countries, the effect to create a unique, widened social class: the middle class (as declared in the famous Tony Blair's speech). The sharing of class interests, have widened the number and typology of people participating to the new emerging urban social movements. Since, the antagonistic/radical practices of reappropriation analysed in the research embody the constant confrontation/contraposition between "antagonism" and "hegemony", the "agonistic pluralism" theorized by Chantal Mouffe seems to be the proper way to investigate the possibility to democratically address the "political" nature of this confrontation. For the same reason these elements have been strongly contrasted because intended as subversive forms of social deviance not aligned to the hegemonic order and the general consensus. In this confrontation between conflicting interests, opinions and values expressed over the production of space, in the last decades, the hegemonic interests/opinions/values, often created by the technocratic, political and economic local or extra-local elites, have been privileged by the public administration fostering the increment of conflict and enlightening the lack of balance on the "who does the city belong?" issue. This is why, the development of an interpretative analysis of the discourses fostered by both the formal and informal actors, results important to try to oppose an apparently incommensurable opposition between conflictive interests and values, forms of creative negotiation of conflicts.

4.1 | "Spaces of exception" or "exceptional spaces"? Grassroots/insurgent practices and alternative/conflictive "narratives" for neoliberal cities

According to Lippolis (2009), «the people build their own spaces disengaged from the planned form of urban development, occupying the interstices and converting the dystopia in living space [...]». This can be easily observed in cities like Berlin, Rome, Amsterdam, Madrid, Paris, London that are still today punctuated of vacant, indeterminate spaces that are often (re)appropriated by people for different reasons. These "spaces of exception from the bottom" (see Paolo Virno) create places of contention within the city (conflict between citizens and local authorities, conflict between occupants and public or private owners, conflict between citizens). On the other side, we cannot avoid to observe that these grassroots practices of (re)appropriation have been able to foster, in the last decades, new images and narratives within the city challenging or influencing the unilateral neoliberal model.

The mainstream "representations" of the cities are produced not only by the mass media, the political documents, the political-economic strategies for the urban development and the various cultural products, but also by these alternative/self-produced forms of urbanity. These **"Bottom-Up Practices of Reappropriation of Urban Public Spaces"** (B.U.P.R.U.P.S.) can be defined as **transitive** and radical **practices** of appropriation of space, implemented by **"informal actors**," which produce forms of **spontaneous urbanity** experiencing **alternative, collective and participatory uses of the space.** This use that is made of these sites, have been defined as "transitive" or "temporary" because normally they insist on urban vacant territories only for the time that elapses between the occupation/appropriation action and its repression, forced displacement or incorporation through legalization. In this last case, the spaces became part of the planned city and loose is "transitive practice" connotation.

These "temporary uses" (*zwischennutzung* in German from *zwischen*= in between and *nutzung*= use) were mostly neglected by local policy-makers in the recent past and left out of the official promotional discourse of urban elites (Colomb, 2012). In fact, they were considered «as irrelevant, marginal, or not economically useful in the dominant language of place marketing and interurban competition». In the article "Pushing urban frontiers", Claire Colomb (2012), talking about Berlin, describes how: «from the early 2000s onward, however, the creative, unplanned, multifaceted, and dynamic diversity of such "temporary uses of space" was gradually harnessed into urban development policies and city marketing campaigns». Analysing the implication of this approach we can understand what these spaces mean for the city and which would be the correct strategy to include their strong potential to propose new radical policies and strategies for management of vacant public spaces based on forms of social and political transformation trying to rethink local democracy and more democratic/inclusive processes in making the city.

As mentioned above, the self-managed, autonomist nature of these grassroots practices (at least of the one that gain a good level of social inclusion) create the base for the construction of a political subjectivity, because of the involvement that the citizens itself have in the "taking-care" of these spaces. Moreover, one of the most important ideals of these autonomous movements (that originate and propose alternative ways of living collectively the urban space) is related to the intention to find a place to grant voice to the "multicultural" social city and to the "inexistent." Some of them are considered as a "phase-out of consumption-oriented society" and a "step towards a self-determined life"; some look at them as urban "utopias" (MacLeod, Ward, 2013), a form of resilience/reaction or resistance against the urban "dystopias" (disintegration of social relationship and social life, vacuum of ideologies and ideals, anonymous urban landscapes, unsustainable urban growth, etc.). According to Purcell (2002, 103) «[…] a second aspect of the right to the city (is) the right to appropriation. Appropriation includes the right of inhabitants to physically access, occupy, and use urban space, and so this notion has been the primary focus of those who advocate the right of people to be physically present in the space of the city (Capron, 2002; Isin and Wood, 1999; Lamb, 2002; Salmon, 2001; Mitchell and Staeheli, 2002). **However, Lefebvre imagines appropriation to have a much broader and more structural meaning. Not only is appropriation the right to occupy already-produced urban space, it is also the right to produce urban space so that it meets the needs of inhabitants**. Because appropriation gives inhabitants the right to 'full and complete usage' of urban space in the course of everyday life (Lefebvre, 1996, p. 179), **space must be produced in a way that makes that full and complete usage possible**. **The use value aspect of urban space must therefore be the primary consideration in decisions that produce urban space**.» For some people we could talk of "heterotopias" (Foucault, 2010) as spaces that function in a non-hegemonic condition. When these radical spaces stand in an illegal condition they can be defined as "exceptional spaces" for the state of exception, in terms of momentary suspension of the law of the state (Agamben, 2003). Some consider them an important resource for artistic innovation and some as radical forms of actions trying to address urban problems through conflict and momentary local solutions (such as the sever shortage of affordable housing or homelessness). Finally some emphasize that people enact forms of radical reappropriation, such as squat, to lead an "extreme way of life" (Anon, 1998, 20). In many cases we can observe that the spaces produced by these practices of (re)appropriation of urban vacant spaces (more or less insurgent practices), could be described as "spaces of resistance", created by counter-hegemonic movements or groups of "anti-mainstream" citizens. The aim of these alternative projects within the city is get a position of power to influence or became part of the urban transformative processes.

It is a matter of fact that that our cities, nowadays, have to face a series of contradiction that have generated the common idea of the "urbanization of injustice" (cfr. Merrifield, Swyngedouw, 1996; Mitchell, 2003; Nicholls, Beaumont, 2004). In the main time "we see that our economic and political leaders have totally failed; they are not able to govern the city in the right way" (interview to Andrej Holm talking about the urban government in Berlin). According to Purcell (2002), **a central problem of neoliberal global restructuring is that it has increased disenfranchisement of democratic citizens, encouraged authoritarianism, and imperilled democracy** (e.g. Falk, 2000; Held, 1995; Swyngedouw, 2000). «**Control is being transferred**, they argue, **from citizens and their elected governments to transnational corporations and unelected transnational organizations**.» (Ibid., 2002, 99).

For instance, «**while homelessness is rampant worldwide, the production of empty space is a regular feature of contemporary society**» and a long persistence of these kind of situations «make clear that in these cases **markets and state fail to fulfil their expected role as effective allocators of space**» (Martìnez, Piazza, Prujit, 2013). At the same time, struggles of residents struggling for the social justice, in the last decades, became very evident worldwide. Several scholars have given an interpretation of this phenomenon highlighting **the practical and reflective symbolic meaning of "social justice" as a value and a ground of convergence for a variety of collective movements resulting from the "post-modern" and "post-Fordist" turning** (in particular the writings of Marioun Young and David Harvey). It provoked, obviously, moments of intensification of clashes between the authorities and the protesters. Today, the cities have even intensified their vocation to become elective spaces for "political egalitarism" (Rossi, Vanolo, 2012). Among them, the many organizations of tenants activists, resisting gentrification, asking for more policies contrasting urban speculation and more investments in social housing sector; or in the urban political movements trying to contrast the privatization of big part of the city and asking for a "city for people, not for profit"; young people asking for more affordable space for art or leisure activities.

The main problem is the incapacity to find a consensual dimension over which to build a negotiation of such practices that could ultimately **be capable of suggesting urgent issues; promoting policies to understand "the political"; individuating new public decision-making procedures to incorporate a truly "agonistic dimension"** (Mouffe, 2000a). The increasing disenfranchisement of democratic citizens, the increasing loss of confidence in the role of institutions and the narrowing opportunity for formal actors to include sustainable forms of "light urbanism" that do not produce profit for the penniless administrations make the confrontation between conflictive positions even harder. Moreover, the radical opposition of incommensurable interpretative framework adopted to acknowledge such practices and define their legitimacy or not legitimacy, it is a central problem to overcome in order to define strategies of resolution of conflicts between devices of power and forms of resistance. Deconstruct State hegemonic categories of legitimacy and illegitimacy means deconstruct the means of reproduction of the **State power itself and so stand the chance to alter the relation of power and reach the exercise of the real "right to the city"** (Lefebvre, 1968). In fact, «(t)he right to the city stresses the need to restructure the power relations that underlie the production of urban space, fundamentally shifting control away from capital and the state and toward urban inhabitants.»

4.2 | "Reframing" the topic within the international debate

In order to analyse the different interpretative frameworks, discourses and categories adopted to describe and acknowledge such phenomena, results useful to reframe the topic within the international debate. A renewed interest over topics related to the study of urban social movements, urban conflicts and forms of insurgency have fostered the production, particularly in recent years, of a series of theoretical analysis that results important references to mention in order to enter into the "debate" with the relevant scientific community. In this context, it seems more than ever necessary to introduce authors and references to legitimize a comparison of academic planning with radical issues as that concerning the "right to appropriation" (Lefebvre) allowing us to move from confrontation on 'first order' argumentations relating to an empirical/practical dimension to 'second order' argumentations based on a more reflexive/regulatory dimension (Fisher, Forester, 1993).

Several authors have identified different underlying causes of the urban condition of the contemporary city. Some authors, like Sandercock, based their analysis on socio-cultural factors, others such as Harvey (1989), Brenner & Theodore (2002), on the analysis of global economic forces of integration and the "creative-destruction" of neoliberal restructuring, others, such as those working in the tradition of social reform, on the analysis of the State as an expression of hegemonic domination of the bourgeoisie and of local and transnational elites, and/or as an device of social control (Agamben, 2007; Foucault, 1978 2012; Lefebvre, 1974; Purcell, 2002, 2009; Mouffe, 1985); yet others focus their analysis on civil society and its constitution as insurgent citizenship (Holston, 2009; Harvey, 1996, 2012; Lefebvre, 1968; Roy, 2005). Starting from this first consideration we can derive some relevant topics in the debate over city's issues: the topic of "difference and exclusion", the topic of "domination and control" and the topic of "resistance and subjectivity". Applying them to the research topic (the practices of radical/insurgent reappropriation of urban space) will allow us to understand and acknowledge the value of these practices within the debate on urban policies and planning.

Firstly: the issue of insurgent reappropriations of spaces is strongly linked to the **topic of "difference and exclusion."** In fact, those who implement these practices and/or the actors in those involved are often people who are disadvantaged and are/perceive themselves as "different" (since minoritarian, powerless groups/individuals) and "excluded" from those who hold a powerful position. The perception of exclusion can be linked to many factors, the first is certainly to feel or actually be excluded from access to material and immaterial resources such as housing, job opportunities, citizenship rights, social services provision, culture, etc.; another factor may be related to the perception of being excluded from the possibility of proposing competing hegemonic visions and discourses producing dominant strategies of " space production" and "social/cultural/economic reproduction" (Lefebvre, 1968, 1973, 1991, 1996; Castells, 1972); one last, but not less important factor, is related to the exclusion from the democratic process and redistribution of rights and resources: it can depend both from the powerless dimension of individuals/groups in a confrontation between "stakeholders", either because of the not-recognition of rights of citizenship, or because the subject/s are not organized into categories/groups/associations institutionally recognizable for the state.

Secondly: the **topic of "domain and control" appears** equally central. Some authors see these reappropriational processes as acts of definition of "spaces of counter-power" (Membretti, 2007); as "freed" areas for the "freedom of movement" outside the pervasive control of the urban public space; as "states of exception from below" and places of' "exodus" from the institutions (Virno, 1993, 2012); as a multiplication of agonistic public spaces where there everything that the dominant consensus tend to obscure and obliterate and where the dis-articulation of the existing hegemony and re-articulation of all the new elements establish a new more democratic model thanks to the aim to create a new configuration of power (Mouffe, 1985, 2012). Since, however, the metropolis is a space resulting from a complex series of devices of control and government (Foucault, 1978, 2012) and being implicit a process of subjectivition that they produce, this also implies a possible resistance against the device itself (Agamben, 2007).

Thirdly: the **topic of "resistance and subjectivity"** is central and can easily be related to previous topics both from the point of view of the socio-cultural aspects and from the point of view of the analysis of economic and political configurations of the capitalist and neoliberal city. As above mentioned, in the last decade, the right to the city issue has witnessed a renewed interest, but not because of the intellectual legacy left to us by Lefebvre, but for what happened in the streets, among the urban social movements, in the "rebel cities" (Harvey, 2012). These forms of urban conflict are derived from forms of "resistance" to "devices" of urban transformation developed in the last decades. According to some academic, these take place primarily in response to a growing phenomenon of "urbanization of injustice" (see. Merrifield, Swyngedouw, 1996; Mitchell, 2003; Nicholls, Beaumont, 2004): the growing problem of homelessness increasing together with the presence of many vacant properties (Martinez, Piazza, Prujit, 2013) and the liberalization of basic needs such as dwell; the progressive reduction / substitution of public spaces (Bonafede, Lo Piccolo, 2011); the extraordinary urbanizations that produce "urban peripheries of devastating poverty and inequality" (Holston, 2009); market rules imposed over all aspects of social life (Brenner, Theodore, 2002) resulting in the commodification of spaces for culture, social and leisure activities; the current crisis (and progressive dismantling) of the welfare systems and increased demand for social services (ibid., 2002). In response to that, the movements of insurgent citizenship are organized in many forms: from tenants' organizations activists, who oppose gentrification and evictions (Holm, 2010), calling for more public policies capable to combat speculation and address disinvestment in the subsidized housing sector; urban social movements trying to oppose the privatization of parts of the city considered a "common good", using various state-driven mechanisms to advance their causes against civic policies, projects, and regulatory measures, that are considered detrimental to the city's public space (e.g. Gualini, Majoor, 2007, for Amsterdam; Gualini, 2008, for Berlin; Pask, 2010 in the case of Vancouver; Teatro Valle, 2012, in the case of Rome; Vitale, 2007 and Gualini 2014 several cases); to the squatter and autonomous movements claiming the access more affordable places (to contrast housing crisis, or to subtract housing from the market and the speculation) for living and for social, political, artistic and recreational activities (Membretti, 2003; Holm, Kuhn, 2011; Prujit, 2012).

In summary, **the limits of urbanism based on forms of profit have been emphasized by numerous critical and theoretical practices** that have developed theories capable of analysing the issue to a higher level of argumentations, including systemic and ideological aspects, from the point of view of all the actors involved. **These intellectual resources, can be useful «for those institutions, movements and actors aiming [...] to promote alternative forms of urbanism, radically democratic, socially just and sustainable**» (Brenner, Marcuse, Mayer, 2009).

The "reframing" in an international debate of the debate over the legitimacy/illegitimacy, recognition/exclusion of the autonomous experiences of insurgent appropriation of space, allows the planning practitioner to move to a different level of argumentations and repoliticize the planning theory and practice debate. While the argumentations produced over the research topic by local authorities and decision-makers is often linked to "first order" argumentations, which are based on the analysis of the empirical/practical dimension, as the "technical-analytical" discourses or "contextual talks", the construction of complex arguments, such as those just discussed, it allows us to **bring the confrontation** to a "second order" of argumentations, which refers to the **"reflective/normative" dimension**, which includes higher levels forms of argumentations, such as **"systemic discourses"** on over social claims, up to the **"ideological discourses"** (Fisher, Forester, 1993).

4.3 | Commensurable or incommensurable conflicts? Communicative planning versus Agonistic pluralism

Since we are experiencing a period of systemic crisis that entails a period of institutional searching and regulatory experimentation, the importance or the existence of autonomous movement, organization and political spaces, became evident when effectively **forces us to re-situate the political dimension away from the "hegemony of the state" and towards alternative practices and forms of decision-making.** According to Chantal Mouffe, "the autonomy of the political only makes sense if it is thought of in terms of politics of autonomy." It implies the understanding of presence of conflicts as fundamental for the exercise of a real democracy and demonstrates that «a well function in democracy requires a confrontation in democratic political positions», arguing that «(w)hen society lack dynamic democratic life, with a real confrontation among diversity of real alternatives, the terrain is ready for other forms of identification [...] and this leads to the emergence of antagonism that cannot be managed by the democratic process» (Mouffe, 2012). It looks immediately clear how this can be intended in **complete countertrend** to the idea of **post-political consensus, so central in the actual political debate, intended as the disappearing of the adversarial model of politics**. «[…] one of the aims of the deliberative approach – aim shared by both Rawls and Habermas – consists in securing a strong link between democracy and liberalism, refuting all those critics who – from the right as well as from the left – have proclaimed the contradictory nature of liberal democracy» (Mouffe, 2000a). This critical opposition of ways to intend the evolution to a more mature and advanced democracy have threatened the possibility for these insurgent practices to be really recognized as legitimate and be included in the democratic debate over the production of urban space.

Schmitt's critique of liberalism has shown that liberalism is, and must be, blind to the dimension of antagonism and that it cannot acknowledge that the specificity of the political is the friend and enemy distinction. But **pluralism** according to him **could not be accepted within the political association, because it would necessarily lead to a friend and enemy struggle and therefore to the destruction of the political association**. Chantal Mouffe agrees with Schmitt on the ineradicability of antagonism but on the other hand, she asserts the possibility of a pluralist democracy, defined as an agonistic model of democracy in which the main task of democratic politics should be, to put it in a nutshell, to **transform antagonism into "agonism**."

How is this model being expressed? There are two ways in which this dimension of antagonism can be expressed in society. One is what we could call **"proper antagonism**," which is the friend and enemy relation. Schmitt was right to claim that this is something that will lead to the destruction of the political association if it allowed to be played out inside a political community. Yet, there is another way in which antagonistic conflict can also be played out and this is what Mouffe calls **agonism**. In that case, the perspective is changed and we are faced not with the friend-enemy-relation, but a relation of what she calls adversaries. The major difference between enemies and adversaries is that adversaries are, ultimately, "friendly enemies" in the sense that they have got something in common: they share a symbolic space. A "conflictual consensus," therefore, is what can be defined between them. **They agree on the ethical-political principles that inform the political association but they disagree about the interpretation of those principles**. If we take those principles to be "liberty and equality for all," it is clear that those principles can be understood in many different conflicting ways and this will lead to conflicts that can never be rationally resolved, since it is difficult if not impossible give one single and correct interpretation of such concept. This is how Chantal Mouffe envisages the agonistic struggle, a struggle between different interpretations of shared principles, and a **conflictual consensus**: **consensus on the principles, disagreement about their interpretation.**

The Habermas position «masks differences between individuals by assuming that is possible to find a shared normative background – an assumption that **normalize certain ways of thinking**, knowing, arguing and indeed, being, all of which operate to constitute the demos (Allmendiger and Tewdwr-Jones, 2002; Massey, 2005; Purcell, 2009; Tewdwr-Jones and Allmendiger, 1998; Young, 2000)» (Bond, 2011, 165). «For Habermas, this included overcoming the limitation of instrumental reasons that are tied to the economic rationality of capital (Purcell, 2009)» (Ibid., 2011, 165). The question is: **how are decisions (with an intended universal effect) to be taken such that they justly account for the inevitably differential impact on the (particular) values and forms of knowledge of individuals and the conflictual character of urban politics?** Every consensus exists as a temporary result of a provisional hegemony" (Mouffe, 1999, 756). According to Mouffe, consensus is always incomplete and involves exclusion. While in some contexts a "conflictual consensus" is an achievement in opposition to a "rational consensus" obtained without exclusion, which is how she reads the intent of "ideal speech" (Mouffe, 1999, 167): «She argues that under the Habermasian model**, the "risk of politics" is elided** because of the assumption that through the **communicative procedure, it is possible to attain a single moral community** (Schaap, 2006; Purcell, 2009). The possibility for a collective agreement emerges, then, from a process in which power relations are to be mitigated potentially silenced dissent prior to deliberation.

Mouffe's Ontology of lack: an identity or entity has no essence but only gains its meanings, its fulfilment through its relationship with the Other (Derrida). The presence of an Other, external and negative to it means that this relationship is always potentially antagonistic.» (Bond, 2011, 166).

Mouffe's (2005) definitions:

Political: "a dimension that is inherent to every human society and that determines our very ontological condition"

Politics: is the "set of practices and institutions through which an order is created organizing human co-existence in the context of conflictuality provided by the political"

Thus, by distinguishing between the political and the politics, antagonism is ontologized. «Moreover, antagonism under this formulation is inherent in the social and possible in every social relation – it is the very essence of politics. **Antagonism and contestation have to have a place to become manifest** so that the multiplicity of differences can be articulated (Bond, 2011, 169). It constitutes an **opportunity for planning practices** because: «It provides opportunities **to think innovatively and creatively about possible solutions and to use conflict and divergent views as a resource to inform a more radical praxis**» (Bond, 2011, 169). A fully consensus public sphere means that a "hegemonic formation is in play" while we shall consider **democracy as an "openness to the role of contestation**, political struggle and the always present possibility of challenge to existing orders and identities". Hegemony refers to a process in which discourses become sedimented in social relations and understandings of how things are. Meanings become normalized so that they become beyond question.

Discourses can always be rearticulated > new hegemonic projects can always be instituted (Ibid., 2011, 169).

Talking about the outcomes of conflict dimensions generated by the processes of (re)claiming urban spaces:

Firstly: the (re)appropriation of vacant spaces (often using squatting strategies) is a practice created by a part of the community (mostly people coming from dynamic of social/political or economic exclusion as movements, urban poor, immigrants, young people, etc.) and it represents the interests and the projections of desires of just a part of the community. For this reason, they always had to face a constant "problem of legitimacy", with that part of the citizenship which was excluded by this process and whose instances were not represented in those places. This dynamic creates a condition of constant conflict from two sides: on one side those who (re)claim the space disobey the rules and reject the authorities (not recognizing the given order) and, in the same way, express antagonism against the other parts of the community considered as adversarial; on the other side, that part of the citizenship that do not feel to be represented in those places, and the dominant system that react to maintain its hegemonic political/economical or cultural position.

Secondly: if we consider the "indeterminate" urban spaces as places where different interests and desires play a significant role, we can understand the importance that is here played by power relations; in fact, between social groups (or parts of the community with a common interest) there are some who hold less power than others (Young, 1990); besides, some scholars as Mouffe, that developed her theory in the framework of the concept of "Hegemony", introduced by Gramsci, consider the deliberative democracy, as an utopian concept impossible to realize in the public arena, where relations of power and hegemonic visions imposed on subaltern point of view, cannot create the condition for a real democratic decision process.

Summarizing: according to many academics (Castells, 1983; Holm & Kuhn, 2011; Mouffe, 2002; Purcell, 2009), the **claims** fostered by social movements in the last decades for more participation, and the individuation of policy-making procedures capable to incorporate a truly agonistic dimension of democracy, have been **mostly neutralized through the incorporation into the software of neoliberal urban policies** of the demands fostered by social movements and radical groups in the **development of strategies capable to "heal" the conflict**. According to Chantal Mouffe, the adoption of "communicative action" and "consensus building" doesn't produce the space for a democratic confrontation over conflictive issues. She argues that it doesn't challenge the dominant capitalist system of spatial but **only flatten the conflictive instances on a "post-political" general consensus**. On the other side, neoliberal strategies has produced the effect to improve the quality of life (for western countries citizens) and create a unique, widened social class (the middle class): the sharing of class interests, have widened the number and typology of people participating to the new emerging social movements (before connected to specific class struggles).

How the institutions have confronted with these phenomena reclaiming their legitimacy in a democratic confrontation between narratives and power positions? In this **confrontation between conflicting interests and opinions, public institutions have privileged the hegemonic interpretative frameworks** (often created by the technocratic, political and economic local or extra-local elites) fostering the increment of conflict and enlightening the lack of democracy. The insurgent/radical practices of reappropriation analysed in the research often entails a **high level of conflict over interpretative frameworks adopted by both formal and informal actors**. For the same reason these elements have been strongly contrasted because intended as subversive forms of social deviance not aligned to the hegemonic order and the general consensus. Last, the **confrontation between these practices and their institutional recognition embodies the constant confrontation/contraposition between "antagonism" and "hegemony."**

4.4 | Mediating between radical conflicting positions of interests and values

The newer forms of conflict, mainly of urban nature, expressed by groups less and less defined in their socio-political and economic characters (such as wide cross-sectional groups) or difficult to recognize within systems of representation of our present form of democracy (such as illegal immigrants or autonomous groups), force local institutions and planning practitioners to question how to resolve conflicts through institutional forms of negotiation capable to keep at the centre the principles of "collective interest" and "common good." Among these forms of urban conflicts there are the spontaneous practices of re-appropriation of the urban space that today, thanks to the re-opened debate on the right to the city, once again are claiming legitimacy or at least some kind of recognition.

It is worth stressing, though, that the definition of the abstract concept of common good and interest has been discussed extensively in recent years, **"highlighting the hegemonic nature of the political process of defining the common interest"** (Lo Piccolo, 2009). At the same time, however, is undeniable, the need to construct a rational thinking, decisions and actions to matters that concern the public sphere as with regard to planning. The dialogic communicative approach for consensus building in mediating between conflicting positions of values or interests (which takes the rational dimension as prevailing dimension for communication), then, seems to be the only appropriate choice for a democratic confront with such issues and for creating the right conditions for the "ideal speech" (Habermas). Despite this, many academics have questioned the priority of the rational sphere, preferring instead to use other dimensions as that of the emotions, passions and unconscious. Furthermore, in connection with the theoretical basis of the logic of consensus building are the suppositions that there is a universal principle of shared values. But "if the reference values are different, ways to apply the rationality collide, on sometimes irreconcilable basis" (Lo Piccolo, 2009). In an increasingly fragmented society, the hegemonic nature of the definition of values' models and collective interests becomes increasingly evident. Thus, the conflict that is expressed on urban spaces, such as public spaces or vacant or abandoned spaces, produced by grassroots bottom-up practices, shows the story of a clash of irreconcilable values that require more radical approaches related to planning and strategies of radical democracy. Hence the "agonistic pluralism" model proposed by Chantal Mouffe seems more appropriate for the resolution of latent and potentially permanent conflicts.

Why, in all these years of research developed in the branch of urban democracy and the analysis of the complexity of the contemporary city, it has been manifested so little interest in the understanding and analysis of phenomena related to the reappropriation of spaces (from housing occupations up to socio-cultural spaces)? The case becomes evident in cities like Rome in which the phenomenon of insurgent re-appropriations records for decades a quantitative and qualitative significant presence on the territory. Yet these spaces, **the spatial influence that they have had is still not recognized** and these have been kept mostly in a status of semi-illegality: they have never been integrated in the urban transformation programs. In cities like Berlin, practices for transitional alternative uses developed from the bottom began to affect significantly urban policy just recently, both in terms of levels of repression and inclusion. On one side, the illegal occupied places disappeared completely through the application of strategies of repression and selective normalization (that produced the disappearing of the squatting movement). On the other side, the added value of these practices in activating wastelands, and as an expression of the alternative culture, it was recognized in the framework of the shift toward creative city strategies, as able to attract investments (Shaw, 2005; Colomb, 2012). Thus, they were included / co-opt into the strategies of public estate valorization and urban marketing. This mainly concerned the space for alternative culture (sub-cultures), which have contributed significantly over the last twenty years, to strongly characterize the city as the capital of "alternative culture" (because of the multiple forms of sub- cultures that have developed here: the techno music, street art, punk culture, etc.). This change from opposition to recognition of spontaneous practices took place when the city started looking for a distinctive character differentiating Berlin from the other so-called global cities, in the framework of competitive economic strategies. Nevertheless, the strategies for the protection and conservation of alternative practices of transformation and appropriation of urban space, has transformed them into elements of strong attractiveness for the market. This resulted in increasing gentrification in parts of the city with a higher concentration of these alternative spaces (Shaw, 2005). Furthermore, the inclusion of these practices in the processes of urban transformation through the adoption by the Senate of Berlin of the regulation on "temporary uses", it is distorting their dimension of autonomous practices fostering political and social transformation.

To answer the original question, therefore, it is important to understand how the analysis and understanding of this controversial issue goes against an ethical dilemma in which we see clearly a clash of different interests. Furthermore it produces a confrontation / clash between radically opposed values that produce very different interpretations of the phenomenon. In one case, these practices can be understood as phenomena that tend to social transformation, devices to strategies of radical urbanism, and space that, through participation and active citizenship, are able to recreate the political and democratic dimension of public/ collective space. On the other hand, the absence of rules that distinguishes these places of "autonomy" from the institutions (which are the physical expression of a corrosive criticism towards the need / legitimacy of devices of governance and spatial control, that highly transform public space and the social dimension) creates for many that sense of insecurity linked to the correlation between the absence of rules and the presence of illegal and deviant behaviours, which would result in conceiving these spaces as places of transgression, illegality and social degradation. Some sees these areas as self-segregated spaces, since inclusive only to a part of the

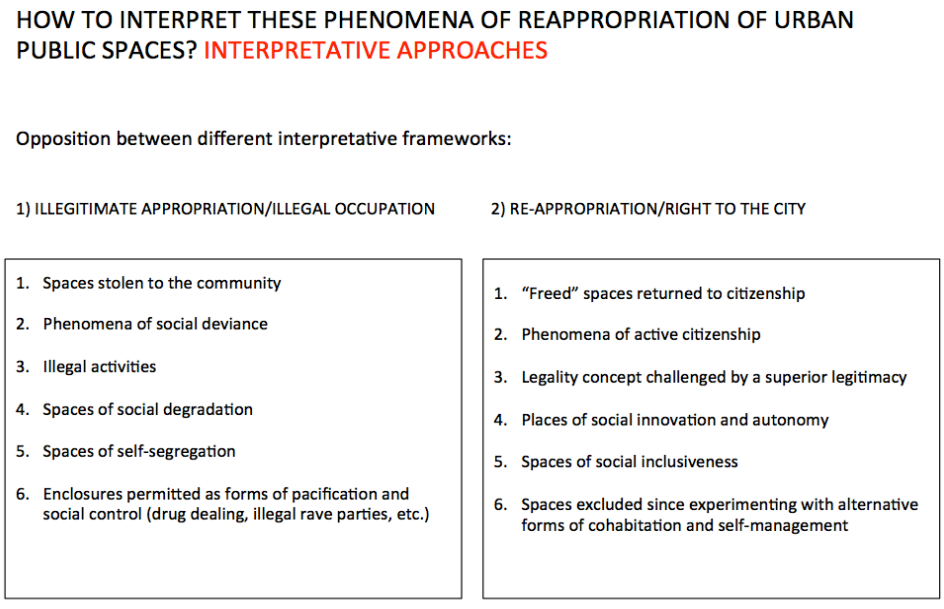
community that shares their values and political positions. But are the public institutional spaces really inclusive? Some argue that public spaces are not really inclusive and due to forms of control and surveillance produce the exclusion of many. As mentioned above, however, these phenomena often emerge in an attempt to find immediate solutions to local problems and needs that institutions are not capable/willing to address.

The controversy about the relationship between planning and these spaces is right in the way that they are recognized and institutionalized. On the one hand the case of Rome where a total negligence with the maintenance, in the great majority of cases, of a suspended situation of illegality has been institutionally tolerated; on the other the case of Berlin, where repression / legalization and temporary assignment represented the institutional response, a response that in some cases managed to produce solid experiences that worked in terms of affordable access to housing and to socio-cultural activities. **In both cases, these practices have become numerous and today propose autonomous geographies and discourses, within the city, that have been able to influence the cultural understanding of these practices**. It is important, though, to understand if it is possible to create the basis for principle of shared values or attempting to negotiate the clash between opposing values that affects the discussion of this topic, and it concerns questions emerging from radical opposed implicit assumptions. **Therefore, it appears evident that the ideological and political different approaches in the acknowledging of such phenomena are difficult to resolve through dialogic-rational strategies on the Habermasian type, since they imply the confrontation between very different values, as well as they involve social and interest categories normally underrepresented, hegemonic nature of the definition of values' models and collective interests**.

It highlights how utopian could be to find, in this case, the conditions for the "ideal speech". While the approach of agonistic pluralism (or antagonism pluralistic), admits the presence of conflict as embedded in the nature of urban space and community, acknowledging the presence of irresolvable conflicts as an opportunity for everyone to freely express conflicting positions and the acknowledging of ideas, values and interests of "the other" even if they conflict each other, and the presence of different interpretations of shared principles, where to identify a **conflictual consensus**: **consensus on the principles, disagreement about their interpretation**. The problem is that today the Mouffe theory results still under investigated under an empirical point of view and it is not clearly applicable in the field of planning practices.

4.5 | Creative conflict management: displace and decentralize your own perspective

It is therefore likely that the meeting point between two radically antithetical interpretations but equally shared values, could be seen in the identification and questioning of the implicit assumptions, frames and concepts taken for granted. «The links between forms of knowledge and ways of living together (and thus also between knowledge and creative conflict management, according to a line of research that links Georg Simmel and Gregory Beatson) become explicit, problematic and intrinsic to communication and knowledge» (Sclavi, 2003, 1).



Example: antithetical opposition of interpretive frameworks on the (re) appropriation of space

Starting from the above mentioned considerations results more evident that a quantitative methodology approach would have not been sufficient for the analysis of so complex and controversial topic, precisely because it wouldn't allow us to identify and question our implicit assumptions and, therefore, to "get out of the square".[36] In addition, through a

[36] Reference to an exercise proposed by Sclavi in chapter "Frames and implicit assumptions". The exercise requires to find a strategy to join together nine points arranged in three rows to form a square with the use of just four continuous lines. Errors emphasize the "implicit assumption" of having to stay in the frame of the virtual square (self-imposed assumption) as the only possible solution is obtained by breaking this assumption, the "frame"

collection of quantitative data we would not be able to overcome the ethical dilemma that arise from the contraposition between equally valid value's systems, whose analysis requires more complex understanding challenging ethical, political and even "constituents" values then a quantitative assessment of the phenomenon. If, in fact, the analysed topic was based on a simple contraposition between conflictive interests, based on a reference system of shared values, the quantitative assessment of the phenomenon would have been sufficient, to understand whom of the two litigants is "right", starting, for instance, from objective assessments of the type of cost-benefit. In any case, in a complex society like the one we are experiencing today, it is hard to find conflicts on issues that do not have at least one element of ethical conflict and cultural derivation.

The resistance to the idea of being able to find a common solution to this problem is significantly related to the large number of implicit assumptions that those involved directly and indirectly have about this phenomenon (Sclavi, 2003). It is natural for each of us, because interlacing between the dynamics of knowledge, of belonging and identity, going against a "*Gestalt"* process (i.e. bring up the implicit assumptions), when trying to understand or recognize a situation or to solve a problem. When we speak of "implicit assumptions" Therefore we refer to the structuring of a field, a Gestalt process, a *Gestalt.* "Gestalt" in German means "shape, to form" while "*gestatten*" means "to allow." Despite the two words have strongly opposed meanings, this helps to define even strongly the sense of the used word: in fact there can be no Gestalt without implicit "gestatten," without prohibitions and resistance to get out of the frame we give for granted.

Indeed, "**Gestalt" psychology has shown that any cognitive process, any attribution of meaning involves a structuring of the field, to decide what is in focus, what is brought to the fore, and what left in the background, thus building a range of possibilities in which to move and outside of which our Gestalt would be undermined** (Ibidem, 2003, 27). Move outside of this field, also it produces a sense of ridicule and absurdity. This is defined as a form of defence of our implicit assumptions. **Only by overcoming these boundaries may be taken into consideration factors that were considered irrelevant or meaningless.** To explain how to overcome the boundaries of its own implicit assumptions, Sclavi propose an exercise that requires reaching the solution, the overcoming of the boundaries of an imaginary geometry (see Note No. 5).

The possibility to go outside the boundaries of its field, in this case the "borders of the square" creates a state of anxiety, of nonsense and ridicule pushing more to settle for a solution that is as close as possible to the required capacity to reach the best result and contenting to focus our attention on "which element is better to neglect." A large part of human affairs are addressed and resolved in this way. Often it is fine to be able to agree on what to neglect, "which point leave out of our geometry" (from the exercise of the conjunction of all points). However, whenever stakeholders are locked in their positions and between them disagreement constantly is reproduced, it should make emerge a central concern or doubt: maybe they should "call into question not what divides them, but what they have in common" (Ibid, 2003, 27). This starting point is really useful to try to go beyond that sense of ridicule that emerges in the attempts to manage conflicts in a creative way.

For example, about my research topic, one of the first obstacles was formed by the first question that emerges about **how to place into a system of rules practices that claim autonomy from the rules of the state?** Of course, the first reaction is the perception of a sense of embarrassment and ridicule to come up with a question that seems senseless. It is also clear how to both parties concerned (in this case the institutions and autonomous urban movements) looks equally absurd to overcome the boundaries of their own "frame" (i.e. for the state intuitions to allow situations outside the rules / for the autonomous movements obey the rules imposed by the state). «They would feel ridiculous, and this feeling of ridicule (this complex emotion), keeps them within the frame. These two parties will sooner or later come to the conclusion that "there is nothing to do" or that "the solution must be imposed by force." The two conclusions are "logical" given the way they have set the problem» (Ibid, 2003, 28).

Despite Sclavi refers to a simple exercise of logic, the example is incredibly fitting. Could be summed up exactly with these two basic attitudes ("there's nothing to do" and "the solution must be imposed by force") most of the interactions that characterized the relationship between institutions and urban autonomous movements in the last decades. From its suggestions I decided to draw up a first **list of "implicit assumptions" of the two parties, then highlighting what they share for a first reasoning about which is the source of contention.**

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and extending out of the imaginary geometry. The only way to go back to the system of implicit assumptions under which the body operates is to force it to make mistakes and see how it correct its own actions and its own systems of self-correction (Greagory Beatson).

Implicit assumptions: Institutions Vs autonomous movements

INSTITUTIONS IMPLICIT ASSUMPTIONS	AUTONOMOUS MOVEMENTS IMPLICIT ASSUMPTIONS
These practices are subversive of the rule of law	Need for autonomy from the institutions in order to reach a more democratic dimension
Illegal practices cannot be legitimate	It is necessary to redefine in some occasion the level of legality into that of legitimacy
Incompatibility and incommensurability of values and aims with the state and institutions	**Incompatibility and incommensurability of values and aims with the state and institutions**
Non-recognition of the law	**Non-recognition of the "law"** as not recognizing the sovereignty of the system that impose it
Practices from below can express the legitimate needs (primary needs of finding a shelter or secondary needs as reclaiming spaces for socio-cultural activities) or illegal (illegal activities, business activities declared as social). In any case the adopted strategy is based on a wrong approach and not acceptable	Practices from the bottom give voice to the legitimate unheard needs of the city inhabitants and to counter-hegemonic political positions aiming to experiment alternatives to the capitalist model
These spaces are managed by movements who identify with radical political positions	**These spaces are managed by movements who identify with radical political positions**
These are self-referential spaces and doing business (bars, restaurants, parties, etc.) and not really providing services to the community	Are spaces built by the community for the good of the community and to strengthen the values based on solidarity, participation and the common good
These spaces exclude those who do not share their positions and are self-segregate with respect to the territory	These are spaces "freed", public and socially inclusive, including all those who are excluded from the market, the institutions and the society
They were supported and sustained in recent years by parties of the radical left	These spaces are autonomous from the political parties
They question the fundamental legitimacy of the right to private property	**They question the fundamental legitimacy of the right to private property** and push for a negotiation of the "right to wright the Right"
Need for spaces for socializing, culture, politics, sports, etc. as a fundamental right of the citizen, however, these activities should be managed and integrated in the territory by public institutions or private entity	**Need for spaces for socializing, culture, politics, sports, etc. as a fundamental right of the citizen,** that can be self-managed by citizenship, as a form of radical participation and reappropriation of the right to the city
Need for affordable housing: the house is a good that must be allocated by the institutions and the market	Need for affordable housing: the house is a right and should be accessible to all or self-produced
Occupy a vacant property is a crime	Occupy a vacant property is a right
Need to renew and re-use abandoned places	**Need to renew and re-use abandoned places**

Attempted "change 2" – starting from what they have in common:

- Incompatibility and incommensurability of values and aims with the state and institutions: permanent conflict with the State
- Non-recognition of the law: on one side bastion of political opposition to these practices, on the other bastion of political opposition, struggle and political affirmation for autonomous practices;
- These spaces are managed by movements who identify with radical political positions
- They question the fundamental legitimacy of the right to private property
- Need for individuation of new welfare policies and provide spaces for socializing, culture, politics, sports, etc. as a fundamental right of the citizens
- Need for affordable housing
- Need to renew and re-use abandoned places

Starting from the analysis of the discourses and implicit assumptions that unite them, we can individuate the questions that will allow us to explore the boundaries of the frame defined by our implicit assumptions:

1. **How to overcome the mere application of the concept of legality?**

2. **Is it possible to redefine the concept of legality with that of legitimacy?**

3. **How to overcome the concept of permanent conflict?**

4. **How to overcome the idea of incompatibility of intent?**

5. **What implies that these practices, when linked to a political dimension, refer to radical dimensions?**

6. **Is it possible to rework the concept of private property in order to reconcile in an "agonistic" way the two conflicting understanding of it? Is there an other "possible world" or understanding that is not included in the opposition between private property/no property?**

7. **How to fix and combine the need for spaces for living and for social / affordable culture with the need to re-evaluate and re-use abandoned places?**

These are just some of the fundamental questions that arise while trying to identify solutions problems and a dimension of conflict that seems unsolvable long since. Yet, this is only a first step towards the borders of our implicit assumptions, between changing point of view within a given context taken for granted, and the "changing that context." Attempting to ignore boundaries of the gestalt field causes us specific resistances because (our) "Gestalt" defends itself as this overcoming its boundaries would question, deny it and dissolve it (Ibid., 2003, 27).

It is clear how difficult it is for the institutions to don't consider the law as an unquestionable axiom underpinning the rule of law. Yet, there is little discussion on the **fact that the law should not be considered an abstract entity, but the reflection of social realities: this concept should refer to the juridical instrument as an "alive" instrument that can be adapted from time to time in an effort to regulate and defend the rights required and needs expressed by citizens** (Vice President of the Constitutional Court in a debate over the controversial topic of "Commons" at the occupied Teatro Valle in Rome in 2012).

On the other hand for the **autonomous movements is likewise difficult to accept that the non-recognition of the institutions and rules can lead to deadlocks and that their institutional recognition, even if critical, would open to a discussion on their requests, with a more programmatic and decisive approach.** Both these conflicting positions, would risk dissolving in questioning elements supposedly fundamental for their own existence, or perhaps becoming self-imposed frames difficult to refuse.

There are problems, then, that to be understood and addressed need to get out of our implicit assumptions. It may be necessary for this, **"acting in a seemingly senseless way" and trying to "displace" and "decentralize" our perspective.** We could mention, for instance, the legislation regulating squatting in Netherlands. In the Netherlands, between 1971 and 2010, it was possible to squat without breaking the law (Pruijt, 2012). In fact, the Dutch legislation do not considered illegal occupy a property without the consent of the owner in the event that this was left vacant for more than one year.

To answer the question: "Is it possible to rework the concept of private property in order to reconcile in an "agonistic" way the two conflicting understanding of it? Is there an other "possible world" or understanding that is not included in the opposition between private property/no property?" The example above mentioned help us in training the displacement of our gestalt and finding the solution in a new gestalt. **The Dutch law regulating the phenomenon of squatting (or we could say not regulating it) through the absence of a regulatory framework ("tolerant approach") placed the problem beyond the mere opposition between the legitimacy or not legitimacy of the right to private property. In this way, it was not denied the right to private property but neither the possibility to occupy an abandoned property.** The owner could at any time claim his right to the property but could not accuse those who had occupied, following a period of vacation of the property, to have committed a crime. Somehow, without imposing a rule on "it is allowed or not allowed to occupy without lawful title", **the point of view of the questions focused on the legality or illegality of this act, was displaced, creating a sort of moment of suspension of these two concepts, temporarily redefining the concept of legality with that of legitimacy.**

More generally, it is in situations of dissonance of perception-evaluation matrices (or frames) that emerge the implicit assumptions that lead us: it is there that we can learn something about them. **Do not ask who is wrong and who is right but try to assume that all have legitimate reasons, as in the anecdote of the wise judge, allows us to make progress in intercultural dialogue and creative conflict management.**

RESUMING

- Endemic nature of presence of “urban voids” and interstitial indeterminate spaces and dynamics of "reappropriation of space" in capitalist cities. The forms of transitional reappropriation come from the will to reactivate otherwise abandoned places and give them renewed meanings built from the bottom through radical participation; the will to contest the modern idea of mono-functional urban district through the definition of multi-functional, collective, flexible alternative projects; the will contest imposed social models based on nuclear family and bourgeoisie values; the need to find an alternative to (spatial and social) "urban inequalities" produced by the urban capitalist and neoliberal strategies: from gentrification to commodification and crisis of public space; from abandonment of residual spaces, the product of the planned city, to the dynamics, increasingly insistent, of regulation and control (bans and prohibitions) on public spaces; from increasing lack to complete absence of public services in the peripheral areas.
- Self-managed Social Centres or Youth Socio-Cultural Projects were born and raised in the wake of the crisis of public space in the post-modern city. The governmentalization of urban life (Foucault) and control more and more pervasive on the exercise of public life by free citizens, led the new generations to seek places of collective and individual expression free from forms of control, rules and bans. Such places must then be areas physically separated from the institutional public spaces, since these were becoming, paradoxically, places of increasingly oppressive control and countless bans, in a social context that, on the contrary, witnessed the gradual disintegration of all the rules and social models of the modern world.
- **The importance of spaces of resistance**: according to Mark Purcell (2008) - talking about the movements struggling for urban justice - these movements, far from providing definitive solutions to the problems that they raise - a task that obviously belongs to local, national and supranational governments – they have the ability to revitalize democratic politics in the city, bringing the basic needs and the demands of social justice of the inhabitants at the centre of an institutional process for the rest largely influenced by interest and related instances of political and economic elites. The spaces of resistance, which are constantly challenging and defying the unidirectional model proposed by the capitalist city, are an important evolutionary force existing within the city, that create a generative tension capable of producing a co-evolutive innovation. They help identify the correct positioning of the planning tool in the tradition of social reforms (Friedmann, 1987). **Since the political practices are the main source of structural innovation, the removal or neutralization of the political community makes it more difficult for the state to search for ways to compete effectively with exogenous changes in the system**.
- Starting by the inclusion of concepts such as "communitarianism", "self-government", "mutualism" and "cooperation", which are born, according to Friedmann, from the interaction of those political currents (utopianism, socialism anarchist, historical materialism) attributable to the planning tradition of social mobilization, it is possible to put the practices of reappropriation of space in relation to an historical context of planning tradition of social mobilization.
- While spatial planning started facing with the increasing complexity in creating institutional public spaces capable to reflect the complexity and the demands arising from contemporary society, grassroots practices of reppropriation experimented the generative power of experimenting new understanding of public space, as: a “Common” (*Associazionismi*), Space of the plurality (Arendt), Place of everyday life practices (Lefebvre, De Certeau), Place of agonistic pluralism (Mouffe), Place of free access and freedom of movement (Autonomen), Places of sociability and “caring.”
- What “symbolic” value urban “voids”, not assigned to specific functions, free from categorization and related rules and prohibitions, have for the “practices of everyday life”? The collective symbolic understanding of such indeterminate spaces as a “blank sheet” where to create, “empty cases”, dismissed functional part of the city to be reinvented or “refigured” (Ricoeur, 1992): through the appropriation, it is transformed physically and symbolically (Cellamare, 2011) by a collective actor capable to give a spatial answer to the demands born from the social mix that is developed in a given urban context.

Assessment: Is it possible to recognize a value in the selective conservation of “indeterminate” spaces (not controlled from planning because maintained indeterminate) and of the practices spontaneously developed in those spaces, within the city transformation process? > It entails **the recognition of the value of “uncertainty”** (not planned places) on which people can build their own idea of the city.

New practices, new “Enlightenment”? The laws of the "free market system" are now presented as a kind of “revealed” or “innate” truth embedded in the today’s economic / political / social system, in the shape of a “religion of the postmodern.” Insurgency, since it challenge through conflict the sovereignty (Roy, 2007) of the hegemonic system (Mouffe, 2012), creating a “state of exception from the bottom” (Virno), produces autonomous geographies and discourses within the city that oppose to the dominant discourses and ideology showing to the people how to use their own personal reason to get rid of unthinking belief in the truths already given, whether those inherent in the “field of knowledge” resulting from the modernism models (Harvey, 1989), or those revealed by the neoliberal ideology.

QUESTIONS

- What practices of (re)appropriation of public spaces - from radical forms such as squatting to more negotiable ones such as the temporary (re)appropriation of self-managed public spaces - have been developed in Berlin and Rome?
- Why both cities have had a so relevant concentration of "insurgent urbanism" over the last decades (autonomist movement, squatting movement, housing rights movement, neighbourhood's committees, etc.)?
- What is the role of "indeterminate" spaces for such practices reclaiming the "Right to the city" and more negotiated forms of space production?
- What are the contextual specific transformation in actors' role, addressed claims, conflicts over urban development strategies and public policies provision connected to the development of such radical/insurgent urban practices producing a new set of affective and autonomous geographies (Vasudevan, 2011)?
- In this urban insurgent practices, that in these days are trying to redefine their legitimacy as political actors within the city, is it possible to find what is missing (voluntary or not) in public policies?
- How the phenomenon of 'informal actors' and its urban regeneration power could positively influence the agenda of urban planning and urban policies?
- How the framework of Neoliberal restructuring have influenced the emergence of radical urban practices that have, on the other side, fostered the introduction of new tools excluding/including such practices?
- There is a connection between the emergence of forms of autonomous urbanity and neoliberal urban policy discourses based on the centrality of everyday practices for creative city urban development strategies and "the concept of civic and private autonomy"?
- These grassroots and autonomous practices can constitute a valuable resource for the penniless administrations suggesting more sustainable alternative politics and strategies?
- Recognizing and incorporating the self-management and self-production of spaces within the city policies and practices, should be considered as considerable step forward in urban democracy and citizen empowerment or a step backward to a disempowered "public" that rely on the private initiatives and results incapable to address urban poor's issues?
- The urban (re)appropriated spaces (like squats, or self-managed social centres) should be considered a potential source of "structural innovation for the city" or faced as a problem of "deviance" in the social order? What define the legitimacy of a grassroots practice and gives them the "right to stay put"?
- Do the concepts of "insurgent citizenship" and "insurgent practices" challenge the static nature of the rules through disobedience redefining the terms of the legality of legitimacy?
- In what conditions it is possible to consider the inclusion in public agenda of such tactics radically resisting/questioning/challenging hegemonic forms of space production and proposing alternative forms of social welfare, public estate management, public policies provision, based on citizens' empowerment and "subsidiarity", in the framework of the gradual dismantling of welfare state?
- Are these phenomena just reflecting the lack of participatory programs? Or Are they making evident the lack of democracy hidden behind the label of "participatory" in many inclusionary approach practices – which now are cardinal values for urban policies and practices? Should it be better, in these cases, to adopt "agonistic pluralism" theory instead of communicative ones?
- Are the actual inclusive and communicative processes able to grant voice and legitimacy to these radical practices enacted by informal actors that claims sovereignty?

- What conflicts have the capacity to maintain their "agonistic" potential and avoid being co-opted by dominant institutional practices or post-political neoliberal ideology?
- Which of these practices can have a transformative character?
- How much they have a normative potential of change of urban transformation's logics?

It is interesting how the debate regarding the "right to the city", the re-appropriation of space and the legitimacy of such bottom-up radical practices can be a key element to create that generative tension useful for producing innovation in the debate on inclusive practices for planning. It embodies the contrast between theories that, although starting from a common goal – to establish a new model of democracy - are opposed on ideological models: one based on neoliberal values (Rawls, Hambermas, Young, etc.), the other on neo-Marxist ones (Friedmann, Harvey, Mouffe, Lefebvre, Purcell, etc.). Likely, even in this matter, in the context of radical planning - that aims at social justice based on the recognition of the value of a project of political / economic / social transformation - working on the linkage between knowledge and action and the constant challenge between strategies and tactics, it is possible to define the co-evolutive relationship between practices and proposals, born both from the dominant system and the cyclically renovating social mobilizations.

CHAPTER 3

CONFLICTING CITIZENSHIP AND (RE)ACTIVE ZONES

1. CONFRONTING THE CASES OF BERLIN AND ROME

INTRODUCTION

Berlin and Rome have witnessed, since the 1970s on, a relevant phenomenon of squatting related to urban social movements. The two urban contexts are very different because of the legacies of inherited institutional frameworks, policy regimes, regulatory practices, and political struggles but the reclaiming processes, and the social movements and bottom-up processes related to them, show some important similarities. It make visible that it is possible to define these insurgent practices in a general analysis that is not only related to the local dimension, fundamental to the real understanding and interpretation of the actual phenomenon, but also to a widespread unsolved problem regarding a lack in local democracy that have produced contested forms of urban development (even in contest of very different levels of citizens' participation). Over the years, the development of discourses that legitimized and gave a political substance to the goal of social transformation (entailed in these practices) has produced the articulation of alternative forms of space production; everyday life; models of social and economic reproduction; concepts of autonomous collectivism and community self-empowerment. The fundamental intention that emerges from the analysis of the most collective and political of these reclaiming practices is to question the city as a place of reproduction of social and spatial models that ultimately foster the reproduction and maintenance of deep inequalities produced by multi-level forms of exclusion.

In Berlin, in a highly authoritarian system, inequalities are understood as the exclusion of democratic negotiation between dominant "narratives" and minoritarian / counter-hegemonic ones; in Rome, in a system that shows institutional "apathy" in the fulfilment of its basic tasks and low level of citizens' empowerment, inequalities are created by the uncontrolled growth of anonymous and degraded suburbs lacking in public services. The idea beyond these radical appropriations of urban space was also to give people the opportunity to improve the quality of the spaces of everyday life starting from their own needs and desires giving new centrality to territories that had become marginal due to unequal development strategies. These practices took hold from a utopian, progressive imaginary, sometimes also resilient, as it has been often based on the preservation and protection of certain elements of identity and authenticity of the city. The aim, in both cases, is to criticize the apparatus that puts this dominant mechanisms in practice privileging certain powerful social groups, and to empower alternative and radical strategies capable to address the collective interest.

Berlin and Rome are both Western European capitalist cities (the investigation have been based on West Berlin until 1989 and Berlin capital city from the 1990s on) both characterized, in different ways, by matters producing social inequalities that are often connected to some unsolved fundamental spatial issue of capitalist cities and neoliberal reform projects. Among them phenomena of constant production of indeterminate territories, gentrification and other processes of displacement and segregation, housing marketization, privatization of public services, financialization of the urban. In fact, there is something unique about the way in which cities have grown and transformed in recent decades that relates to the financialization of the economy in general and to the real estate and urban development sectors in particular. Many scholars investigating the field of globalization have proposed that political and economic transformations related to the adoption, at the national level, of neoliberal policies have often included financial liberalization and have just as frequently contributed to rising urban inequality (Sassen 2011). The relationship between the penetration of global capital into local development projects and real estate restructuring has been pointed out as a process marked by verticalization of the industry and the increased primacy of exchange values relative to user values in development decisions (Fainstein 1994, Logan 1993). Integration of property and financial markets has also been associated with urban sprawl (Knox 1993) and inner city gentrification (Smith 1996). Recent financialization literature has explored the specific mechanisms through which otherwise opaque, place-based commodities have been transformed increasingly into financial assets tradable in the global market (Aalbers 2008, Gotham 2006, 2009, Newman 2009) and examined the role of the state as a key agent in such initiatives (Gotham 2009, Weber 2010). These authors have also posited a relationship between rising financialization and growing inequality (Aalbers 2011, Fields 2013, Gotham 2014).[37]

In connection to these issues, these two cities are living a period of rekindled interest on the "right to appropriate" and the "right to participate" radically exercised for the will to take back at the centre of the debate the forgotten "right to the city" issue. Old radical experiences are interwoven to the recent experiences of waves of new urban protests and

[37] https://blogs.lt.vt.edu/reflectionsandexplorations/2014/11/20/financialization-of-the-urban-what-is-it-and-why-does-it-matter/

social movements. These have emerged mostly since the early 2000s on, when the rollout neoliberal phase became progressively more obvious due and so its side effects. Since then, numerous new episodes of (re)appropriation of urban public/private spaces contesting neoliberal restructuring (e.g. strategies of city marketing or mega projects, urban austerity) have emerged. In Berlin they have mostly emerged by the opposition against not-negotiated profit oriented urban development strategies that are producing the shrinking of the public city and the wild phenomena of speculation (producing gentrification cum displacement in central districts). In Rome mostly addressing the increasing housing crisis and the reckless sell-out of public spaces (often high value real estate or areas) and goods. All these controversial issues produced conflicts over contested forms of urban transformation and urban policies in the metropolitan area of Rome and Berlin and connected processes of (re)claiming of urban spaces. Even if the claims and context in which the claims arose were different, these cases often became a catalyst for a broader public discourse on the necessity to 'rethink' the right to the city, the autonomy of active citizenship in the production of urban space, the definition of commons on the urban scale and the "right to write the Right". They highlight the general claim for real democratic processes capable to neutralize or transform power relations and involve in or even make direct responsible for the decision making processes (citizens' empowerment), to define more just and shared future visions on the two cities' development strategies. In the face of globalization tendencies, which is the role do the decision-makers and practitioners, whose role have been reworked in the shift from government to governance and have now a more weak and blurred position, in negotiating such conflicts? In this framework, it looks central to redefine this role and his relationship with other actors that constantly produce and implement their own strategies from the bottom to address targets and issues of urban development. The individuation of reliable collaborative partners results a central concern within a governance system in which local authorities have to constantly face with problem connected to economic stagnation, bankruptcy, public disinvestment and economic competition. These other actors or stakeholders have to have the same possibility to influence and inspire the policies and practices, as much as the plans and tools towards the creation of more just and sustainable urban ideologies. Actually, the powerful interests and elites seem to predominate among bottom-up strategies. It depends, I argue, by the post-politicization of urban policies and planning and it progressively produced the vanishing of a clear conceptualization and some consensus regarding its normative ends (e.g. a more equitable, just or environmentally sustainable society). Today, strategies that not rely only on the need for economic growth, competitiveness, huge financial speculation and slavish acceptance of the rules of the market are mostly left aside provoking the de-politicization of the institutional action.

I argue that, in this sense, could be important, to achieve an higher level in the democratic debate over urban development and shared future visions to highlight the capacity that have had bottom-up processes such us reclaiming processes, in the last three decades in these two urban contexts, to catalyse public attention on controversial issues and propose radical planning practices and discourses capable to re-politicize urban policies and planning. Moreover it could re-legitimize its democratic goals. In order to obtain that, first of all, it is important to understand: why these practiced emerged? Who have been involved in their implementation? How they have been articulated? What they wanted to address? Which kind of urban transformation they intended to propose? Have the generative force intended in the confrontation between these alternative strategies and the institutional ones been capable to revitalize the democratic debate on urban policy? Have these fostered the individuation of new urban strategies aiming to include such critical radical urban phenomena and experiment alternatives in the use of space and in the production of new symbolic progressive meanings and visions?

The actually existing neoliberalism, deeply embedded in the context, tries to define its legitimacy through the deep influence on the construction of policies and practices capable on one side to colonize through consensual techno-managerial policies (Swyngedouw, 2011) and authoritarian strategies; «imposing market rule upon all aspects of social life» (Brenner and Theodore, 2002); through the capacity of adaptation to specific contests and requests in particular during periods of systemic capitalist crisis, «[…] a period of institutional searching and regulatory experimentation […]» (Brenner and Theodore, 2002). It makes visible the relationship of action/reaction existing between the development and application of urban neoliberal strategies and discourses (as new strategies for urban renewal, city marketing or economic revitalization) and the urban insurgent practices of reappropriation (forms of radical participation, referendum, direct experimentation of alternative space usages, bottom-up public policies, self-managed social services, etc.).

How the institutions have confronted with these phenomena reclaiming their legitimacy in a democratic confrontation between narratives and power positions?

A | Quick introduction to the urban context: Berlin

«Berlin has had to re-make itself (politically, economically, socially and finally culturally) repeatedly since the beginning of the 20th century and so it has also had to reconsider it's planning and building on a regular basis. This permanent laboratory situation, some call it "Berlin Transit", cannot be directly applied to other cities. But it does seem attractive, useful and promising for a multitude of objectives.» (Heyden, 2008, 33). Starting from the necessity to build a brand new capital city, passing through the brutal damages of the II World War and the consequent necessity to (almost) completely rebuild physically the city and symbolically its identity, **the imperative of "urban restructuring" and the strategies connected to that, has been always a central concern in Berlin's urban programs**. This physical and symbolic reconstruction of the city has faced the challenge to first differentiate its image by the Nazist period (starting from the 1950s) or by the Communist ideology (starting from the 1960s), and finally to construct the newly reunified and global capital of Germany (starting from the 1990s): every time confronting with the challenge of creating a brand-new city and yet conserving the urban and social historical fabric (Pugh, 2014). **Although the collective recognition of the centrality of such issue, many conflicts have been articulating in the last decades over the legitimation of such more ore less negotiated urban restructuring strategies**. Since 1960s, in opposition to the implementation of unnegotiated dominant strategies for urban renewal, a set of bottom-up tactics have been performed proposing alternative urban renewal, housing, local services provision strategies, and reclaiming right for participation and city space's appropriation. Those practices have been flourishing mostly in working class areas of the city and more specifically in Kreuzberg neighbourhood, but why?

To try to answer this question its necessary to shortly resume and analyse the peculiar coexistence of socio-spatial as much as political-economic elements that have characterized the evolution of the neighbourhood and have contributed to transform it in a **fruitful soil for the experimentation of oppositional milieu and critical urbanism**. These oppositional/alternative milieu have often been performed through the implementation of forms of radical space (re)appropriation «where theoretical ideas about performance and place were transformed into methodologies for recasting the materialities, temporalities and spatialities of architectural forms» (Vasudevan, 2011, 284). **Kreuzberg, borough of Berlin, has been a microcosm of leftist protest politics in the Federal Republic of Germany before and after unification** (Karapin, 2007) and so the scene of cyclical circumstances of "conflicting citizenship and reactive zones" during the 20th century. Its historical geography of protest has been strongly connected to the story of the *Mietshaus* or tenement house (Vasudevan, 2011, 293) - also for its centrality in the post IIWW urban renewal conflicts –, the struggle over cultural and space production often performed by excluded subjects: from the scene of workers' movement in the first decades of the century came the riots over the provision of housing in the 1860s and 1870s and the widespread strikes over rising rents in the early 1930s (Kowalczuk, 1992); from the youth protests' of the 1960s-1970s, in the framework of the affirmation of the counter-cultural movement, emerged the *Hausbesetzerbewegung* (squatter movement) from the 1960s onwards, opposing the dominant "production of space", proposing alternative everyday lifestyles and forms of collective living, self-empowering the people through the experimentation of a wide range of practices that prioritised the development of value-creating activities, not subsumable to or simple expressions of capital (Vasudevan, 2011, 286); squatters and citizens' groups based in Kreuzberg together with the immigrants' and city's poor, during the 1970s and 1980s, struggled for the "right to stay put" and alternative, more cautious and participated urban development strategies against urban renewal producing forced evictions and displacement; the tenants' movements (*Kotti&co, Mieterbellen, Wir bleiben Alle!*, etc.) and "stop eviction's movement" (*Zwangsräumung Verhindern*), in the last two decades, opposing gentrification, the lack of rental control policies and investments in public housing sector; and last but not least, the refugee movement, opposing the movement control measures and the ban to live and work into the city. More recently, many conflicts and forms of activism on public space, that involved wider sector of the population, have used various state-driven mechanisms to advance their causes in their having regularly and vigorously deputed against civic policies, projects, and regulatory measures, that it feels are detrimental to the city's public space (Pask, 2010).

It seems to connect to the new wave of urban conflicts emerged in Berlin and mostly in Kreuzberg and other former-working class neighbourhoods (such as Friedrichshain, Neukölln, Wedding, etc.), the most affected by recent urban renewal programs and uncontrolled increase in real estate values, addressing the question *"wem gehort die Stadt?"* ("who does the city belong?"). They highlight the conflictive nature of contemporary un-negotiated urban development such as the one for the "new Berlin" (Gualini, 2008). It has been claimed and argued that these conflicts are the results of large-scale urban projects that have gained a key strategic meaning in the discourse and practice of spatial development in Berlin since are seen as opportunities for local ambitions of competitiveness to be actively pursued by capturing mobile capital investments. «Besides failing to create integrated urban spaces and often even causing disruptive social effects and social conflict, the result often highlights a dramatic mismatch between public investments and collective returns» (Gualini, 2008, 1). This urban crisis dimension presents a (re)emergence of insurgent forms of space (re)appropriation, that, I argue, are connected in terms of practices, discourses and political strategies to the legacy of the radical/autonomous practices enacted by the squatter and counter-cultural movement in the previous decades. «Such sets of examples could be extended to include many locations throughout the city, all of which support

the thesis that the production and use of space in the capital, at least in most inner districts, has been determined through top-down as well as bottom-up development» (Heyden, 2008, 33).

Peculiar features have contributed to determine the **intertwined story of formal and informal urban policies and practices in Kreuzberg** neighbourhood in the last decades.

First, the problem/opportunity offered by the **big presence of vacant spaces** (the *Leerstand* phenomenon), such as housing stocks, factories, public assets, empty/never developed plots, most of them needing "rehab" interventions due to long vacancies or the destructions provoked by the war. These "indeterminate territories" were representing at the same time a problem, considered as one of the reason alimenting urban and social degradation in the neighbourhood, and an opportunity for new/open "definitions" of places completely disposable for transformations. At the same time the renovation of these spaces was strongly connected with the issue of the fragile historical city's identity that needed to be radically transformed or protected/enhanced/negotiated.

Second, the **West Berlin's extra-ordinary geography** has been a particularly relevant element for the development of Kreuzberg. Since the erection of the Wall, Kreuzberg East became a "pocket" of West-Germany in the East-Germany, since it was surrounded on three sides by the wall: that pushed the middle class to move out from the neighbourhood, substituted by the weaker sector of the population. This explains why, despite its centrality, Kreuzberg has been considered and treated as peripheral zone by urban development strategies until the fall of the wall. From this, the localization in the area of massive soulless public housing stocks, who often went to replace the historical urban fabric survived the bombardment, or the presence of old decrepit buildings rented at very low prices; moreover, the area was characterized until the middle 1980s by the general disinvestment in public facilities (such as parks, theatres, kindergartens, schools, etc.). When after the fall of the Wall Kreuzberg became again part of the inner city, the neighbourhood started to be interested by new strategies that gradually transformed it in one of the most attractive urban areas for middle and high classes ("creative class") and so for real estate investments, triggering a further process of replacement of the population.

Third, **Kreuzberg social fabric** have been constituted (since the 1960s on) by a big concentration of young population and immigrants (mostly Turkish) that bring with them a different/alternative way to conceive the use of the space, to construct, negotiate different lifestyles and everyday practices as well as new city identities and cultures, basically experimenting their "right to difference" (Lefebvre, 1974). In the framework of the dominant regulation of urban space with its mono-functionalization, commodification, the segregation of people and social practices into respectively designated zones many forms of resistance from all sorts of movements arose: «(d)riven by political reflection, curiosity or lust, there are numerous and varied examples where people have transgressed the rules in an attempt to intensify life, to live difference and producing spaces of difference.» (Lutz, 2008). Due to the concentration in this area of public policies for housing and rental control and a big number of cheap and low quality apartments, plus a big number of vacant buildings, the area resulted particularly affordable for poorest sector of the population and unattractive for real-estate speculation. Mostly young people, connected to radical leftist movements, started to take over abandoned spaces to define places for collective living and alternative culture, opposing the increasing control over public spaces and the imposition of hegemonic model of spatial and social reproduction: namely struggling against the colonization of everyday life, where social and spatial differences are homogenized but also fragmented to render them a commodity and easier to control by the capitalist system, through a process facilitated by the State (Lefebvre, 1968, 85). Moreover, through the occupation and renewal of abandoned properties, they proposed bottom-up practices suggesting a more sustainable urban renewal approach to oppose to the unsustainable top-down dominant strategies. These alternative projects became numerous over the decades and were the results of the legalization of many radical appropriations due to the negotiations with the public authorities. «For many young people, in particular, West Berlin acted as a kind of geographical correlate to a whole host of alternative political activities that shaped and were, in turn, shaped by the city's physical and symbolic fabric (see Scheer and Espert 1982; Scherer 1984).» (Vasudevan, 2011, 287). However, the peculiar Kreuzberg social fabric started to change after the fall of the Wall and today its social mix is threatened by the increasing phenomenon of gentrification.

Forth, the **political-geographical situation connected to its localization**. The perception of being suspended on the edge of the annexation to one or the other state (East Germany or West Germany), have contributed to influence the strategies of urban development, which were characterized by a sort of suspension/tension in the confrontation between two opposed different models: from the competition between the east and west on the urban development strategies resulted in the strongly subsidized programs for urban renewal, social housing, welfare assets, cultural policies, etc. as well as the enthusiastic adoption of international styles and paradigmatic urban renewal programs for the new city, in order to be the West's showcase (Pugh, 2014). In this context, the everyday conflicts linked to the physical and symbolic presence of the Wall physically represented the contrast between the two models, the capitalist and the communist one, and in their inability to communicate, all the fallibility and the unwillingness to negotiate their interpretation. This contrast contributed to make clear how the urban renewal strategies taking place on the West/East

side where nothing but the expression of the role of cultural production in Berlin's struggle for identity that is obtained through the articulation of "hegemonic practices" defining a particular structure of power relations[38] (Mouffe, 2012).

The **fifth** element, in connection to the fourth, stems from this perception of **absence of "urban democracy,"** «one in which citizens may be able to play an active role in the process of deciding public policy» (Davidoff, 1965, 332), and the actual exclusion of the "other alternatives," intended as "illegitimate," as out of constructed categories of legitimacy that reproduce State power and its sovereignty (Roy, 2007, 149). This perception of exclusion has motivated the articulation of forms of "insurgent urbanism" (intended as disruptive of the sovereignty of formal actors as the sole legitimate planning agencies), over the last decades, and resulted in the implementation of radical spatial counter-hegemonic practices (providing non-conventional/ non-institutional cultural, artistic, social and political activities), in order to publicly stress how any economic, political, social order are not absolute, but a "precarious articulation of contingent practices" that are the result of a "particular structure of power relations" as in a confrontation between ideologies, interpretive frameworks, more or less negotiable, but potentially all legitimate / illegitimate. In this context, the concept of "antagonism" assumes a strong meaning as capable of questioning and revealing the contingent dimension of each given order (Mouffe, 2012).

Summarizing, the high number of empty spaces, people without steady employment helped by the state, young people, artists, immigrants, and the strong political distrust connected to the imposition of unnegotiated forms of space and social reproduction had **created the conditions for grassroots, alternative, counter-hegemonic forms of urbanity to emerge in the neighbourhood**.

Following the fall of the Wall, some of these elements have lasted as significant some of them have changed their role. After 1989, the city was in no way prepared to become a European metropolis, the capital of Germany and the Land (Region State) centre. Since then, great efforts are being made to reunite the divided city, integrate it in the Land system, equalize the different living conditions between West and East Berlin, build new infrastructures and urban assets necessary to be able to compete on a national and international level and attract investments. «For the first decade after reunification, the size of the investment for the modernization and structural renewal was more than 100 billion German marks. It gives an idea of the complexity of tasks that have concerned planning decision-making» (Kunst, 2000). **The spatial restructuring and city transformation was «promoted to an internal and external audience of Berliners, visitors, and potential investors through high-profile city marketing events and image campaigns, which featured the iconic architecture of flagship urban redevelopment projects to symbolize the "new Berlin" of the post unification era** (Colomb, 2011). Yet by the mid 2000s the "new Berlin" marketed by urban boosters was no longer, in the eyes of many, so new and exciting. After a short-lived period of economic and real-estate euphoria in the early 1990s, it became apparent that Berlin would not become an economic powerhouse of global importance on a par with London or New York» (Colomb, 2012, 132). Harmut Häußerman and Andreas Kapphan propose to examine the effects of **three intertwined transformations** upon the Berlin post-Cold War's socio spatial fabric: the introduction of a market economy and private property structures in East Berlin; the end of West Berlin's special political status within the Federal Republic during the Cold War; and the transition from industrial production to service-sector led growth (Brenner, 2002). The city went through radical changes and hundreds of thousands of jobs were lost when the old East German factories collapsed, and West Berlin enterprises collapsed, too. In fact, **during the 1990s, Berlin witnessed a 150% decline in industrial employment, while a persistent unemployment hovered around 18%, that had declined to ca. 10.6% in 2008** (Häußerman and Förste, 2009) – considered a "success" of the last welfare system reform, the introduction of the *Hartz IV* system. «The recent decline in unemployment, celebrated as a political success, thus needs to be qualified in that much of this decline can be attributed to a substantial growth in underemployment by encouraging part-time employment or the notorious 1-Euro "mini-jobs" (Holzner, 2006)» (von Mahs, 2011, 1032). In Berlin the reforms did little to actually reduce the extent of long-term unemployment, which continues today to affect upward of 40% of all unemployed people in the **framework of a welfare system reform that contributed to a rise in insecure, low-wage employment**. The welfare restructuring, that took place in Germany since 2005, seems to have emulated neoliberal policies already tested in the U.S., underscoring the country's Americanization of social and labour policy (Ibid., 2011, 1032).

After the spatial-political-economic restructuring of 1990s decade, **in 2001, the government of the Land of Berlin almost faced bankruptcy and had to make severe cuts in public expenditure to tackle its large debt, which amounted to approximately 60 billion euro in 2010** (Colomb, 2012). Moreover the city was facing economic stagnation and increasing social problems for several causes: the failure of the "global city" urban renewal strategies, since expected large-scale wave of company relocations to the nation's largest city never took place (Ibid., 2012); the increase of homelessness[39] and unemployment, due to real estate speculation, connected to massive privatization of formerly nationalised properties, and the internationalization of the local economy and massive deindustrialization that

[38] "Hegemonic practice", by the definition given by theorists such as Gramsci or Moufee, is the articulation of the practices through which a given order is created and the sense of a social institution is fixed; in ultimately any "order" is the temporary and precarious articulation of contingent practices and this implies that everything could always be way other than how it is given and that each order is based on the exclusion of other possibilities; it is always the expression of a particular structure of power relations (Mouffe, 2012).

[39] For more information about the housing crisis in Berlin see http://www.bagw.de/de/themen/zahl_der_wohnungslosen/index.html.

produced income polarization, the loss of living-wage jobs, and increasingly concentrated poverty (Mayer, 1995, pp. 103–105); the increasing insufficiency in welfare provisions (von Mahs, 2011). From an analysis over the Americanisation of the homelessness and homeless policy in post-Unification Berlin in light of recent neoliberal policy reforms, the path dependency of the process is once again made visible through the comparison with the city of Los Angeles: «These **economic processes, accelerated by the decreasing availability of affordable housing, in turn facilitated expansion and diversification of the homeless populations in cities**, where in the mid-1990s up to one per cent of the respective populations were considered homeless at any given time» (Ibid., 2011, 1025). Following the growing phenomenon of homelessness, in Berlin, as in U.S. cities, there was a substantial increase in such exclusionary practices during the 1990s, which was accompanied by increasingly hostile, opportunistic rhetoric that negatively portrayed of homeless people and other "fringe" groups in urban spaces (Eick, 1996).

Applying the Brenner and Theodore's (2002) conceptualization of contemporary neoliberalization processes, as catalysts and expressions of an on-going creative destruction of political-economic space at multiple geographical scale, we can **summarize the processes of economic-political restructuring of the reunified city of Berlin**, stressing again the **path dependency** on of such processes: under the pressure of the State, the local authorities, stuck in the older industrialized economic system, suddenly started «to dismantle the basic institutional components of the post-war settlement and to mobilize a range of policies intended to extend market discipline, competition, and commodification throughout all sectors of society. In this context, neoliberal doctrines were deployed to justify, among other projects, the deregulation of state control over major industries, assaults on organized labour, the reduction of corporate taxes, the shrinking and/or privatization of public services, the dismantling of welfare programs, the enhancement of international capital mobility, the intensification of interlocality competition, and the criminalization of the urban poor.» (Ibid., 2002, 350).

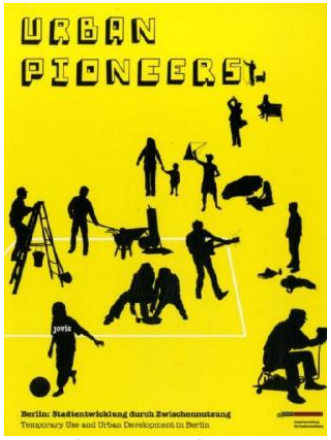
Moreover, **the coexistence of all these elements contributed to further increase urban wastelands**. Since the early 2000s because of this situation the city decided to actuate a shift in the strategy for the city enhancement toward "creative city" strategies in urban marketing (Colomb, 2012).

Due to the **paradigm shift to new forms of urbanity and more flexible urbanism**, planners have begun to look with **increasing interest to the forms of spontaneous urbanity and alternative practices**, flourished in the city and mostly concentrated in the districts of Friedrichshain-Kreuberg *Spreeraum* (a vast tract of inner city vacant land on both sides of the Spree River) where was the heart of the *Zwischennutzung* ("in between use") culture (Heyden, 2008). In the decades before, these surreal landscapes made of open, institutionalised and implied nomadic spaces, that appeared to critique conventional monumentality and fixed urban architecture (Sheridan, 2007) were mostly considered as something to repress, hinder, normalize or co-opt in urban major strategies (Colomb, 2012). In fact, for several years «these sites— and their temporary use — were neglected by local policy-makers and left out of the official promotional discourse of urban elites: they were perceived as irrelevant, marginal, or not economically useful in the dominant language of place marketing and interurban competition. From the early 2000s onward, however, the creative, unplanned, multifaceted, and dynamic diversity of such "temporary uses of space" was gradually harnessed into urban development policies and city marketing campaigns» (Colomb, 2012, 132).

Today Berlin, after forty years of radical and alternative practices experimenting over "indeterminate territories" (Sheridan, 2007), various mobile and temporary structures used for various transient activities, **offers an extremely interesting "catalogue" of forms of reappropriation** that range widely in nature and that constitute one of its most attractive elements. In fact, the "wastelands" that still punctuate the city are not dead spaces and have been used on a temporary basis by a variety of actors and transformed into a variety of activities (Colomb, 2012). **Garage, old factories and workshops, ex-power stations, train depots, abandoned schools and hospitals, liminal spaces along the "death strip", etc. turned into unconventional clubs, markets, circuses, spaces for cultural and artistic production, outdoor theatres, parties, spaces for leisure, sports, for social activities, for living, for political debate, for neighbourhood's community based services, and even farming**. It has made possible not only by the large availability of vacant spaces but also by regulative "gaps" and/or impossibility of management of the large number of vacant properties in the city, an unresolved issue for the public (as well as the private) actor (Sheridan, 2007; SenStadt, 2007). Some of these "alternative projects" aspired to be «utopian semi-agrarian communities playing public roles as places of entertainment and carnivals, while others were seen as the refuge of the 'homeless'. The large open spaces remaining where the Berlin Wall had been, allowed many of these *Wagendorfer*[40] – literally "wagon village" – to be centrally located on highly prominent sites» (Sheridan, 2007, 103).

[40] *Wagenplätze* (literally "wagon places") are an expression of alternative forms of living within an advanced capitalist state (people living in sort of semi-legal vans' parking sites). «Especially in contrast to other informal and marginalized settlements elsewhere, it needs to be acknowledged that they are a political and cultural expression where people voluntarily (albeit under conditions not of their choosing as Marx put it) renounce the comfort of standard housing, a post-materialist stance they consider emancipatory.» (Lutz, 2008) – i.e. some Wagenplätze are without running water or electricity, but organize an improvised infrastructure, often with ambitious ecological standards -. But the Wagenplätze are also an indicator of an on-going crisis since more people struggle to find a decent housing. «Simply put, the message of the Wagenplätze as places of difference reads: some people cannot or do not want to live in the cities as they are produced right now, and demand to live differently and thus to change the city.» (Ibid., 2008).

The capacity of the players involved in such developments to address the problem of waste lands, reintegrating apparently redundant spaces into the urban structure and then to blossom creative projects in that urban sites that, during the 2000s, increasingly appeared to be unmarketable in the medium to long term, has been **identified** by the City (Urban Catalyst, 2001; SenStadt, 2007) **as a potential catalyst for future urban development and real estate market revival** (stalled after the great real estate speculations of the after Cold War Berlin). This idea has been analysed and developed by Urban Catalyst, in the URBAN ACT survey for temporary uses (2003), commissioned by the Senate of Berlin competing for EU funding program called "UrbanAct".



SenStadt (2007), Urban Pioneers

The EU URBACT program, that titles "Working together to promote best practice", is a specific programme of URBAN II (EU funding program) and promotes a "European Network for Exchange of Experience" in order to provide the exchange of good practices across Europe. In 2007, the survey on Temporary uses by Urban Act was published in the manual for "urban pioneers" that **focus on the great opportunity for local administration offered within the city by the urban pioneers that are individuated as potential cooperative partners for temporary management and enhancement of the big number of empty spaces with cost free for the owners**. URBACT consists of two main priorities. First, as mentioned, the exchange and dissemination of knowledge trough thematic networks organised by the cities themselves, actions to build the capacity of urban actors, and studies, setting aside 14 million euro for this priority, of which 50% will come from the EU and 50% from project partners. Second, capitalisation and information, through website, the presentation of results, a toolbox and information on illustrative projects, that can provide a total funding of 8.8 million euro. In addition there is a budget of 1.96 million euro for technical assistance and for the running of the programme.[41]

This element recall one of the analysis of Brenner and Theodore that talking about "Mechanisms of Neoliberal localization", on the entry about "Recalibration of intergovernmental relations individuate as "Moment of destruction" the "dismantling of earlier systems of central government support for municipal activities" and as "**Moment of creation**," the "devolution of new tasks, burdens, and responsibilities to municipalities" and (especially fitting in this case) the «**creation of new incentive structures to reward local entrepreneurialism and to catalyse "endogenous growth"**» (Ibid., 2002, 369). In fact, temporary uses are individuated as forms of "local entrepreneurialism" and catalyst of "endogenous growth" and moreover they provide to manage, at little costs for the city authority, some of its tasks and burdens, such as: the maintenance of the vacant property in terms of security and vandalism; the socio-economic development of otherwise abandoned areas; the maintenance and accessibility to new public spaces. Quoting the manual for "Temporary use and urban pioneers" (2007), **according to the Berlin Senate, "there's no getting away from temporary use for local authorities" in the "current scarcity of public funding"** and the consequent necessity (increasingly constrained) "to seek cooperation partners willing to assume responsibility for the development of vacant public properties and sites" where "the role of local authorities therefore shifts from that of provider to facilitator" (with local authorities giving direct support through funding or acting as a guarantor in negotiations with third parties).

This individuated solution results perfectly aligned with the weakening of national models of socio-economic governance and the need for economic enhancement of the city: «(i)n an era of financial restrictions in which public authorities have a limited direct investment capacity, **the ways in which the local state has promoted temporary uses of space involve mediation, assistance in locating sites or the relaxation of licensing and planning procedures**» (Colomb, 2012, 139). The Berlin-specific derelict land, until the beginning of the 2000s, was ignored in neighbourhoods such Friedrichshain or Kreuzberg 'cause the construction and development boom was focusing on the more central area of 'Berlin-Mitte'.[42] The definition of the "temporary use" strategy for urban renewal and «gradual process of enlistment of new forms of cultural and social expression by policy-makers and real estate developers for urban development and place marketing purposes», transformed the role of "waste lands," so essential for the development of creative bottom-up practices, into attractive elements for the market and so **it «has put pressure on the very existence and experimental nature of "temporary uses" and "interim spaces"**» (Ibid, 2012, 131).

Following the shift towards **the recognition of the temporary uses** not only as a social phenomenon and features that always characterized cities that were "conceived and built for long-term" but also **as structural component of urban development** (SenStadt, 2007), **the large presence of alternative spaces**, that evokes the story of the famous Berlin's counter-cultural movements and the alternative and bohemian dimension of the first "Communes", the *Instandbesetzung* and *Hausprojecte*, **were more often co-opted and placed at the centre of a the city's urban marketing** strategies, undermining their authenticity instead of negotiating their role within the urban transformation

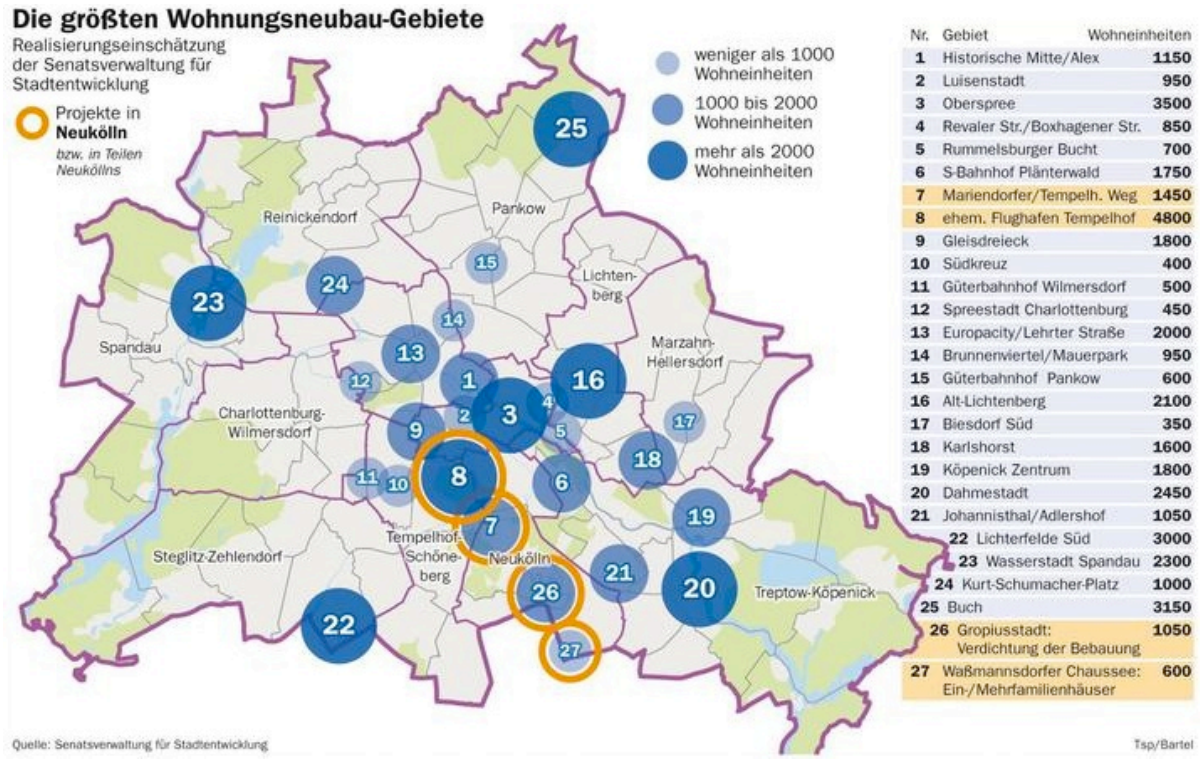
[41] http://urbact.eu/#

[42] Oswald (Urban Catalyst, 2001) refers to the Berlin-specific phenomenon of urban vacancies as 'bathtub urbanism'—i.e. the existence of massive stretches of wastelands in the middle of the city. Some had been occupied by the Berlin wall and thus were not available for development from the 1960s, others were occupied by major infrastructure and industrial sites which have been abandoned due to deindustrialisation processes since the early 1990s.

process. Moreover, according to Misselwitz (et al.), the implementation of such innovative and **flexible strategies more often individuate temporary users as nothing more than gap-fillers in the time lapse when market demand permits a return to regulated urban planning** (Ibid., 2007, p. 104). It means the recognition of such interim use of spaces is played in the tension between their use value (as publicly accessible spaces for social, artistic, and cultural experimentation) and their potential commercial value. «**As Lefebvre reminds us, the prioritization of use value over exchange value that is so essential to appropriation is likewise in fundamental opposition to the hegemonic strategies of capital accumulation** (cf. Lefebvre, 1974, 356) and thus calls into action "the disciplinary instruments of state, military and technology" (Doderer, 2003, 21).» (Lutz, 2008).

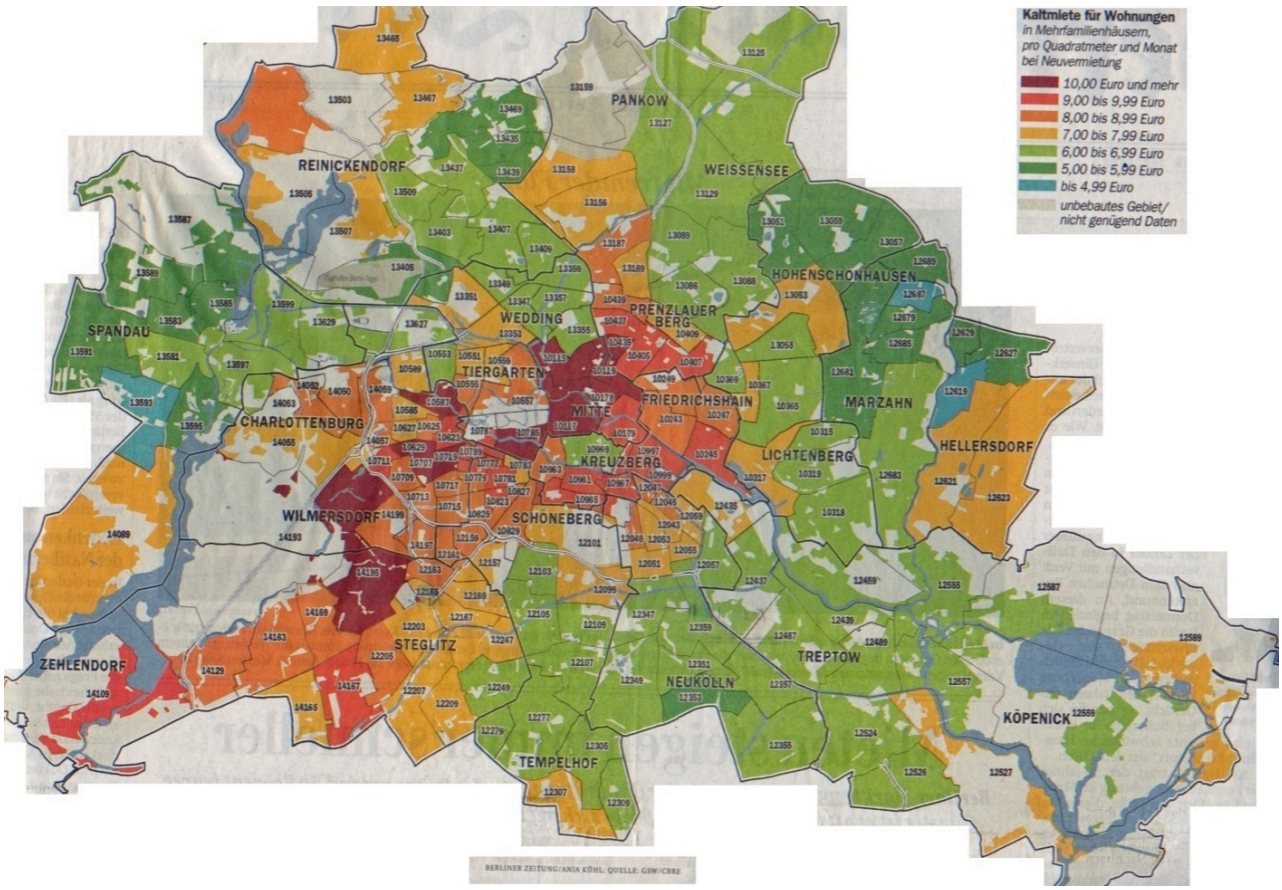
The case of **the mega project Media Spree is a paradigmatic example that makes evident this process of co-optation of value/commercial potential of such grassroots and autonomous initiatives**: «In the past decade, this urban fringe has evolved as a "laboratory for examining the residual" (Oswald, 2000, 84), a safe haven for sub-cultures and the 'temporary'. However, the Upper Spree area at present is increasingly seen as the new major development axis in Berlin: its sheer size and central location offering—in the eyes of the investors—singular potential for retail and third-sector business development. Recent plans such as the 'Media Spree' project[43] commissioned for the development of the area clearly manifest the one-sided, ambiguous character reflected by the restructuring of Berlin since 1989.» (Groth, Corjin, 2005, 512). This process produced an enhancement in land value and drew on Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg district speculative interests, stimulating investments that in the last decade have focused more on residential real estates new construction sites (*Wohnungsneubau-Gebeite*). It caused increasing phenomena of gentrification and displacement of the population towards the outskirts of the city.

This is also connected to the urban neoliberal restructuring strategies that are particularly affecting the neighbourhood and is profoundly transforming its economic and social fabric due to the reintroduction of "accumulation by dispossession," as a way to solve the problems of flagging capital accumulation (Harvey, 2005): it involves in general the concepts of «conversion of common, collective, and state form of property rights and the suppression to right to the common» and it also «chipping away at common property rights (that have been won in the Fordist era by the working class) reverting them to the private sector» (Meyer, 2013). In fact, the area as been particularly affected by these transformations because was characterized by a big social housing and public assets stock that has been progressively privatized. All these elements are contributing to the transformation of Kreuzberg identity from "poor but sexy" to "rich and unaffordable" (Spiegel Online, 2012).



The new construction areas provided by the Construction Plan for Berlin: the highest number of new constructions is concentrated in the Friedriechshain-Kreuzberg district (Source: SenStadt, 2007)

[43] 'Media Spree' is a recent project to develop the waterfront of the River Spree into a new location for media-related industries and services.



Map of rent price level in Berlin: Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg is becoming one of the more expensive areas in the city. The area around Kottbusser Tor (in green) resulted still affordable (Source: GSW/CBRE)

Protesters near the wall. Sign reads: "Berlin is not for sale." (Source: photo by Luisa Rossini)

In Berlin the housing prices «were around average up until the end of 2010, but have subsequently grown at a far higher rate. Since January 2007, the beginning of our observation period, **prices for flats in Berlin have increased by 73%, which corresponds to around 10% a year**. In Hamburg and Munich, the annual price increase was 7.3 and 5.6%, respectively. The sharp rise in Berlin can be partially explained by the relatively low starting point for such a large metropolis.» (Kholodilin, Mense, 2012). This contributed in Berlin, and in particular Kreuzberg, in creating a scenario of an increasing number of urban conflicts, such as the citizens' mobilizations against the **waves of evictions for rental array**, the significant reduction/substitution of public spaces, the un-negotiated mega-project fostering the marketization of big parts of the city.

Quoting Mathias Heyden, architect, activist and former-squatter: «**At the moment this raises in particular the question of the relationship between the numerous experiments in temporary urban appropriation and a city development that is increasingly oriented toward capital. In terms of concrete planning, how do the (sub)cultures of 'between-use' affect the general planning and building culture?** To what extent is this not becoming or already is a part of the neo-liberal project, when for example, the heart of the 'between-use' culture, the districts of Friedrichshain-Kreuberg *Spreeraum* (a vast tract of inner city vacant land on both sides of the Spree River) are increasingly defined by profit-oriented ventures? In particular, the *Media-Spree*-Development, which is trying to 'integrate' the (sub)culture of the so-called urban pioneers into their agenda.» (Heyden, 2008, 33-34).
The point is that **in the adoption of temporary uses the economic development rationale has been predominant** (Colomb, 2012) **weakening the actual possibility to: effectively "defend" the right to stay put or represent the instances of a project that have a good local response**; be sufficient in translate in the system of regulations existent

grassroots practices that are present on the urban territory since a long time or are willing to stay for a longer time (more than 10 years) and for this reason are not definable as "temporary". In fact, tenancy duration is generally considered within 3 months to 10 years and its "depending on how marketable a landlord consider his property to be" (SenStadt, 2007). The problem is that, these short-hold lease and notice agreements "frequently lessen a project's chances to acquiring public funding or bank loans". Moreover, these notice agreement are based on a "relinquishment contract" that on one side looks favourable to the development of "local entrepreneurialism" since it stipulates that "a site or institution be relinquished to temporary users free of charge, without altering the terms of ownership" (popular in case where a public institution such us playing fields, a swimming pool, etc. is put at the disposal of an association), but on the other it allows the owner to terminate the contract at very short notice, or even immediately, if the site is sold or rented to the normal market price.

Generally speaking, **in response to these "economic development rational" approach and its most controversial urban development policies and city marketing campaigns based on mega-projects, on one side, and co-optation of "temporary uses of space", on the other, that are increasingly affecting the district in recent years, many forms of resistance against such processes are emerging**. These forms of resistance involve: the low-income population settled in Kreuzberg since decades, such as retired, Turkish families, immigrants, the unemployed, students and artists, who are the most affected by gentrification cum displacement processes, the increasing insufficiency in welfare provisions and the shrinking/substitution of public spaces; people involved in the Berlin "radical left political scene" and self-managed alternative spaces, which are threatened by evictions and co-opted in the Berlin urban marketing discourses over its alternative and creative dimension; the population of the district in general that, since 1970s, is organized into committees to participate actively in decisions that concerned their own neighbourhood, opposing non-negotiated urban developments that affect them. It is worth stressing that, something that lasted, and looks to be still significant today in the neighbourhood, is the high presence of people politically engaged (neighbourhood's organizations, autonomous' movements, etc.).

«It should be noted, however, that **the creative destruction of capitalist territorial organization is always unpredictable and deeply contested**. Even within industrial landscapes that have been systematically devalued by capital, social attachments to place persist as people struggle to defend the everyday practices and institutional compromises from which capital has sought to extricate itself (Hudson 2001). At the same time, **capital's relentless quest to open up fresh spaces for accumulation** is inherently speculative, in that **the establishment of a new "spatial fix" is never guaranteed**; it **can occur only through "chance discoveries" and provisional compromises in the wake of intense socio-political struggles** (Harvey 1989; Lipietz 1996).» (Brenner and Theodore, 2002, 355).

B | Quick introduction to the urban context: Rome

Unlike Berlin, a city whose most historically relevant urban development started since the eighteenth century on, Rome is a city whose origins date back almost three thousand years ago. **Its urban development has gone through many phases in which the city has continued to regenerate over herself** (element that has created many problems in the modernization of the historical city). Despite the Rome of the year "zero" was populated by about one million inhabitants, the city's population was gradually reduced over the centuries, coming to number only two hundred thousand inhabitants when in 1870, the armies of the Italian kingdom entered its walls overthrowing the Vatican State. Since Rome became the capital of the Italian Realm, as well as in other European capitals, a **continuous flow of immigration started to target the city producing an incessant need for houses**. The city's economy, until then based on the management of properties by the aristocracy and agriculture, was suddenly transformed into an economy based on the construction industry and the service sector. **Contrary to other European capitals, however, the city never witnessed the creation of an industrial and productive system** (Insolera, 2001). **Although construction activity has been the city's main economic engine in the last century connected to great interests**, **Rome has been always affected by a chronic housing emergency**. In this framework, since 1960s until today, **numerous examples of radical (re)appropriation practices** have been flourishing mostly in the city's peripheral neighbourhoods and today «**(i)n Italy, the case of Rome is particularly interesting for the well-articulated forms of resistance and for the high number of people involved, among the highest in European cities**» (Mudu, 2014b), but why?

To try to answer this question its necessary to shortly resume and analyse the peculiar coexistence of socio-spatial as much as political-economic elements that have characterized the evolution of these neighbourhoods and have contributed to transform it in a fruitful soil for the experimentation of spontaneous urbanity.

First, most of the **plans and programs for urban development have suffered a deficit of public administration direction**, often willing or conditioned to follow the private initiative (the big interests, forms of clientelism) rather than fulfilling its role as guarantor of the collective interest. Insolera in his book "*Roma Moderna*" (2001) shows how **all the City Master Plans defining strategies for the urban development of Rome have been strongly affected by private (sometimes latent) interests** showing how the "true urban law" that governed Rome for decades has been since its

beginning «the maximum profit through every possible parasitical revenue» (Ibid., 2001, 320). «More in particular, during the post-war era, land and real estate interests have been effective – through the establishment of clientelistic and corruptive ties and agreements with local political powers dominate by the Christian Democrats (DC) – at orienting planning policies towards choices ensuring very high returns for private land and real-estate holdings and investments.» (Coppola, 2013, 3). Following this agreement – defined as "*Blocco Edilizio*" - **the city expanded chaotically mostly in the form of extremely dense, low quality and under-serviced urban neighbourhoods oriented to a middle class demand** (Insolera, 1981). This weak role of the local authorities has never been healed, and the lack of real strategies addressing the local urban issues has allowed and sometimes fuelled, over the time, the development of disordered and fragmented parts of the city and of its public dimension while the urban issues related to housing crisis, the social exclusion, the insufficient and unequal mobility system or the concentration of economic activities and resources in central city's areas were mostly temporarily or insufficiently addressed resulting in the worsening of the city system's crisis. This resulted in a lack of confidence by citizens in the ability of programs and urban development policies to solve urgent issues that undermines access to the right to the city. Moreover it fuelled the general belief that there is complicity between the public authorities and the powers of the city fostering the disenfranchisement of urban inhabitants.

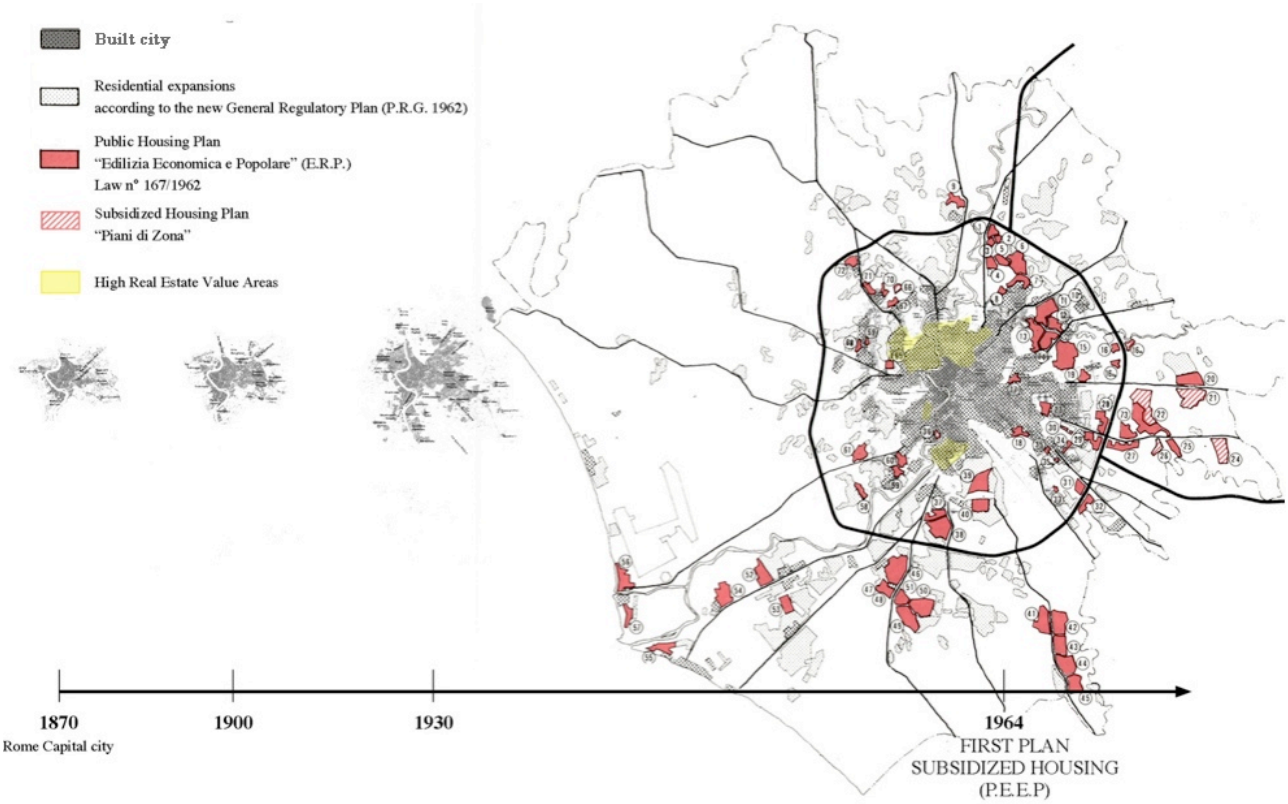
Second element, strongly connected with the first is the **great housing speculation** phenomenon. Throughout the century, in Rome, the interests of the great land speculation, as opposed to a steady flow of migrants into the city, have contributed generating a social exclusion and a chronic housing crisis fuelled through: the widespread use of maintaining high rates of vacancy, in connection with speculative logics; the localization of big public housing neighbourhood in low value areas isolated from the city, producing the urbanization of the intermediate areas, between the city and the new districts, which in addition to stifling foster the wildfire expansion of the city, increased lands values of areas belonging to big real estate companies or investors; the implementation of insufficient and today decreasing public strategies to resolve or mitigate the problem while the public intervention on the housing sector has been mainly oriented, during the decades, towards guaranteeing the access of households to property more then fostering the creation of a housing rental market (Italian housing policy has primarily consisted in public financial support to the building and buying of houses); the booming "market of homeless and immigrants" that allowed big profits in recent years to some groups of large real estate investors and groups of latent actors (as shown in the recent results of the investigation called "*Mafia Capitale*").[44] Moreover, **in Rome, the years of great speculation, that are identified as began in the 1960s, are actually never ended and are perpetuated thanks to a constant housing crisis that justify the constant over-production of houses**, which results today in the almost complete disappearance of the country areas around Rome, known as Agro Romano, famous for its beauty. The opposition against the dynamics of real estate speculation that benefit large groups of investors at the expense of the needs expressed by the territory, in the last two decades has resulted in the collective occupation of empty housing units owned by the big Roman contractors and has produced in recent years the citizens mobilization against speculation on public lands.

The **third** element regards the creation of **big isolated and often-anonymous peripheries** characterized both by public and private legal constructions and by a strong spontaneous/illegal dimension, developed mostly between the 1920s and the 1980s[45] (and still today through different forms because of the housing crisis). The big production of housing in Rome, between 1960s and 1970s, emerged in an attempt to address the issues of very degraded peripheral areas with more than 2000 families living in 57 *borghetti* and *borgate*[46], where the approximate distribution of population was about 100,000 people living in the official *borgate*, about 75,000 people in the spontaneous ones, while slum dwellers ranged from 80,000 to 100,000 (Erbani, 2013). Despite thousand of public housing units were produced thanks to several national housing programs, since these first initiatives addressed mostly workers seen as the "future middle class", the phenomenon of illegal allotments and settlements in the 1970s was very wide: «Insolera and then Giovanni Berlinguer and Piero Della Seta, authors of *Borgate di Roma*, [...] have calculated that **at the end of the seventies were between 800 and 830 thousand Romans who lived in abusive homes, built without any license, then somehow were made legal**. Other estimates speak of 10,000 abusive built hectares, just under 20 per cent of all the existing built areas in Rome.» (Erbani, 2013).

[44] *Mafia Capitale* is a police investigation that revealed a network of corrupt relationships between some politicians and criminals (Mafia) in the Italian capital, in which alleged crime syndicates misappropriated money destined for city services.

[45] The book "*La metropoli spontanea*" (the spontaneous metropolis) by A.Clementi & F. Perego (1983) has documented the wide phenomenon of illegal settlements and slums developed in Rome.

[46] *Borgate* and *Borghetti* were spontaneous settlements, like slums, located on the outskirt of the city while, existing since the beginning of the XX century to the 1970s. Official *Borgate* are settlements located in the outskirt of the city, realized during the fascism to relocate poor people displaced from the historical centre. Their social isolation was emphasized by a spatial isolation where these settlements were localized in completely anonymous topographic areas, the new suburbs official represented a kind of foreign body city, from which were, in fact, kept away. Moreover, these settlements were produced with public moneys by private developers exploiting the dire needs of the poor: built with poor materials, the apartment blocks were usually two stories above ground, often three (more rarely, four or even five) with repetitive configurations and layouts with square without any characteristic features and dramatic lacks in community centres, as well as places for social activities.



This image shows the city growth trend since the 1870 (Insolera, 2001 – the yellow area has been added by the author to the original image). It is visible the boost in the city's spatial development connected to the localization and development of public housing districts (P.E.E.P.) on the very outskirts of the built city in 1964

Despite the **housing programs permitted**, both the workers and then to weaker sectors of the population that were living in slums or suffered housing exclusion, to **access to decent housing** (to the first as owners and the seconds as tenants), they **contributed in perpetuating the fundamental element of social selection** since these neighbourhoods were located in very peripheral and anonymous areas, built with poor materials and lacking in community centres as well as spaces for social activities, even if many of them were built as "independent cities" (Clementi, Perego, 1983) with all the necessary facilities.

In fact, the development of the **informal city** (like *Centocelle*, *il Quadraro*, etc.) produced the **big lack in public spaces** in those areas and contributed to the evolution of a fragmented and dispersed urban fabric. Again the unofficial acceptance of this city's informal dimension, more than being beneficial for the individual who built his own home or for the State, lifted from the problem of finding immediate solutions, it **resulted advantageous for the investors** that thanks to the realization of illegal allotments out of the urban plan previsions, reached large profits through blind intensive land speculation. **To overcome this deficiency**, the new **public housing neighbourhoods** built in the 1960s and 1980s (like *Spinaceto*, *Tor Bella Monaca*, *Corviale*, *Laurentino 38*, *San Basilio*, etc.) **were provided of oversized urban standards** that **become often "indeterminate territories,"** abandoned places, since most of them were never "activated", due to lack in public investments. **All these elements contributed in the creation of one of the more "gloomy and degraded" peripheries in Europe** (Cederna, 1965) that since the beginning suffered physical isolation because of the distance from the city itself worsened by the lack in public transport connections.

The large presence of "urban voids" (like abandoned industrial sites, military barracks or public assets such as schools, parking spaces, ASL - local health company, community centres, etc.) together with the lack of accessible spaces for living, the physical isolation of the public housing districts, and their **lack in local public services or of any kind** of space but residential (as spaces for social and leisure activities) **have created the conditions for the spread of practices of radical (re)appropriation of spaces for "public" purposes**, the so-called "occupations[47]," both for housing and for the implementation of the so called Occupied Self-managed Social Centres (CSOA).

The **forth** element regard the **insufficient or ineffective public housing policies and the increasing housing exclusion** due to neoliberal restructuring of the housing system. As we already mentioned the public housing programs in Rome albeit have led to the creation of thousands of units have never been able to address the problem in a sufficient

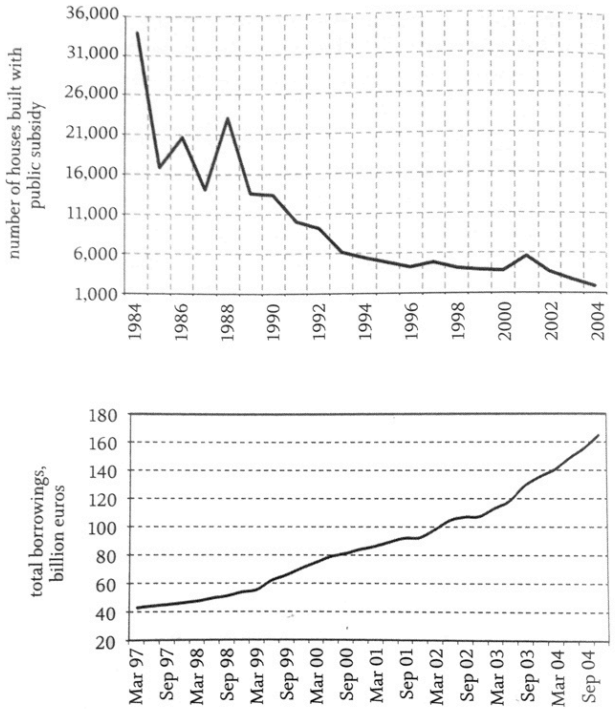
[47] «A note on terminology: the term "squat" is probably inadequate to describe the Italian situation. In Italian, the word "squat" is used more rarely than the word occupazione (occupation). Occupation refers to a very broad range of political and social actions, and implies a larger range of meanings than squatting, such as the illegal occupation of workplaces, squares, apartments, buildings or lands, so that it is a more appropriate term to describe such a broad social phenomenon.

manner and have consisted in modest initiatives compared to those implemented in the rest of Europe. Moreover, during the decades, a big share of public housing stock, technically known as *Edilizia Residenziale Pubblica* and popularly known as *Case Popolari*, have been sold to its tenants or private investors, so that the social rent dimension in Italy, always played a marginal role. **Today Italy results one of the European countries with the lower percentage of stock of public housing (just about 4%) over the total amount of housing unites**[48] that is making even more difficult actuate public strategies to address housing crisis.

Moreover, during the 1990s and the first half of the 2000s:

- the given framework of liberalization of rental market (since 1998 with the Law n°431 abolishing the *Equo Canone* law[49] - rental control law);
- the closure in 1998 of the Ex-Gescal Fund,[50] the fund for affordable housing both at a regional and local level, that financed the construction of subsidized housing for 1,5 billions of Euros in the past;
- the dramatic decrease in public housing production by the state starting from 1984;
- the big disposal of the old municipal housing blocks, since the beginning of 2000s[51]

all these elements contributed to the actual situation of crisis of public housing sector. Moreover, it **provoked the consequent steeply growth of rental and buying prices and growing "housing crisis" issue resulted in mass housing exclusion**.



Housing builds with public subsidies, 1984-2004 (a) and debt for purchasing houses, 1997-2004 (b). Source: ANCI-CRESME (Mudu,

The steadily shifting from a tenant to a owner based housing system contributed strongly to the precarization of the access to affordable housing for the lower-income population. It results worth to quote the Pierpaolo Mudu's article (2014b), describing the housing crisis condition in Rome in order to clarify this issue: «In the 1980s, the first suggestion to public institutions from promoters of a free market was for families to leave public housing to buy their own apartments (see Figure on the left). In a few years the majority of Italian people were convinced to change to ownership of their apartments. In 1971, 47 per cent of families rented the apartment where they were living. By 2001 that figure was 20 per cent. This shift from renting to owning generated long-term revenue for banks offering mortgages. The borrowers typically took decades to repay their mortgage loans. In 20 years, beginning in the 1980s the amounts due to be reimbursed to the banks rose to more than 160 billion Euro (ANCI-CRESME, 2005)» (Mudu, 2014b, 140). Moreover, dates from the early nineties also the so-called "Amato-Carli Law" (Law no. 218/1990), which led to the gradual privatization of the Savings Banks and Banks in Italy[54]. «It was necessary for the market to change in significant ways for this shift to be successful. Rental prices increased to a level higher than mortgage rates, and unregistered rent contracts

[48] Percentage of social rent housing over total national housing unites in European countries (from Eurostat, Insee, Istat, Uk Central Statistical Office data of 2012): 36,4% Netherland; 24,7% Denmark; 23,4% Austria; 21% Great Britain; 20,7% Sweden; 18% French; 14,1% Ireland; 10% Germany; 5,4% Belgium; 3,7% Italy; 3,4% Portugal; 1,6% Spain; 0% Greece. Moreover, in the document presenting the "housing condition" in Europe, through data collected by Eurostat (2014), is showed the "distribution of population by tenure status" (Eurostat 2012): in Italy on a total of 25.030 housing unites, the 72,2 % are owner occupied (among them about the 60% are not connected to outstanding mortgage or housing loan that instead refers to the rest 12,2%), the 15,9% are tenant market price and the 3,7% are tenant with social rent programs; while in Germany on a total of 29.680 units, the 41% are owner occupied, about half with outstanding mortgage or housing loans, the 49% are tenants with market price, and the 10% are tenant with social rent programs.

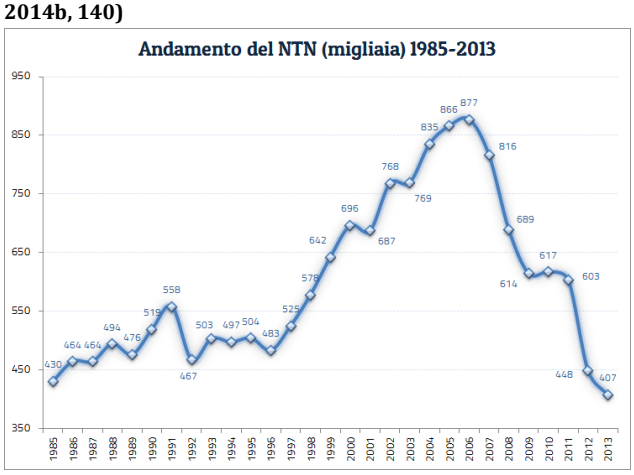
[49] *Equo Canone* is the rental control law introduced in 1978 as the result of a long cycle of struggles based on rent strikes referring to the more general struggle, started during the 1970s, against the "carovita" (meaning intolerable inflationary pressure hampering the life of working-class people; Daolio, 1974). The introduction of the Equo Canone law (Law No. 392/1978) was intended «to capped rents in cities at affordable prices for low to medium-income tenants, with automatic renewals contract, but few property owners complied with this law, producing an affective boycott of it.» (Mudu, 2014b, 139).

[50] «When in 1998 this Fund was closed the consequence was that while in 1984 were built 34.000 subsidized houses in 2004 just 1.900 units were build in all Italy.» (Agostini, 2011).

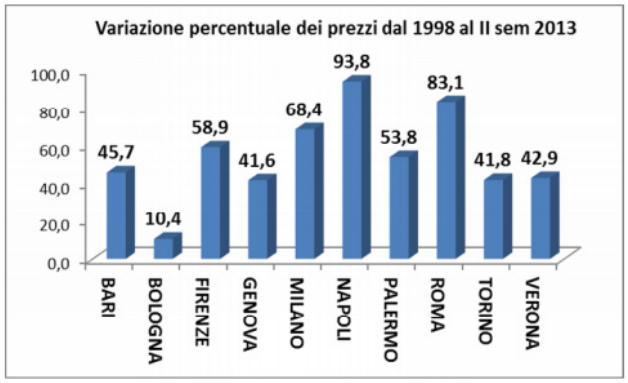
[51] Interview to Maurizio Nucetelli, secretary to former Public assets and housing policies Councillor Claudio Minelli under the centre-left wing mayor Veltroni (2001-2008).

[54] See: "Primo rapporto sul secondo welfare in Italia – 2013" [First report on the second welfare in Italy – 2013"]

2014b, 140)



Figure(c): Housing unites selling trend in Rome since 1985 to 2013[52]



Percentage variation in real estate prices in Italy[53] **(1998-2013)**

were tolerated, putting tenants in difficult positions.

This made the rental market marginal and subordinate to the sales market. However, this perverse mechanism could not last forever. Currently in Italy, people with a yearly income below 14.000 euro spend between 63 per cent and 94 per cent of their income on housing, which is disproportionate when a "fair" percentage is estimated to be around 30 per cent (CNEL, 2010). The average rent under new contracts in Rome is estimated by CNEL as between 740 and 1.100 euro per month, while the average monthly income of lower-income tenants is less than 1.200 euro (Ibid., 2010).» (Mudu, 2014b, 141). However, also for families with a yearly income of 30.000 Euro the rent has a burden on the income of 45% for houses in the suburbs and 77,8% for houses in the centre (Caritas, 2010). Between 1999 and 2008 the already dysfunctional Italian rental market has experienced an increase in rental prizes between 130% and 145%; in particular in Rome there has been an exceptional increase and average rental prizes are higher than in any other Italian city (Caritas 2010). The shift to neoliberal policies happened during the last two decades have been strongly focusing on the housing market, as capable to ensure better profits, and big source of revenues for banks and investors. As in many other cities, this shift included a new master plan (the planning process for the new Piano *Regolatore Generale* or P.R.G. started in 1994, it was adopted in 20003 and finally approved in 2008), the defunding of many municipal assets (abolition of Gescal Fund in 1998), the privatisation of municipal services (155.000 dwellings owned by the former IACP were sold by the city administration to private corporations between 1993 and 2006)[55] and the promotion of major events (such as the Football World Cup in 1990) to justify huge construction and development plans. If we observe the Figure (c) on the left, we can observe how the sell market steadily increased since the 1990s (apart of the housing bubble occurred during the 1990 due to the organization of Italia '90 Football World Cup): we can see how the sales market steeply growth in Rome since in 1997 the restructuring of the housing system occurred, until the 2007 global financial crisis.

It is worth stressing that, **during the 1990s, in Italy has been actuated a "first" intensive phase of financial restructuring based on the privatization of many of the municipal and State companies together with their real estate properties** (see File 7)[56] **for the adjustment of national and local budgetary frameworks (Law No.35/1992)**, due to the "stability pacts" signed for the participation in European currency system. In fact, due to the economic situation and the stale local economy, household incomes have not followed the same trend while the unemployment rates started to grow. The **gap was partially filled with a financialization of access to housing** through mortgage loans but considering that, as mentioned, in Italy the prize for renting a house is very similar to the prize of the rates of a bank loan, the significant difference is the not total coverage of the full prize of a house by bank loans that means that people that do not have significant savings cannot obtain a housing loan. **It means that in Italy the most vulnerable people are forced to find a house in the rental market** (Berdini, 2008).

In order to confront with the issue, at a national level, both right and left parties adopted neoliberal dogmas. During the last Berlusconi government (2008-11), there were two *Piano Casa* (housing plans) that despite aiming at "solving" the housing problem (Law 112/2008 and Law 106/2011), have constituted further steps in deregulation and have been intended as a favour to builders and speculator (Mudu, 2014). In fact, both of these Plans offered incentives to builders who committed to offer a percentage of their newly built apartments at low rent for social housing and it

[52] Source: www.quotazioniimmobiliariroma.it.

[53] Source: *ufficio studi gruppo Tecnocasa*. http://www.tecnocasa.it/mediaObject/approfondimenti/ufficio-stampa/comunicatistampa/2014/05-maggio/Rivalutazione-immobili-dal-1998-al-2013---Gruppo-Tecnocasa/original/Rivalutazione%20immobili%20dal%201998%20al%202013%20-%20Gruppo%20Tecnocasa.pdf.

[55] The total realized by the selling of public housing has been 3.665 billion euro, an average of less than 23.000 euro per apartment (Pozzo, 2009).

[56] Results interesting to notice that one of the main international companies that bought big real estate stocks from the sell out of Italian public companies has been Goldman and Sachs, between 1991 and 2001 (between them the huge and extremely valuable real estate belonging to ENI - National Oil Company; Fimmanò, 2011, 4). Goldman and Sachs as in the case of Berlin bought also a big share of public housing in Spain in the framework of the Spain national economic crisis (http://ccaa.elpais.com/ccaa/2015/09/23/madrid/1443033991_844187.html).

meant that such **housing strategies were taken away from public sector and completely delegated to private initiative**, based on for-profit companies. **The actual rent calculated for social housing was no less than 500-600 euro per month, way above the threshold of social sustainability** (CNEL, 2010). «This swift reconfiguration of the public housing sector pulled the rug of basic subsistence out from under a great many members of the Roman working-class» (Mudu, 2014b, 141). Moreover, as the **labour market evolved towards a diminution of contracts of indefinite duration**, rental arrears grew together with eviction orders.[57]

«**The rationale of integrated measures**, tackling not only a problem of "supply of housing" but also the multiple and multifaceted dimensions of exclusion, including issues of employment, health, education and accessibility» (Fioretti, 2011) that should implied in this kind of intervention, **have been not taken into consideration or have been theorized but never implemented**. In Rome, many elements as the high rate of poor immigration, the low wages (compared with other European capitals) and underdeveloped economy in terms of localization of companies in the service sector and attraction of capital – that makes very difficult the access to high specialized forms of labour-, the many temporary jobs, etc. in contrast with the high rent and real estate market prices, makes clear that a consistent part of the citizens (or inhabitants) are completely excluded from the real estate and the rental market.

«As in other cities, **housing policies in Rome, provide a powerful mechanism, which operates to perform class selection and social exclusion within the population through explicit spatial patterns»** (Mudu, 2014b).. Resistance to such a mechanism is a relatively new phenomenon. It emerged during the 1960s and since then have been articulated in a set of relatively different strategies implemented by different political and social groups (see page 125).

In the last decade there was a strong downturn in the supply of social housing resulting in mass exclusion from the right to the city. «**Various waves of social conflicts have contested such institutional apathy towards the lack of housing, behind which certainly lay violent class politics**» (Mudu, 2014b). In fact, as result of the socio-economic situation and the inefficacy of the institutional answer in the development and implementation of effective housing policies, the growing difficulties to buy or rent a house in the Roman market is affecting an increasingly wider range of the population – including about 40.000 families, about 100.000 people between migrants, evicted families, low income families, young people with temporary jobs and old people (Caudo and Sebastianelli, 2010) and even more lives in a condition of homelessness and housing exclusion - like the about 4.000 "invisibles" that live in shacks along the rivers Tibers and Aniene and in little tent cities (Il Messaggero 12 Settembre 2009). The number of request for public housing was 42.000 in 2009 (and very few apartments were available) and new applications were not accepted for three years after 2009 (Mudu, 2014b). **In 2015, the City of Rome has counted 1.900 households considered in conditions of maximum housing emergency** (according to the official rankings), which are still waiting for public housing.[58]

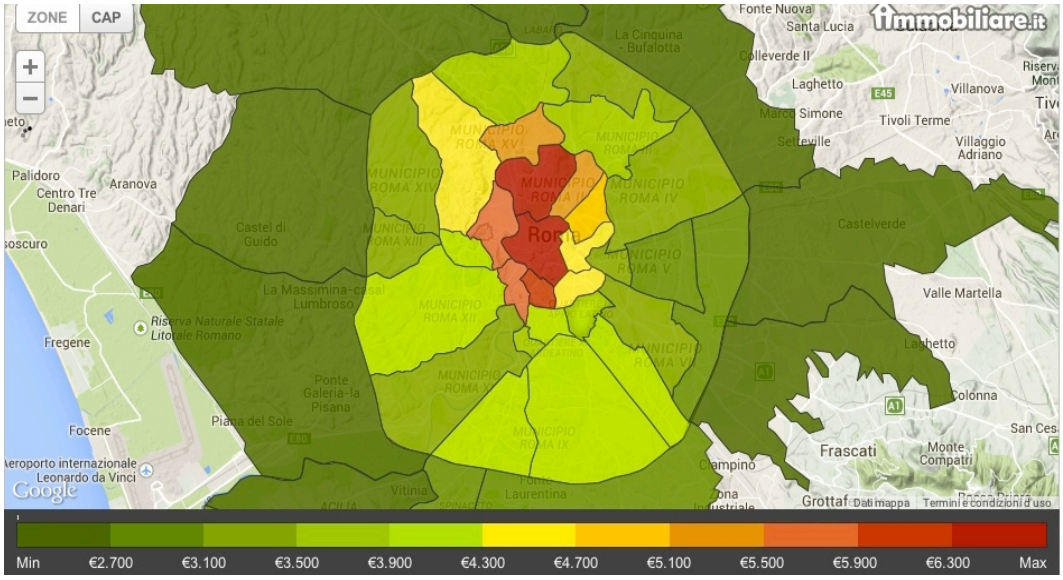
The Municipality of Rome manages, just a part of the public housing present in its territory (many are managed by the Regional government), approximately 80.000 apartments and can every year it achieve to have about 1.500 of them available for new tenants (Ibid., 2014). Moreover, the municipality of Rome cannot directly build new public housing and have to rely on private initiative through the individuation of new areas for subsidized housing (*Piani di Zona 167*) or buy existent properties. The economic resources have to be provided by the Regional government. But for the construction of new social housing the resources are very few. «Resources - says Carlo Cecchi, President of Federcasa, the National Association of Former IACP59 - practically disappeared: the (national) plan for 378 million euros will achieve the realization of only 12,900 housing, a drop in the ocean (if we consider) the 650 thousand applications unanswered (but already been verified) for social housing (at the national level).» (see Edilizia e Territorio, issue n. 8 Feb28/March05 2011).

Many people have found an alternative solution to homelessness by joining housing movements that use the mean of squatting both to provide an instant solution to this dramatic problem and to force a confrontation over the issue with the local institutions. Just to give some data: the "Housing Emergency List" provided to the city of Rome by the Housing movements in 2013 include 50.000 people in need for affordable housing (Franchetto and Action, 2004): this number is derived from the number of people under threat of eviction (*sfratttati*) and the number of applications for affordable accommodation submitted to the administration office (Mudu, 2014b, 143). **While a number included about 5.000 people are living in 60 squatted buildings** (70 per cent of which are foreigners, and many of them unemployed or unauthorized or unable to work, under various circumstances).[60]

[57] The Ministry of Interior counted 7.206 evictions requests in 2011 and 8.015 in 2012, mostly for rental arrears.
[58] https://www.comune.roma.it/wps/portal/pcr?contentId=NEW182490&jp_pagecode=newsview.wp&ahew=contentId:jp_pagecode.
[59] Federcasa was founded in 1996 as a transformation of the national autonomous institutes for public housing (ANIACAP) set up in 1950. The Federation associates 114 institutions that, throughout Italy, for almost a century build and manage social housing built with public funds, but also with own funds and subsidized loans. It comes to autonomous institutes for public housing, institutions in the process of transformation and companies that manage assets of more than 850,000 housing intended for a user with low or middle income (see Federcasa website: http://www.federcasa.it/chisiamo.asp).
[60] Pierpaolo Mudu's data.

As mentioned before, the housing issue has been an element of constant concern in Rome as well as radical practices of occupation emerged in response to this long-standing situation, since the late 1960s onwards. They have been based both on informal settlements (the slums and the illegal allotments) and on squatting practices (first housing occupations lead by the Communist Party) in order to self-address the problem. The **tacit acceptance of this "informal" city** dimension was not only **connected to** the political framework of unaddressed dramatic housing conditions and connected struggles for the access to the right to housing (supported initially by the Communist Party through the claim for more effective public housing programs) but also by the **unwillingness or inability to create institutional responses capable to give integrated and concrete answers to the housing problem**. Since the early 1980s, those involved in these practices are organized into movements: housing movements struggling for the "right to inhabit", the autonomous movements and the network of social centres.

The **fifth** element concerns the **unsolved relationship between the central city and its peripheries** representing a kind of foreign body in the city. The city centre, especially in recent decades has been less affected by the occupations phenomena related to autonomous movements, than the peripheries, especially the working class neighbourhoods or the public housing ones, where, for historical political reasons, sprouted the majority of them. But still the defence of "residency" in these areas result to be an unaddressed issues since, after the IIWW the historical centre started a progressive process of depopulation producing the effect of impoverishing the historic centre of the social and economic vitality that has characterized it for centuries. Since the 1970s and 1980s, **the dominant strategies of urban regeneration have been implemented in order to invert the depopulation trend but resulted, in the following decades, in the class selection with a slow but progressive exclusion of the lower and middle classes from the most central areas of the city**. In this panorama of a space strongly determined by power and market interests and by the strong historical/symbolic significance of such places, the implementation of strategies of collective radical reappropriation was more difficult to implement. Despite this, the historical city also has always been characterized by episodes of illegal properties occupation but not related to political movements claiming the right to the city but to individuals addressing particularistic needs. Strong, however, are the deficiencies in facilities and public spaces equipment in some of its neighbourhoods, as in the case of the *Rione Monti* emerge the lack in public spaces such as public schools assets and green spaces. Deficiencies increasingly difficult to address in a city centre that, over the past two decades, was involved in a radical rise in land and property values and the great sell-out of public properties.



Property and leasing prices data for the city of Rome (data from a Real Estate Company, called *Immobiliare*)[61]

In fact, as well as happened in the Berlin's central districts, since the introduction of liberalization of the housing market, the sell out of "old" public housing in central districts and the "securitization" of public valuable assets for very cheap prices have attracted strong speculative interests on these areas. It has provoked the spread of gentrification phenomena over areas that for a long time remained out of the market. In fact, the gentrification can be interpreted as the closure of the real estate business income gaps: the greater the difference between currently capitalized ground rent and the potentially recoverable income of a property, the higher the incentive to invest has allowed big investors to obtain huge profits by speculating on property obtained at much lower prices (Holm, 2011). This is the case of the district of Monti, the historic district of Rome where the case study that we analyse is located, at the initial stage of its history. The appropriation of the vacant public asset in Monti, addressed by different needs and visions, shows how the

[61] During January (2015) the higher asking price for properties sale in Rome was in the Old Town district, with € 8.181 per square meter. On the contrary, the area where it was found the lower asking price is Torre Angela, Ponte di Nona, Corcolle, Grotte Celoni, with an average price of € 2.060 per square meter. During the same month, the asking price for the property rentals in Rome was higher in the Old Town district, with € 23,74 per square meter per month. The area where the asking price for rental properties is lower is Torre Angela, Ponte di Nona, Corocolle, Grotte Celoni, with an average price of € 9,78 per month per square meter (Immobiliare.it, 2015).

unsolved relationship between the historical centre and the city's peripheries, as well as other unsolved issues, produce mechanism of urban conflict that reproduce themselves all over the city and make visible the lack in political responses.

This lack in political response became increasingly urgent due to the neoliberal restructuring that has interested the city of Rome, even if with the process in this case has been more complex and diverse. The reason for the introduction of many neoliberal measures of creative-destruction has been, in the case of Rome, the entrance of Italy in the European Union, asking for the slow but progressive dismantling of the industrial system, as well as the privatization of the municipal public sector and collective infrastructures (for the public management of water, transport, waste management, etc.) and the introduction of QUANGOS forms of management for public services, the restructuring of the public housing system increasingly relying on private initiative, the liberalization of housing market and the slow but progressive restructuring of welfare state provision (such as the recent pension reform, cuts in public health and education). «The rhetoric of containment of public debt, austerity and contrast to the crisis in recent years have provided the justification for continued expropriation of resources, services and rights of all. Misappropriation of what is common, the sell-off of public assets, the gradual dismantling of guarantees and services.» (Right to the city movement, Rome, 2014).

The financial restructuring necessary for the adjustment of national and local budgetary frameworks, due to the "stability pacts" signed for the participation in European currency system, has undergone a "second" phase during 2000s in which **public assets, receivables or financial instruments are acquired, classified into pools, and offered as collateral for third-party investment through the introduction of the Italian law for "Securitization"** ("Cartolarizzazioni" - Dlgs 267/00) approved at the beginning of the 2000s. Finally the weakening of State help in housing sector, in a framework of increasing casualization of the labour market and economic crisis, while produced the increase of the number of people experiencing housing exclusion was accompanied by increasingly hostile, opportunistic rhetoric that negatively portrayed of homeless people and other "fringe" groups in urban spaces (as in the mentioned case of the americanization of the homelessness in Berlin: Eick, 1996). In this context, since 1990s, «emergency shelters become "warehouses" for the homeless» (Brenner, Theodore, 2002, 370), managed by local elites (big real estate developers and owners, some religious organizations related to Vatican), like in the case of the so called "*Residence per l'assistenza alloggiativa temporanea*" ("Residence for temporary lodging assistance") – a temporary institutional solution to housing emergency in Rome. The "Residence for temporary lodging assistance" are considered highly controversial case since most of the 130 residence, hosting about 1.700 households,[62] are owned by the powerful local economic elites (that are considered to have a very strong influence on public decision making over the allocation of public resources), are localized on the city outskirt, in areas with a very low market value, and cost a very high rents that goes about 2000 euros per month for households (justified as necessary to pay the expensive costs of constant security control due to the situation of social degradation that often characterize such spaces). Actually, these very poor quality structures offers a very low quality service making even more evident the controversial nature of this deal between the City and the private sector that generates enormous profit for private investors and increasing indebtedness for the city administration. More recently, in the last phase of restructuring urban housing market, the municipality of Rome have proposed and started to implement the «introduction of market rents and tenant-based vouchers in low-rent niches of urban housing markets» (Ibid., 2002, 370). These rent voucher will affect about 1.000 households and will cost 27,72 million euro per year to the City for rental expense; the dismissal of the residence system will produce a saving of about 13 million euro per year.[63] These subsidies to the rent, of up to 800 euro/month, will be paid monthly for four years (renewable on condition that the local administration will be able to find the necessary resources to finance them). For the moment, the resources for the financing of local actions derived from the sale of areal development permits, often obtained through the use of new tools for flexible planning, the so called "*accordi di programma*" (planning agreements). **Through the "accordi di programma", the municipality can turn from time to time the provisions of the City Master Plan, and negotiate with land owners the grant of new building permits** and/or increase in building rights in certain areas in exchange for the construction of public facilities, that are todays difficult to finance in a context of progressive public indebtedness and austerity urbanism.

«**One possible explanation for this is the institutional fragmentation wherein most projects are realized, leading to poor implementation of new planning ideas and to weak "bargaining power" of local governments, thus constraining the safeguard of public values and democratic aspects in the face of economic forces** (Savitch and Kantor 2002). Besides failing to create integrated urban spaces and often even causing disruptive social effects and social conflict, the result is often a dramatic mismatch between public investments and collective returns (Flyvbjerg et al. 2003). From a more radical perspective, however, other observers (Brenner and Theodore 2002; Swyngedouw et al. 2002; Moulaert et al. 2003; INURA 2004) have emphasized the hegemonic dimension of these projects in the context of a neoliberal turn in urban policies.» (Gualini, 2008, 1). In the quoted article, Enrico Gualini describes the strategic implementation of big urban projects in Berlin, in a context that many could argue is relevantly different for what concern local planning policies and practices. Nevertheless, I argue that the final objective of the public authorities in actuating such strategies is basically the same, to obtain resources for the implementation of public tasks, while the

[62] https://www.comune.roma.it/wps/portal/pcr?contentId=NEW650648&jp_pagecode=newsview.wp&ahew=contentId:jp_pagecode.
[63] https://www.comune.roma.it/wps/portal/pcr?contentId=NEW899267&jp_pagecode=newsview.wp&ahew=contentId:jp_pagecode.

main difference rely on the less capability to prove the capacity to govern and implement decision-making processes capable to address the collective interest (less transparent dimension in the negotiation process and deficit of public administration direction over urban development strategies and implementation of big urban projects). This further urban sprawl produced by the realization of the "*nuove centralità*" (new centrality) is the most relevant case of big urban projects in Rome provided by the new "accordi di programma" and the new P.R.G. provisions,[64] providing for new construction of 70 million cubic metres (i.e. 1,700 8 floors buildings) to house 350,000 inhabitants (Erbani, 2011). Despite it has been described as a positive strategy to decentralize work places and public services outside of the city centre through the creation of a polycentric urban system, actually it resulted in a big speculative operation that produced the consumption of 4,500 hectares of new urbanized land, in the decade between 1998 and 2008. It made even clearer how the housing crisis in Rome rather then being the consequence of a lack of housing units per inhabitants it results from the lack of affordable housing. «Yet, compared with about 4 million homes, built in the last 15 years in the Italian major cities, at least 200,000 families are unable to pay the mortgage or the monthly rent. In the same city where the emergency evictions is more dramatic, almost a million homes are empty because economically inaccessible by those who would need them»[65]. In 2009, Rome was heading the ranking of city with the highest number of vacant houses, with 245,142 units, while, in the same period, the same city witnessed the largest number of evictions in the country: 8.729 (Legambiente, 2011). Moreover, according to Fedilter[66], in 2011, there were 40.000 unsold houses, which, someone argued, could housed the 100.000 people affected by housing crisis.[67] Rome is facing the paradoxical situation that can be described as "houses without people and people without houses" (quoting former Rome mayor Argan). Moreover, these new flexible strategies of negotiation of urban development, increasingly based on private initiative further contribute in producing locally the geographically uneven, socially regressive, and politically volatile trajectories of institutional/spatial change that have been crystallizing under these conditions.

This contemporary neoliberalization processes as catalysts and expressions of an on-going creative destruction of political-economic space has evidently operated at multiple geographical levels, from the disposition of the European Union for the rework of the institutional infrastructures upon which Fordist-Keynesian capitalism was grounded to municipalities that under the pressure of a growing indebtedness and lack of resources, in turn proceeded to the gradual privatization of their tasks and assets. **Despite the process have been diverse from the one experienced by the city of Berlin, it does not refutes the path dependency of the process of neoliberalization of the economic and political system that both cities have undergone**, instead it «**emphasize the contextual *embeddedness* of neoliberal restructuring projects** insofar as they have been produced within national, regional, and local contexts defined by the legacies of inherited institutional frameworks, policy regimes, regulatory practices, and political struggles.» (Ibid., 2002, 249).

In the light of the mentioned facts, due to the "the strategic role of cities in the contemporary remaking of political-economic space", we could assert that **the local political struggles have had an important role in producing different outcomes in the two cities**. «From the anti-WTO marches in Seattle in November 1999 to this day, the movement has been pressing for a different direction in the globalization processes under way worldwide and has played a proactive role in the international arena. **The importance of Social Centres within the movement opposing neoliberalist globalization processes lies in their ability to mobilize thousands of people in a snap. People take to the streets in their thousands even for local demonstrations, earnestly and constantly committed to gaining fresh understanding and experimenting with what they have learnt in an effort to make available fresh social spaces and press for global political space**» (Mudu, 2004, 930). «Thus it has actually opened up a window into novel strategies of resistance and ways of combating neoliberalist globalization policies. **Social Centres were successful both because they were a public movement "in the making," committed to the creation of spaces and forums for public discussion, and because they experimented with new cooperation models not founded on the use of paid labour** (Maggio 2000; Vecchi 1994). […] The broader Social Centres' challenge is to change the existing state of affairs by committing their networks to local-scale actions geared towards furthering socialization processes and mutual aid – a goal that must be attained by working not behind society's back, but rather by looking beyond dominant social relationships» (Mudu, 2004, 934).

[64] The new PRG wanted by the mayors Francesco Rutelli (1993-2001) and Walter Veltroni (2001-2008), both from the Centre-Left national party, provided for the construction of 70 million cube metres (mostly residential unites).
[65] Report "*Ambiente Italia* 2011", by Legambiente, focusing on the land consumption issue in Italy.
[66] National Association for Commercial and Service Buildings.
[67] http://www.architettiroma.it/archweb/notizie/13347.aspx

C | Spatial conflicts in Rome and Berlin: (re)appropriation of public spaces as counter-cultural proposals challenging neoliberal strategies and resisting the substitution/reduction of public spaces

C.1 | Berlin and Rome neoliberal restructuring: conflicts over urban development strategies

The Berlin urban development history has been characterized by very different moments and trends. Each one of them is strongly related to a particular and strongly marked political and economic era (before and after the fall of the Wall). **These dominant, often authoritarian approaches, has been constantly confronting, in highly conflictive dimension rather than agonist, with the political and civil society in the city**. From the struggles against the un-negotiated post-war urban ideology, to the claims for a more "caution urban renewal," to the asking for more participation to the contested neoliberal socio-spatial restructuring projects, deep transformations upon the entire city's socio spatial fabric have often faced high levels of resistance. Last but not least the transformation of the unified Berlin after the fall of the Wall, took place in the framework of increasingly brutal austerity policies. Above all, during the 10-year of Worwereit leading the government of Berlin (2001-2011), the so-called "red-red" Senate of the SPD and Left Party organized a set of drastic cuts, unprecedented in Germany. «Under Finance Senator (state minister) Thilo Sarrazin (SPD) and his successor Thilo Nussbaum, thousands of jobs in the public service were slashed, wages massively lowered, billions of cuts imposed in culture and education, the Berlin Water Works (1999) and public housing companies privatized (1993 on) and social housing construction halted».[68] From the introduction of a market economy and private property structures in East Berlin; the end of West Berlin's special political status within the Federal Republic during the Cold War; and the transition from industrial production to service-sector led growth, **Berlin city have had to face numerous challenges addressing the need for urban development strategies capable to**:

- end economic stagnation / kick economic growth (through the attraction of local and extra-local investments)
- diminish rank of unemployment / create job opportunities (through the attraction of companies service sector, media and culture sector and information technology sector)
- shift from a Fordist model of production / to a post-Fordist model of immaterial production (deindustrialization and transformation of the economy towards a global service based economy)
- be competitive in the global city ranks (competition-oriented developmental rhetoric; transformation of the city towards global cities and creative cities global strategies)
- develop the East part of the city – economy and infrastructures (enhance the former East Berlin that remained economically less developed than the Federal Republic's - its economic stagnation worsened after the fall of the Wall due to the massive deindustrialization and loss of thousands of jobs)
- diminish the debt owned by the city of Berlin (after reunification, the city's finances were damaged and, despite big privatizations and costs' cuts, in laps of time 1991-2004 its debt has grown from 10.8 billion euros to 56 billion euros)
- diminish the number of public property owned by the city of Berlin (sell out of the public housing stock)[69]
- develop a city centre correspondent to the image of great European Capital - urban regeneration (focused on central districts, producing gentrification)
- develop strategies to increase tourism (urban marketing discourses based on the vital cultural and alternative/underground city dimension)
- develop strategies to enhance real estate market (mega projects; flexible urbanism; temporary uses)
- develop strategies to attract private investments (make the city a "secure capital investment" through the enhancement of real estate, the sell-out of public properties and the attraction of professionals middle classes)
- individuate projects for granting EU funding programs based on local development
- etc.

The increasing indebtedness of the City, the shift to neoliberal restructuring, causing the weakening of national models of socio-economic governance and the need for economic enhancement of the city produced policies devoted to the progressive inter-locality competition in the face of globalization tendencies, a "postmodern" form of urbanization, strongly relying on private initiative (for urban renewal programs implementation, urban development

[68] https://www.wsws.org/en/articles/2013/12/30/berl-d30.html

[69] The privatization of Berlin housing companies (*Berliner Wohnungsbaugesellschaften*) undergone four different phases: between 1990 and 1995, 14.000 apartments were sold (7% of the total); between 1996 and 1998, 30.000 apartments (14%); between- 1999 and 2001, 45.000 apartments (22%); since 2002, 120.000 apartments (57%). A total of 209.000 units have been privatized through four legal Senate resolution (ASHAG 1993; Senatsbeschluss 1994; 1997; 2000). Source: Andrej Holm "*Privatisierung der Berliner Wohnungsbaugesellschaften.*"

programs based on strategic planning and mega projects, etc.) and privatization of the provision of public space and goods. It has fuelled the increasing socio-spatial polarization, more disparate social problems, weaker forms of state intervention and a greater role for private interests (Brenner, 2002). In the **confrontation with the individuated local weaknesses**, mostly related to city bankruptcy, economic stagnation and disinvestment of the state on local, dismantling of earlier systems of central government support for municipal activities, **and opportunities**, mostly identified in the large amount of land available for a wide variety of needs, for city economic/social and spatial/environmental/cultural/participated development, **emerges the choice for 'strong neoliberal' discourses taken as a politics of inevitability**. «Understanding the reasons and dynamics of conflict around urban projects still represents therefore a crucial precondition for arguing about the potentials for strategic reflexivity of project-based urban development initiatives. In this perspective, we need not only acknowledge agonism and conflict as constructive and constitutive elements of social relations, as sources of its strength and ability to innovate, but also inquire into the conditions under which agonism and conflict can be turned away from producing disrupting social outcomes and towards realizing potentials for innovative transformative dynamics» (Gualini, 2012). We will see how many conflicts have been articulated, mostly since the fall of the Wall on, on the dynamics of public assets, companies, services privatization or substitution (i.e. QUANGOS). These conflicts can be seen as "constructive and constitutive elements of social relations, as sources of its strength and ability to innovate," such as the "tactics" experimenting counter-proposal for the use, production and maintenance of public spaces and the forms of resistance to non-negotiated neoliberal strategies affecting public domain.

In the framework of neoliberal restructuring that have profoundly transformed the economic and social fabric of the city, **the last strategies pursued by the Senate of Berlin have been characterized by reintroducing "accumulation by dispossession", as a way to solve the problems of flagging capital accumulation** (Harvey, 2005): it involves in general the concepts of «conversion of common, collective, and state form of property rights and the suppression to right to the common» and it also «chipping away at common property rights (that have been won in the Fordist era by the working class) reverting them to the private sector» (Meyer, 2013).

In the case of Rome, what emerges is that the strategies implemented since 1990s on are as well aligned with contemporary neoliberalization restructuring dynamics (Brenner, Theodore, 2002). Moreover, both of the cities had big public assets' stocks that have been progressively interested by privatization strategies for costs cutting. **While in the case of Berlin, the peculiarity of the transformation was the challenges posed by the reunification process and the power vacuum that enabled a first phase of wild speculation after the fall of the Wall, the peculiarity of the embedded process in the Italian and Rome context is connected to the emphasis posed on the recalibration of intergovernmental relations with reference to the participation to the European Union System**: the numerous "Provisions for the fulfilment of obligations from Italy to the European Communities" and the various EU laws. Among them, adjustment of national and local budgetary frameworks and the connected privatizations of National and local public companies and real estates; the new regulation of the financial market; the reworking of job and welfare state system; the increasing devolution of new tasks, burdens, and responsibilities to municipalities; etc.

In fact, once Italy took part to the European Union system, Rome city had to face numerous challenges, in addition to the chronicle local issues (severe lack in affordable housing; unaddressed immigration issues; stagnant economy; lacking public transport system; spread of ungoverned urbanity; etc.) was inscribed in a context of difficult governability because of cuts in municipalities' funding and the unstable political situation, following the scandals of "*Tangentopoli*" and the great wave of speculation of the early 1990s. The 1990s have been also a period of intense citizens' activism.

Since the 2000s, in the framework of an increasing stagnation of local economy and difficulties in raising funds, the municipality, developed strategies with the objectives of:

- improving economic situation through the reactivation of the construction industry (the only economic strategy adopted in Rome since decades through the adoption of a new P.R.G.)
- be competitive in attraction of local and extra-local investments by focusing on artistic and cultural dimension of the city (the opening of new museums, auditorium on projects signed by major "archistars" in order to be competitive in the global city ranks);
- cost cutting and efficiency of the municipal organization and municipal assets management (classification of existing public assets and listing of "available" assets unused)
- reducing of local indebtedness through financialization of public areas and goods and their privatization
- developing new strategies for the financing of local action derived from the sale of areal development permits, often obtained through the use of new tools for flexible planning, the so called "*accordi di programma*"
- diminish the number of public property owned by the city of Rome (sell the public housing stock)
- developing new urban centralities to solve problems connected to concentration of job places and services
- developing strategies to increase tourism (urban marketing and liberalization of licences for tourism assets)

- develop strategies to enhance real estate market attracting private investments (make the city a secure capital investment through the enhancement of real estate market and liberalization of housing market)
- individuate projects for granting EU funding programs based on local development (capable to grant EU funding just in a very limited number of occasions – i.e. failed in the application for URBACT funding)
- etc.

The conflicts emerged from planning policies and practices considered as non-democratic in both cities:

- Urban renewal strategies producing gentrification cum displacement and co-optation of urban authenticity
- Strategic planning and mega-projects excluding citizenship from the negotiation between stakeholders
- Lack in public housing policies capable to maintain an affordable rental housing market in the framework of increasing precarious work dimension and reduction of welfare support
- Enhancement and privatization of public estate/assets/space in a framework of urban austerity programs, public indebtedness and the weakening of national models of socio-economic governance
- Increase in secure policies and control over space reducing the space to negotiate alternative everyday practices
- Enhancement of the city as secure capital investment (city for profit not for people)
- Lack in participative programs for the management of public resources

Moreover in Rome:

- Lack in transparency of the plan processes and negotiations with private investors for the individuation of urban development strategies
- Presence of latent interests that deeply affect the choices of local decision-makers

Moreover, the main issue that concern the govern of Rome, the housing issue, is completely unanswered despite the strategies implemented by the municipality in recent years with the intention to raise the funds needed to solve the problem or at least to alleviate it.

What has been done in recent years it can be briefly listed as the following **public authorities strategies addressing homelessness, housing exclusion and squatting**:

- Evictions – with high costs both for the mobilisation of many policeman and for the necessity to find immediate solutions for the homeless families and maintenance of vacant properties (publicly owned) after evictions;
- Temporary lodging assistance policies (emergency shelters, dormitory) – high costs for the rent of private spaces (such as hotels, warehouses, vacant housing units, etc.) and the maintenance of every person or family unite that is completely relying on public help (alimentation, health, security control, facilities expenses);
- City's operative social bureau: assistance services and lodging network (*assessorato alle politiche sociali*)
- Renting private property in order to address the housing crisis through "*Residence per l'assistenza alloggiativa temporanea*" ("Residence for temporary lodging assistance"): it is considered highly controversial because high costs for the public (40 million euros per year) and the degraded physical and social condition met in these places.
- Sell out of the "oldest" City's public housing asset in order to reduce costs and to obtain the necessary funds for the creation of new unites on the city outskirt – the sell out of the housing stock has resulted in a very scarce funds, because the homes were sold at very low prices to tenants, and also this money has not been invested in the construction of new public housing but has been used to meet the debts of the city;
- Introduction of rent vouchers for the progressive dismissal of residence for temporary lodging assistance – that has been calculated will cost about 28 million euros per year affecting about 1000 families actually affected by housing emergency (renewable on condition that the local administration will be able to find the necessary resources to finance this program);
- Waiting list for access to public housing (recently including also immigrant households but yet often excluded for administrative issues): people in the waiting list have to wait many years before to have access to a public house and their possibility to access to one of them is increasingly precarious since there is a big lack in number of units confronted with people in housing needs – the old housing stock is both sell out or left in the hands of subjects that have no right to stay there (many illegal occupation of municipal public housing), and is rarely accessible for new families; moreover, since 1990s, the radical decrease in public housing production have worsened the problem. The new social housing is just relies on private initiative – that are producing units that can be afford just from a low income middle class but not from the weaker sectors of the population - and produce the privatization of profits and "publicization" of the debts;
- Regional law ruling *Autorecupero* interventions (Self-renovation) that takes inspiration from the Self-help housing policies and has been introduced mostly to regularize on-going situations of self-renovation produced in squatting for housing practices – it has been applied on a very residual number of cases (just 12 since 1998);

- Liberalization of rental market – uncontrolled increase in rental prices affecting an wider precarious population in a framework of increasing problems in individuating the necessary resources to deal with the social marginalization;
- Introduction of "Piano Casa" (Housing Plan) that would allow to expand units or build over lands with no permits for housing development in order to increase the affordable housing units – the results has been mostly private investors speculation or interventions of single households on private properties with further land consumption and city sprawling. The small amount of social housing units have been localized in very peripheral areas;
- "Decreto Lupi" (Lupi[70] Preposition) that on one side individuate more financial resources for the production of social housing but on the other side (not sufficient for addressing and solving the housing crisis), in its article n°5, it deprive illegal occupants of properties from the right to have access to residence permits, and facilities such as water or electricity, producing a radical precarization of the thousands of households living in squats (2.500 households actually living in 60 housing squats just in the city of Rome).

Public authorities strategies addressing management of vacant public properties, lack in public and social spaces, self-managed social centres:

- Approval of Resolution No. 26/1995 for the allocation of space to use social, cultural and recreational - the resolution was applied in a very limited number of cases, and today is an obsolete instrument;
- Calls for the allocation of public premises for new business and cultural activities, "*Patrimonio Bene Comune*" ("Public assets as an urban Common") in 2014 - calls identify areas of very low quality or too small to conduct any activities or located in areas on the very outskirts of the city.

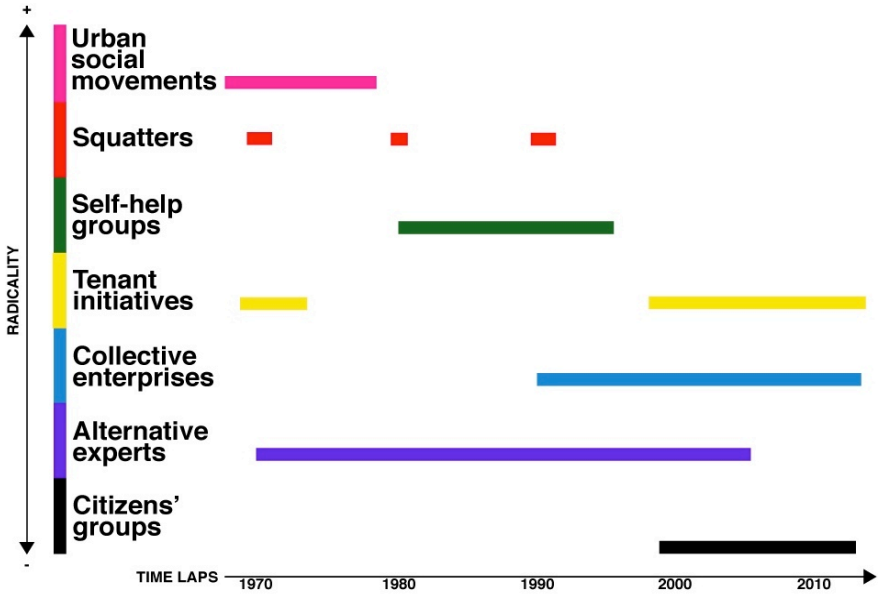
The results of the lack of strategies capable to address city's issues and negotiate with radical alternatives:

- Maintenance of stable voids (publicly owned);
- Continuous creation of new squats and slums for housing;
- Precarious safety and legality dimensions;
- Progressive reduction/substitution of public space.

These are all costs that could be greatly reduced if the issue was inserted in the context of the development of alternative and integrated strategies for housing and socio-economic development (improvement) where these issues are present since a very long time.

C.2 | Relevance of urban protests/bottom up practices and effects over spatial transformations

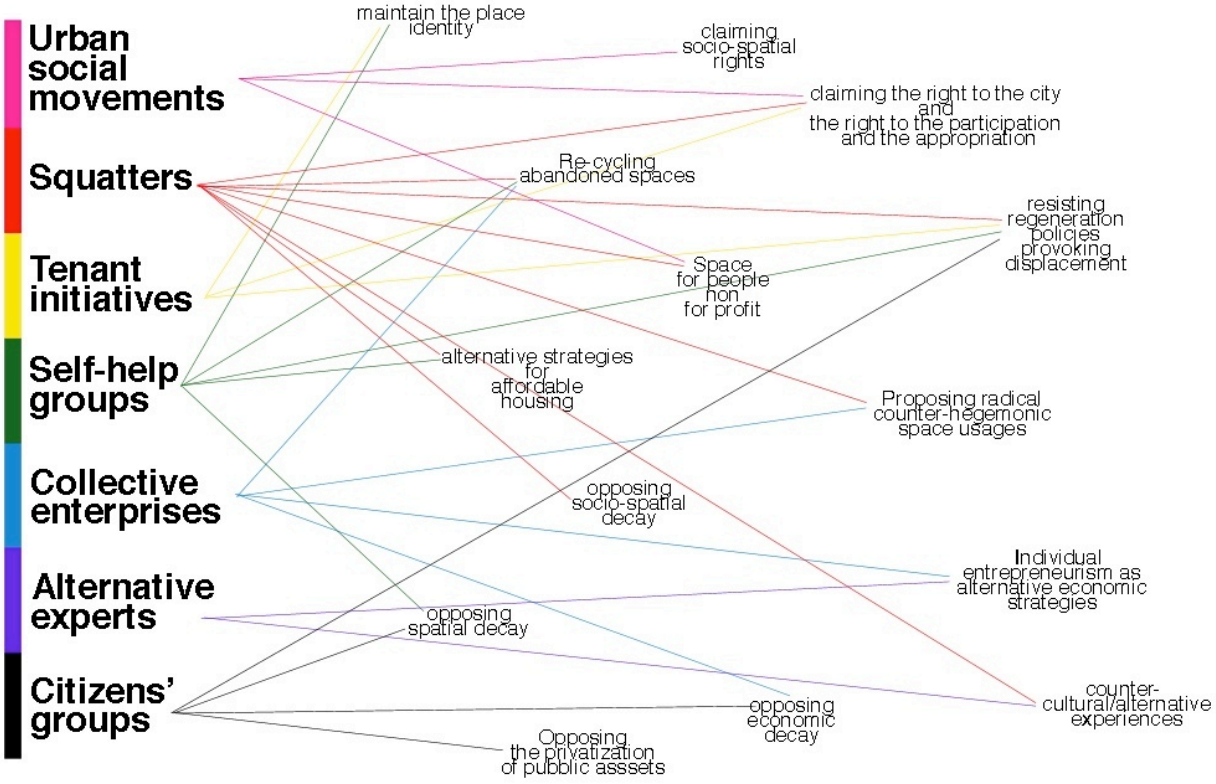
Summarizing, we can therefore describe the spatial evolution of Kreuzberg, between the end of the second World War and the fall of the Wall, as a fertile urban space for evolutionary confrontation between top-down strategies of urban transformation, bottom-up practices of resistance and forms of community planning and participatory architecture in shaping grassroots policy initiatives (Fezer and Heyden, 2004), as well as the creation of alternative lifestyles and new forms of collective empowerment entailed by squatting. In fact, due to favourable socio-economic and political conditions, these urban areas have witnessed the evolution and performance of different more or less radical forms of dissent and practices of space (re)appropriation:



- urban social movements of the "red decade",
- the emergence of the squatter movement,
- the constitution of Self-help groups as a form of affordable renewal and alternative housing strategy
- tenant initiatives struggling for rent control and housing policies,
- forms of collective enterprises and alternative experts, developing radical/institutional strategies for temporary uses,
- citizens' groups struggling for the reduction/transformation of public spaces and for the right to the city.

[70] The preposition has been named "Lupi" after the minister of public infrastructure that proposed it.

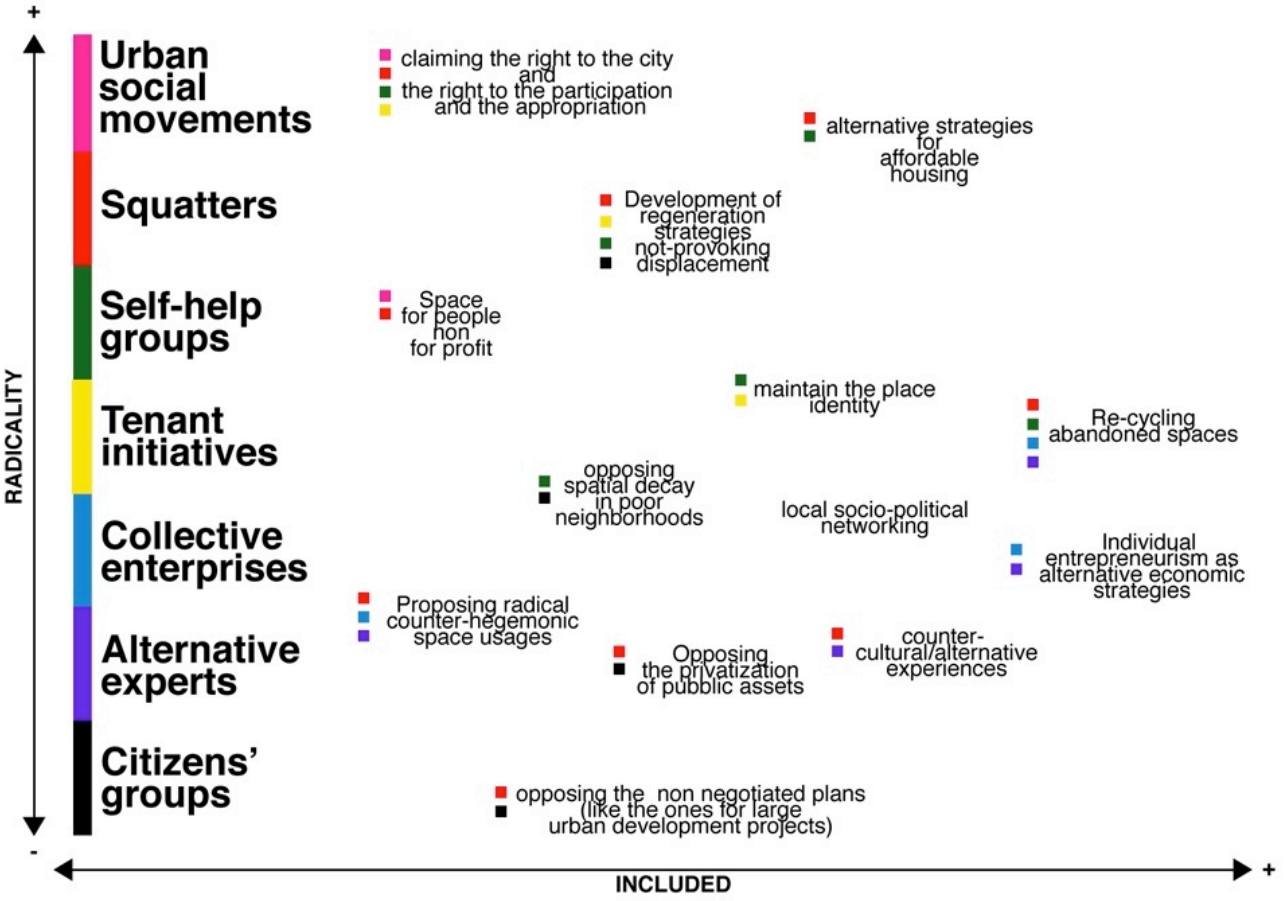
We could also assert that these are often connected to each other and result from the struggles and attainment of the previous bottom-up tactic in confronting with the institutionalization processes. According to Vasudevan (2011) «(a) scholarly recognition of the German *Hausbesetzerbewegung* has the potential to address some of the gaps in the existing literature. **It foregrounds the pivotal role of the built form—and geography more generally—in the creation of alternative lifestyles and new forms of collective empowerment**». We have seen how the neighbourhood evolved from the end of the 1960s, as a peripheral isolated neighbourhood characterized by brutal renewal intervention, underinvestment, urban decay, poor conditions, high levels of unemployment and constant economic decline, lack in decent accessible housing and in green areas and public infrastructure (such as schools, spaces for sport, space for cultural or social activities, etc.), to a vital and liveable place where the high presence of immigrant population (up the 50% of the population in some part of the district) and social groups strongly politically engaged, triggered the affirmation of an alternative/underground everyday practices and culture, playing a significant role in the local urban restructuring process. «In this way, I hope to not only reflect on the dynamic nature of the built environment but to the **'processes through which the everyday "tactics" of creating liveable places are themselves tied to particular forms of empowerment'** (Datta 2008: 233)» (Vasudevan, 2011, 287). Since some of the counter-proposals produced since the late 1960s were included in the official renewal polices of the West Berlin, **these everyday "tactics" actually contributed in transforming Kreuzberg from a peripheral poor area to a vital and interesting laboratory of socio-spatial innovation**. After the fall of the Wall the transformed political and economic conditions undermined the attainment resulted by years of conflicts and negotiations, provoking new waves of urban protests and reopening the debate over the democratic dimension of neoliberal planning strategies and the right to the city.



Groups involved in practices of space reappropriation in Berlin and the claims fostered through their grassroots practices

As mentioned above, observing the trends in inclusion/exclusion institutional approaches, we could assert that in the last decades have been fostered policies to include all those autonomous practices reclaiming urban vacant spaces aligned with the idea of "free market and initiatives," while, at the same time, have been fostered the production of new laws, deliberately constructed to defend both private property to the detriment of old and new dynamics of collective citizen actions. Moreover, the post-modern production of space have transformed both the hegemonic forms of urbanization and, at the same time, the anti-hegemonic urban practices of (re)appropriation. The Squatters' movement practices, arisen in modern time, aimed to create a permanent reference in the urban geography and grounded their success and "positive" evolution of long term use projects and stable positioning on the territory, needed to build a stable social, economic, political networks and a strong geographical identity. It could be meant as aligned to the path of the market or State logic of stable positioning of urban assets, features and services on the territory. **The new precarious and flexile dimension that are nowadays characterizing different fields** (the labour field with the flexible "time contracts," the economic field with the "flexible accumulation," the new neoliberal urban renewal strategies that benefit of the spatial precariousness and flexible, "open source" urbanism that these practices propose)

influenced the urban planning and development strategies, basically due to the withdrawal in State support and a need for mobilize a range of policies intended to extend market discipline, competition based on flexible accumulation. This "temporary/flexible" logic has come to influence the way we see the insurgent citizenship practices (and the way in which they define themselves). Any practice that suggests a static and permanent use of the space (for instance squats for collective living) **is thus described as obsolete while it is recognized the value of "temporary" uses and the so-called urban pioneers**, following the logic of "disposable" consumerist practices, the superficiality of content and production of spectacle (beach bars, exclusive clubs, art centre, etc.) as important resources for the definition of strategies of co-production and management of urban public space.



Levels of inclusion of the demands fostered by the bottom-up practices in relation with their level of radicality

Over the time, these **grassroots practices have attempted to regenerate parts of the city that would otherwise be neglected and abandoned through the construction of a collective imaginary that allowed these places do not disappear from the everyday geographies of the city.** The understanding of the role of such practices changed when the economic advantage came into play, not only for the local elites but also for the city administration in the framework of neoliberal governance as potential urban catalysts for the attraction of transnational capitals (i.e. companies in the media and services sector and the cultural industry). Since then**, the resources created and highlighted by those grassroots practices started to be intended not as non-profit and anti-capitalist**, **but as spaces for economic revival, became embeddable, malleable in and even a symbol of the new market dynamics**. This precondition created the impetus that prompted the local administration to devote so much attention to the development of various policies that facilitated, among other things, the use of abandoned places. These "temporary use" strategies, that provides the tools for the enhancement of value of neglected areas, aimed at identifying the exchange value of such practices rather than the use value of the cultural and social services capable to build urban commons through the common construction of collective spaces.

For what concern the Rome the practices related to radical (re)appropriation are strongly connected to the network of the autonomous movements on the urban scale. The main factors fostering phenomena of (re)appropriation of urban space in Rome are connected to what could be considered the "beginning of a counter-hegemonic strategy, against neoliberal housing" (Mudu, 2014). «Changes in the forms of protest matched some structural changes in the urban development of Rome» (Mudu, 2014b).

The housing policies pursued by regional and city government, considered as defined "in an open agreement with speculators", have catalysed most of the conflicts over urban development in Rome. Moreover, the housing policies,

that since the beginning have been very contested, have been reduced in number of building units and public funds related to that. The conflict over these policies is well resumed by this article of Paolo Mudu (2014b): «After the Second World War, the fascist dictatorship, which had never opposed speculation in land and buildings, left an heritage of *Borgate* (poor-quality public housing outside the city) and shanty towns built by immigrants and people displaced from the city centre (Insolera, 2011). Between 1947 and 1976, the ruling Christian Democrats (DC) led the development of the city in an open agreement with speculators (Insolera, 2011). In 1950s and 1960s, the struggle for decent housing was organised by the PCI, which denounced a situation of extreme poverty and bad housing conditions for around 100,000 people, as reported by a commission set up by the national Parliament in 1952 (Berlinguer and Della Seta, 1976). Massive housing plans were implemented in the 1950s. These mostly linked to speculation and illegal building practices, and only a few involved affordable housing projects (Clementi and Perego, 1983). At the beginning of 1961, after a long struggle, Law 1092 of 6 July 1939 against urbanisation was abolished.» (Mudu, 2014b, 137-138)».

Then, the evolution of these practices is more connected to the subject organizing those actions that in the people participating in it or the network of supporters.

Typology of people involved: mainly people affected by housing crisis; youth; extra-parliamentary political groups; autonomous movements; counter-cultural movements; neighbourhood's committees; active citizenship; precarious workers.

60s and 70s: Communist Party organizing housing occupations with Italian migrants, the unemployed, marginal groups
1970s: Extra-parliamentary groups far left political parties organizing housing occupations with Italian migrants, the unemployed, marginal groups, and youth movement
80s and 90s: Extra-parliamentary groups, housing movements organizing housing occupations and occupied socio-cultural spaces with Italian/foreign migrants, the unemployed, marginal groups, youth *autonomen* movement - young, disobedient movement, counter-cultural movements, Punk, anarchists, etc.
2000s: housing movements organizing housing occupations and autonomous groups organizing occupied socio-cultural / artistic-cultural production spaces with Italian/foreign migrants, the unemployed, marginal groups, youth *autonomen* movement - young, disobedient movement, counter-cultural movements, Punk, anarchists, etc.
2000s: Groups of active citizenship siding the above-mentioned autonomous groups to oppose resistance against the increasing privatization of public spaces and goods and the commodification of culture in the historic centre of Rome.

In the last decade there was a strong downturn in the supply of social housing resulting in mass exclusion from the right to the city. «Various waves of social conflicts have contested such institutional apathy towards the lack of housing, behind which certainly lay violent class politics» (Mudu, 2014b).

Main factors triggering the diffusion of radical practices of reappropriation in Rome:

1. **Inadequate housing policies** (in the face of intense immigration of poor population and the "deportation" / dislocation of the weaker sector of the population on the outskirts of the city)
2. **Lack of services and public spaces** (green spaces, spaces for socializing and leisure time not related to consumption) in the working-class peripheries
3. **Need to define spaces for youth empowerment** and creativity / experimentation of alternative lifestyles and forms of counter-culture

The connection between these elements and urban policies and planning

1. **The excessive power real estate developers elites on the city government:** influencing the drafting of city master plans and local agenda
   - Inefficient zoning and city master plan provisions
2. **Stagnant economy based solely on the tertiary sector and construction industry:** triggering city sprawl and further increase in house prices and housing crisis
   - Large speculation in construction sector
3. **Housing emergency:** informal practices for living: informal settlements, illegal occupation of vacant properties
   - Exclusion of the most vulnerable from access to decent housing
4. **Shortage/absence of public services and spaces in the working-class peripheries** > unplanned growth of peripheries and lack in funds for the activation of public services
   - Peripheral districts badly served by transport, insufficient public spaces and services provision
5. **Discontinuity between the city and its peripheries >** the definition of a spatial dualistic dimension in daily life of the inhabitants of Rome - the city / the neighbourhood
   - Isolation of the periphery from the city centre (mono-centric development)

Types of radical practices of appropriation developed in Rome:

1. Self-Managed Social Centers (*Centri Sociali Occupati Autogestiti*, CSOA)

2. Housing Occupations
3. Socio-cultural self-managed spaces
4. Self-Managed Public Spaces (*Spazi Pubblici Autogestiti*, SPA)

PRACTICE TYPOLOGY	VACANT SPACES	ACTORS INVOLVED	PUBLIC CITY?	REAPPROPRIATED SPACES	ACCESSIBILITY LEVEL
HOUSING OCCUPATIONS	Not-residential public assets, housing real estate owned by economic elites, dismissed industrial areas/spaces	Housing movements, people affected by housing crisis (i.e. precarious migrants/young people/elderly people) – working/underclass	Ensure the right to housing for all - protest against institutional "apathy" policies of disinvestment in housing public	E.g."Via delle Acacie" "Hertz school"	LOW ACCESSIBILITY Lodgings: private space Common areas: semi-public Space community: public Timetable Public Access: Events: collective space and courtyardh (during events)
OCCUPIED SELF-MANAGED SOCIAL CENTERS (CSOA)	Not-residential public assets, dismissed industrial areas/spaces	Autonomous movements, active/ precarious young citizens, migrants (smaller number confronting with Italians) – working/middle-class	Create spaces for socializing and leisure not utilitarian and self-managed; counter phenomena of social / economic / spatial degradation	E.g."Forte prenestino"	MEDIUM ACCESSIBILITY Assemblies: private Workshops / space activities: public Events: Public Timetable Public Access: every day h 10: 00-19: 00 Events: until 12:00om/until 6:00 am
SELF-MANAGED PUBLIC SPACES	Public "wastelands", dismissed industrial areas	Neighbourhood's committee, Onlus associations, people involved in CSOAs – mainly Italian population (middle class) – middle-class	Create green spaces, public spaces for sociability-debate, spaces of "caring" and self-managed services / practices of everyday life	E.g."Laghetto ex-Snia"	HIGH ACCESSIBILITY Management: Public Gardens: semi-public Services / areas: public Hours: daily (morning-evening)
SELF-MANAGED CULTURAL SPACES	Not-residential public assets, dismissed industrial areas/spaces, dismissed spaces for cultural activities (i.e. theatres, cinemas)	Collectives of artists, people working in the cultural field, citizens (low level of migrant population involved) – middle/ high-class	Create free and self-managed spaces for artistic experimentation and claim culture / cultural spaces as common goods	E.g. "Angelo Mai"	MEDIUM ACCESSIBILITY Assemblies: private Events: Public Hours every day from 10-20 Events: 20: 00-1: 00

RESUMING THE ANALYSIS OF RADICAL REAPPROPRIATION PRACTICES IN BERLIN AND ROME

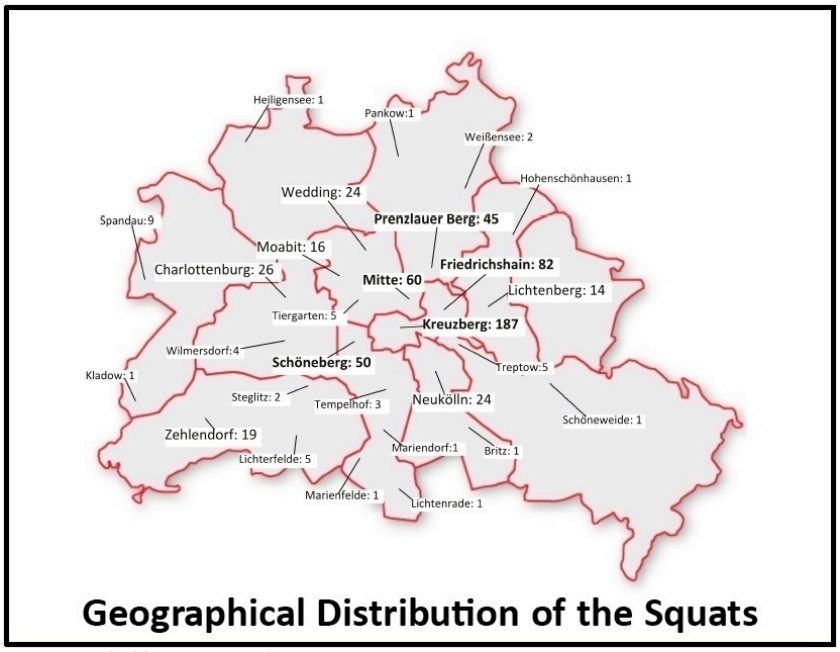
The urban insurgent processes of reclaiming spaces emerge as forms of resistance to:

Urban decay > Guerrilla gardening, form of self-managed urban renewal and "reactivation" of abandoned places;
Gentrification > House projects, squatting strategies for housing, social/cultural centres to obtain affordable spaces;
Speculation > House projeckt and co-housing and other forms to subtract spaces to the logic of profit;
Social decay > Spaces for social or cultural activities as "self-managed social centres";
Pervasive control of space > "TAZ" (Temporaty Autonomous Zones), transgressive lived spaces of escape, social centres intended "islands in a see of slaves and masters", that rejects governmentality;
Social Exclusion > Spaces that promote the inclusion of people excluded from the hegemonic order as homeless, immigrants, ethnic minorities, counter-hegemonic movements, political minorities, forms of alternative culture, etc.);
Progressive privatization/substitution of public space > Alternative "public" spaces for the community built by initiatives of active citizenship;
Policies of austerity and cuts on social services > self-managed children's gardens ("kindergartens"), self-managed public parks, community services;
Commodification of space for art, culture, leisure and social relations > Spaces for alternative culture, anti-utilitarian activities and community building;
Loss of spaces for political encounter > Spacing of radical dissent and emergence of political subjectivation, urban practices generated by direct participation of citizens, for a renewed sense of citizenship;
Colonization by consensual techno-managerial policies > Forms of local contestation concerning the political culture of local policy-making and the legitimacy deficit of public decision-making procedures; Promotion of active participation in decision-making and the development of strategies for horizontal and bottom-up democracy.

Berlin and Rome cases of radical/insurgent practices of reappropriation, how all these contested visions that produced conflicts they emerged?

- mobilizations to foster the protection/production of green public spaces, for leisure or gardening, in opposition to speculation developers' plans, as in the case of Tempelhofer field in Berlin or the issue of ex-Snia lake in Rome,
- opposition against mega-projects or infrastructure, as the fight for Berlin's waterfront in the Media Spree;
- opposition against the elites interested in making profit over housing and responsible for the dramatic shortage of affordable houses, that lead to the formation of tenants groups resisting against gentrification and displacement in Berlin and the social movements fighting for the right to dwell ("Movimenti di lotta per la casa") in Rome that, recently, organized three "Tsunami tour", in which these social movements all together, organized massive occupation of developer's private properties,
- resistance over the sell out of public estate, inner city gentrification and the commodification of socio-cultural spaces, that lead in Berlin to the "Initiative on the future of Bethanien," fostering the concept of common, that lead in Rome to the occupation of spaces such us "Angelo Mai", and Cinemas' and Theatres' (re)appropriation (practice that then spread all over Italy), as in the case of *Teatro Valle, Cinema Palazzo, Cinema America* (and others).

C.3 | Relevance of Squatting movement in Berlin: quantitative data and effects over policies and strategies



Map provided by Armin Kuhn

All the typologies (tenants groups, new urban political movements, counter-cultural movements, autonomous movements) above described are part of the today's struggles in the city of Berlin. Among theme, the ones insisting particularly on the inner city space of Berlin are: House projekt, Kultur haus, Wagenplatz, Kindergarten, Garten fur Urbane Landwirtschaft (gardens for urban agriculture), and other "alternative" projects. **Most of them cannot be defined anymore as squats, as for the autonomous spaces during the late 1970s and late 1980s, because today these spaces are regulated under different forms and illegal occupation are not- or very shortly tolerated by the city authorities.**

Although, we could assert that these new practices derive often from the same political/cultural framework of the squatter scene and/or take advantage of geography of protest and confrontation with the authorities in using discourses, practices and normative tools developed in times of more radical actions. In fact, these spaces were (re)appropriated through the strategies of squatting and/or insurgent citizenships' urban space reclaiming processes, which occurs through a forced and unauthorized/unplanned occupation of space as a spatial tactic for political negotiation. In Berlin context they have always rapidly lost their illegal condition because of the intervention of city authorities that have fixed these "informal" or "unexpected" (in terms or rules) situations through evictions or legalization (by temporary or long term leasing contracts with public or private owners). In these terms, they are not anymore considerable as appropriated spaces that experience and perform a condition of illegality. As a matter of fact, illegal (re)appropriated urban spaces are no longer existing in Berlin but in very few hidden cases (mostly connected to political struggles, such as the refugee movement, or to problematic situation of homelessness).

The squatters' movement is something that belongs to the past, to the first experiences of the late 1970s and late 1980s. Todays, most of the people involved in alternative autonomous projects and spaces see the term "Squatting" as a balk for the public recognition of the legitimacy of their instances. To understand this transformed condition, we can mention the interview of "the Guardian" to a person working and living in the "squat" Supamolly in Friedrichshain as she said to the journalist: «We used to be a squat, but now we technically own the building so it is more like a 'living project'». In fact, "House Project" and "Art Squat" are actually the most used words to describe these alternative places since these (re)claimed spaces in Berlin have negotiated with the public or private owner their legalization. In any case, the squatting phenomenon has reached big dimensions in Berlin, in terms of numbers and of conflicts over occupied houses and self-managed youth centres. To understand the importance that such phenomenon has had in the urban context results worth to mention some **data form the Data Base (April 2014) of a research survey made by Armin Kuhn and Azozomox for SQEK collective research group in the framework of the MovOkEur research project.**[71]

According to Armin Kuhn survey, squatting in Berlin has been an inner-city phenomenon in the recent past. Moreover **it insisted on the core of the city since around 70% of squatting took place in inner-city districts and just 17% at the margins of the inner city**. Resuming what we already mentioned, «the first big wave of squatting in 1980/81 was directly connected to the crises and the failure of "clear-cut" urban renewal in Western Berlin: *Firstly*, the extensive and concentrated speculative vacancy of whole apartment houses offered the space necessary. *Secondly*, housing shortage and decay and the long-time mobilization of neighbourhood initiatives gave legitimation to the "rehab-squatters". And *thirdly*, the decaying neighbourhoods offered affordable space for an alternative milieu who became, along with

[71] Squatting European Kollective, in the framework of the MovOkEur (*Moviminetos Okupas Europeo*) project (financed by Spain research funds obtained by Prof. Miguel Martinez), is conducting a big data collection over the squatting practices in the European cities (Berlin, Amsterdam, Paris, Rome, Barcelona, London, etc.). These data will be published in the upcoming SQEK publication.

immigrant workers, a main habitant group of districts like Kreuzberg or Schöneberg – the squatter strongholds of the 1980s.» Against the background of a bureaucratized and normalizing public system of housing allocation, the inner-city districts of Eastern Berlin - especially Mitte and Prenzlauer Berg that had experienced a similar development of neglect, vacancy and decay -, were targeted especially by young people, artists, oppositional or dropouts in the first 1989/90 wave of squatting. They had already experienced the so-called "black dwelling" (Grashoff 2011) during the Cold War period and especially in Prenzlauer Berg they gave rise to the starting point for a significant alternative milieu.

According to Azomomox's Data Base on squatting in Berlin (West-and East-Berlin) **from 1970 to 2016**, in a period of almost half a century, **approximately 650 entities from houses, factories, villas, up to parks, undeveloped land or the former death strip (on the border between the two German states), have been occupied within a political framework and intention.** The first occupation, in the aftermath of the 1968 revolt, took place, symbolically on May 1st 1970, in the working class area of Märkisches Viertel by students and young workers while the longest lasting squat is the Georg von Rauch-Haus in the district Kreuzberg (connected to the case study analysed), which exists since 42 years[72]. From 1970 to 1979 only 21 occupations have been detected, 8 of them in the year 1979, indicating the beginning of the upcoming first big squatting wave from 1980-1981 (West-Berlin) with a total of 255 occupations in only two years. This is a remarkable number - 42 % of all occupations detected on the whole period of survey were accomplished from 1970-2014. From 1982-1988 40 occupations took place (6,6%), 17 in 1988, which preceded the second squatting movement from 1989-1990 (West-Berlin and East-Berlin) with a total of 183 occupations, or 30% of the total number. In total, as a whole, we can state, that during those two big squatting waves and movements (1980-81 and 1989-90), which together comprise only 4 years at their peak, a 72% majority of all occupations in Berlin took place, totalizing 438 squats. The other 28%, or 172 occupations took place in the 40 years following. After 1990, squatting as a whole declined, with 50 squats (8.2%) occurring from 1991-1999, and 27 squats (4.4%) from 2000-2009. This tendency basically is followed in the first years of the next decade from 2010-2014 with a fairly small number of 21 squats (3.4%)[73].

Starting from the number of physical space appropriations occurred from the end of the 1970s to the beginning of the 1990s and then focusing on the legalization numbers, we could observe the changed attitude of the institutions confronting with these radical practices.

Over the last decades, the 30% of all squats settled in Berlin (200 entities all together) have been legalized; the squatters have bough about 35 of the total number (17,5 % of all legalized squats). Legalization existed right from the beginning: from the first 13 occupations, that took place before of the 1979, only 2 have been legalized. In 1979, seven out of eight occupations gained legal status, totalizing 10 legalizations out of 21 in the first decade from 1970 to 1979 - which is an amazing quota of 48% and 5% of all legalizations. Although it could be argued, that the year 1979 was the beginning of the 80/81 squatting movement, and thus initiated and induced it and therefore should not be counted in the first but second decade. During the 1990s and early 2000s all the illegal squats have been shut down and the new ones immediately evicted and squatting movement have been dispersed. In fact, according to Azomomox data, **the fact that only 100 places have been squatted in the last 24 years**, (1991-2014), 16% of all squats, compared with some 510 squats in the preceding 21 years (1970-1990), or 84 % of all squats; **combined with the small number of legalizations, (16) or 8%, leads to the assumption that, barring other possible reasons for the non-existence of a broad social and political movement, the government of Berlin had adopted legal and political measures to stop and neutralize squatting as a wider social phenomenon and has probably succeeded at preventing another wave of squatting**. This is made evident if we compare the decreasing use of legalization over the last two decades. In fact, the vast majority of legalizations of squat occupations took place in the first and in the second wave of squatting in exactly 4 years 1980,1981,1989 and 1990, in total, 174 legalizations, accounting for 39,7 % out of 438 squats in that period and of 87% in all. Even though, in at least some cases, the process of legalization took a few years. Since 1991, only 16 entities have been be legalized, out of 100 occupations from 1991-2014, or 16% in the last 25 years and 8% of all from 1970-2014.

The large number of legalizations within those mass squatting movements could lead to the assumption that the movements strength, power and steady gaining of influence within society forced the Berlin Senate and local district governments, which have a greater freedom of decision-making than in other countries, along with the private owner, to negotiations, round-tables and legal agreements. In fact, waves of illegal occupation of the 80s and 90s have generated institutional responses and generative effect on policies in response to the resolution of the conflict (caution urban renewal, legalizations, Self-help programs, participatory processes, etc.). Instead, the progressive stop and neutralization of the squatting movement and squatting actions as the product of the Berlin government legal and political measures can be derived by two examples from the Azomomox's Data Base: first, the relative **high number of evictions – 56 out of 100 - from 1991-2014, which occurred on the same day or within the first 4 days of an occupation** (numbers related to the regulation - the so called -*"Berliner Linie"* that was introduced in 1981); secondly, although this number currently remains small, **since 1990, five squats have been evicted after being**

[72] It was legalized on December 8th 1971 with a lease contract that expires in the year 2053.
[73] Source of data: Azomomox's quantitative survey. The utilization of data have been authorized by Azozomox.

issued legal rental agreements and contracts, despite there being in existence as a house-project or political community from 10, to more than 20 years.
The low profile of squatting today is a reality, despite the fact that surprisingly enough, Germany displays the highest wealth inequality in the Eurozone.[74] «Naturally, economic reasons, out of necessity, can always contribute to the mixture of motives leading to the appropriation of a building, a factory or whatever» (Azomomox). **However, it is worth stressing that in Berlin, in the last decades, many house projects have been created without resorting to illegal occupation strategies but through the adoption of temporary leases contracts** (at reduced prices for property to be redeveloped) with the public or private owner. In some case, the tenants have also had the opportunity to collectively buy the property or obtain very long leasing contracts[75] who ensured a more permanent residency and the end of the precarious dimension for these projects, especially in a context of uncontrolled increase in rent prices occurring at the renovation of lease contracts with new owners/investors that produced the evacuation of many house projects, in the last two decades.

Another interesting element to observe is the **use and typology of occupied places and spaces**. According to Azomomox data, generally speaking, we can state that in Berlin most squatted places have been and are used as living places or as place of housing with a public sphere (89.3%), while only 65 places (10.7% of the total) have been used or intended to be used exclusively as social centres or as social centres including a limited number of living spaces. **It is very interesting to note, that in the years 1970-1977, 8 out of 13 occupations (62 % of the total), were social centres, or (almost) solely spaces for public use, as it was for the 13 out of 31 squats from 2008 to 2014 (42% of the total).** It marks how in the first and the last phase, occupations were focused on the creation of spaces for public use. These 21 places, which make up 48% out of 44 squats are still a small percentage (7.6 %) over the 576 occupations used as living spaces. This clearly indicates that, especially in the two big squatting waves, one of the most important goals of squatting was to secure housing and a communal or collective household space, although many of these residential places, **many of these buildings with flats perfectly equipped for living, also provided public space in their own house projects, for use as a cafe, a bar, events, debates or concerts** (See the case of the *Hausprojekt Yorck 59*). The vast majority of occupied buildings between 1970 and 2014 were residential buildings (487 or 80% of the total), followed by 81 former factories, schools, hospitals, one police-station, etc., that constitute the 13% of the total, plus 40 "free spaces", or vacant lands (6.6%), and two public squares (0.33%). Among those is the significant number of 25 occupied wagon places (*Wagenplatz*), which is the 4.1% of the total and 63% of the occupied vacant lands. Eleven *Wagenplatzen* occupied former borderlands, either on the former death strip or directly alongside the wall. In one case, the occupation of approximately 4 hectares of land, which was known as the *Norbert Kubat-Dreieck* (Lenné-Triangle), property to be exchanged between the East Germany and the West-Berlin Senate, gained international attention.[76] When the police came to evict the property on 1 July 1988, more than 180 of the squatters fled over the Wall to East Berlin, later leaving via the usual checkpoints.

C.4 | Some data over the squatting phenomenon in Rome

The large number of occupations in the territory of Rome is difficult to estimate, there are no accurate data, but the phenomenon results very wide. On one side, the wide phenomenon of illegal occupation of social housing units is a practice that has spread particularly in major cities and regions of the centre-south, which is around 9% of the total units (while the national average is 5.7%), and is connected to the strong housing pressure in urban areas that leads many people to extreme solutions; to the lack of controls on the territory and the "weakness of the repressive actions" (Federcasa, 2015); to the habit of periodically enact measures of amnesty, which generate in the illegal occupants the expectation of being able to be legalized sooner or later, further fuelling the phenomenon. This phenomenon, historically present in Rome, as we can see has been increasing in recent years because of the effects of economic crisis in the cities of central Italy: 6.0% in 2003; 5.1% in 2004; 5.5% in 2006; 8.3% in 2008; 9.7% in 2011; 9.36% in 2013 (Federcasa, 2011, 19). This situation has, sometimes, also feed criminals phenomena associated with latent interest groups "selling" housing vacated by the occupants.
The research will do not **focus**, however, on this subject that, at least in the last two decades, has referred almost exclusively to solve particularistic problems, but instead **on forms of housing occupation that refer to Housing movement trying to address the housing crisis through collective political strategies and other forms of radical reappropriation for socio-cultural and urban regeneration purposes**. The issues raised by the conflict actually

[74] Differences in financial assets that the affluent and the less well off had at their disposal were larger than in any other nation of the 18-member euro area, the study pointed out. It said that while one per cent of people making up the richest members of society owned an average 800.000 euros ($1.1 billion) per person, roughly a fifth of the German population had not amassed any private capital at all. http://www.dw.de/germany-displays-highest-wealth-inequality-in-eurozone/a-17458083.
[75] As for the case of K77 Hausproject where a «fifty-year lease was signed and a communal, 'non-property oriented solution to ownership' was also resolved through the creation of a foundation through which profits were channelled into a number of socio-political projects, both in Berlin and the developing world (Heyden 2008, 35). The foundation running K77 was also successful in securing public funds via the Structural Self-Help initiative» (Vasudevan, 2011, 296).
76 It belonged to the Soviet sector as of 1945 and when the Wall was built in 1961 this triangular piece of land was cut off by the border installations; projecting into West Berlin, so it was surrounded by a makeshift fence and left undeveloped. The exchange of territory agreed to on 31 March 1988 made it part of West Berlin as of 1 July 1988.

implemented, born with the intent to become strategies for the questioning of the 'state of things' on the basis of the issues relating to the inclusion of differences and access to resources, the redefinition of the concept of dominion and control over urban space, the value of the "resistance" tense social innovation through the construction of new political subjectivities, trying to put back the demands that come from below at the centre of the political agenda.

Rome counts about sixty housing occupations (the only major cataloguing has provided the Safety Commission of the City, in a 2010 report) related to the movements of struggle for housing (*Action, Blocchi Precari Metropolitani - BPM, Coordinamento Cittadino di lotta per la casa, Comitato Popolare di Lotta per la casa, Comitato Obiettivo Casa),* which would host **about five thousand people**[77] in the background of a dramatic housing crisis involving about 100,000 people - including the homeless and those living in shacks - that cannot get access to the good "home". «The increasing coordination among the three main groups that organise occupations for housing only emerged in the last few years. On 6 December 2012, *Movimenti per il diritto all'abitare* (Movementa for the right to inhabit), a joint venture of the three above-named groups, organized a spectacular event, a series of occupations in the city of Rome. Around 2,000 people took eight building to lay claim to the allocation of funds for public housing, to contest the privatization of public housing, and to promote self-renovation projects. The *autorecupero* proposals by the Coordinamento went along with the formation of a cooperative with 100 members to support such a practice (Agostini, 2011). In the 1990s projects of *autorecupero* of squatted houses were implemented, although so far this practice has been used more by Italians than by immigrants (Agostini, 2011)» (Mudu, 2014).

In addition, a constellation of self-managed social centres, more than 50 (including the Forte Prenestino considered the largest in Europe in extension), is added to the large number of autonomous entities (see Angelo Mai case study's File 2 in appendix) that have chosen the way of re-appropriation in Roman territory, **not only because of the weak housing policies and inaccessible housing costs, but also of the continuing cuts to culture and sports public funds that have led to the progressive commodification of space for culture, sport and leisure**. Finally, **the sell out of public assets**, particularly central in the Veltroni and Alemanno (mayors of Rome between 2001 and 2013) council policies, **triggered a new wave of occupations related to the concept of reappropriation of "urban commons."**

Thanks to their **pro-active capacity these alternative practices developed in Rome have proposed**:

1. «squatting for housing and their implementation of *Autorecupero* (self-rehab) or *Autocostruzione* (self-construction) of public assets practices for the creation of affordable collective spaces for living as alternative housing strategies (Figure 1);
2. Self-managed Social Centres and their implementation of entrepreneurial spaces of self-management and self-production of cultural, social, political activities (Figure 2 and 3) as a form of alternative community based service management and renewal of public assets with social purposes;
3. the occupation of spaces intended as common goods on urban scale that refers both to the recent wave of occupation of abandoned theatres and cinemas and the (re)appropriation of several public assets on the point to be privatized, that started after the successful referendum in 2011 for the "water as common good." These have been proposing the institutionalization of forms of associations that aim to act as alternative economic partners and operating in the management of public assets and services in a third way from public or private sector (Figure 5 and 6). [78]

Figure 1: The case of the former barracks located in via del Porto Fluviale in Rome: abandoned for years, has become a housing occupation that is now home to 100 families. Moreover it offers a bike self-repairing workshop, a circus workshop and a tearoom where courses, cineforums and debates are held. The occupants required law enforcement on *Autorecupero* for the allocation of the property as public housing asset, which has already been fully-renovated by the "informal" tenants. So far. the inclusion in Autorecupero programs has never been accepted by authorities. The artist BLU has painted the building to protect the housing project from its destruction.

[77] Data provided by the quantitative survey (until 2014) conducted by Pierpaolo Mudu for the MovOkEur research project (Spanish minister of education). Pierpaolo Mudu is a geographer and has conducted quantitative research on occupations nationwide. These data are presented in several publications: See Mudu 2004 and 2014 (in SQEK 2014) for quantitative information on the phenomenon of "self-administered centres" in Italian.
[78] The best known is the occupation of the Teatro Valle, Rome's oldest theatre still in operation, which was occupied in 2011.

Figure 2 and 3: the case of former college Angelo Mai, historical school of Monti district, squatted against a securitization process. This public property has been subject to various forms of appropriation from both the neighbourhood committees in opposition to privatization, either by occupants for the creation of accessible spaces for living and culture, in a historic centre increasingly subject to gentrification and its social-spatial side effects.

Figure 4: The case of the Valle Theatre, the oldest theatre still operating in Rome, where the first public meeting of the "constituent commons" has been held (attended by Italian constitutionalists Rodotà, Mattei, Azzariti, and others). From this experimental proposal emerged the "foundation for Teatro Valle common good" (5,000 subscriptions from founding members and a share capital of over 100,000 Euros) based on a paradox: the Occupied Teatro Valle asked for a legal recognized foundation headquartered in a building illegally occupied. Occupied in 2011 and self-managed by show operators and citizens groups until August 2014 when it has been cleared.

Figure 5: The Case of the natural lake formed during excavations for the construction of a shopping centre in the area of the former factory *Snia Viscosa*. Since 2014 citizens reclaimed the area in order to create a public park and have obtained, in 2014, the compulsory purchase order imposed to the private owner. A call for participatory planning of this space have been launched but the public funding provided for the development of the area are missing so that the area is today completely self-managed by the population.

Additionally, a significant number of squatted spaces rejected proposals of institutionalization. All together, such practices can survive and develop only if there is an active involvement of inhabitants[79] in the transformation of their own city» (Mudu, Rossini, 2016).

[79] We chose to use the term "inhabitants" instead of "citizens" in order to include the many foreigners who live the city.

D | The insurgent/radical/grassroots practices of (re)claiming spaces

As emerged by the above mentioned analysis of the phenomenon of radical reappropriation of space emerge that Berlin and Rome have are cities where the phenomenon have been very relevant. Despite the general thinking is that this phenomenon is not actual anymore, we will observe that today the two cities are still punctuated of spaces for sub-culture and alternative way of living (different imaginaries for the city). Starting from these first analysis, I can proceed with the brief initial description of the four different (re)appropriational practices that have been selected to investigate more in deep the relationship between these radical/alternative strategies and the urban policies and practices implemented in the two cities in the last decades. These cases shows the development of the practices over the time, in a lapse of time incurring between the late 1980s and the 2014, and the different radical, insurgent and conflictive dimensions that these practices perform on the "indeterminate territories" that have been chosen for the development of different projects. Many differences distinguish every case also in the way they have confronted with public authorities and the different reasons that have fostered the implementation of such tactics. I propose here to analyse four cases connected to four macro-categories that will be further introduced.

The **number "1" and "2" cases** conflicts are briefly analysed in **"descriptive files."** The **number "3" cases** are the selected **"cases study"** (investigated through the adoption of qualitative methods of data collection) while the **number "4" cases** are **"detailed stories"** (constructed over the only survey of documents). Urban policymakers discursively describe such urban spaces as "dead," "void," or "wasted" (Doron, 2000) that are often marked by a rhetoric of "reurbanization" and "densification" (Hain, 2001; Ladd, 2000), stressing the need to fill those "urban voids" (Colomb, 2012). The two cases study have been analysed more in deep through the analysis of documents inherent to the case studies (papers, newspapers, web, etc.); the exploratory and dialogic site visit: (description and interpretation through narration); the qualitative interviews with those involved in processes such as tenants, institutions, activists / researchers selected with the cognitive purposes on the topic: **semi-structured interviews;** and participant observation.

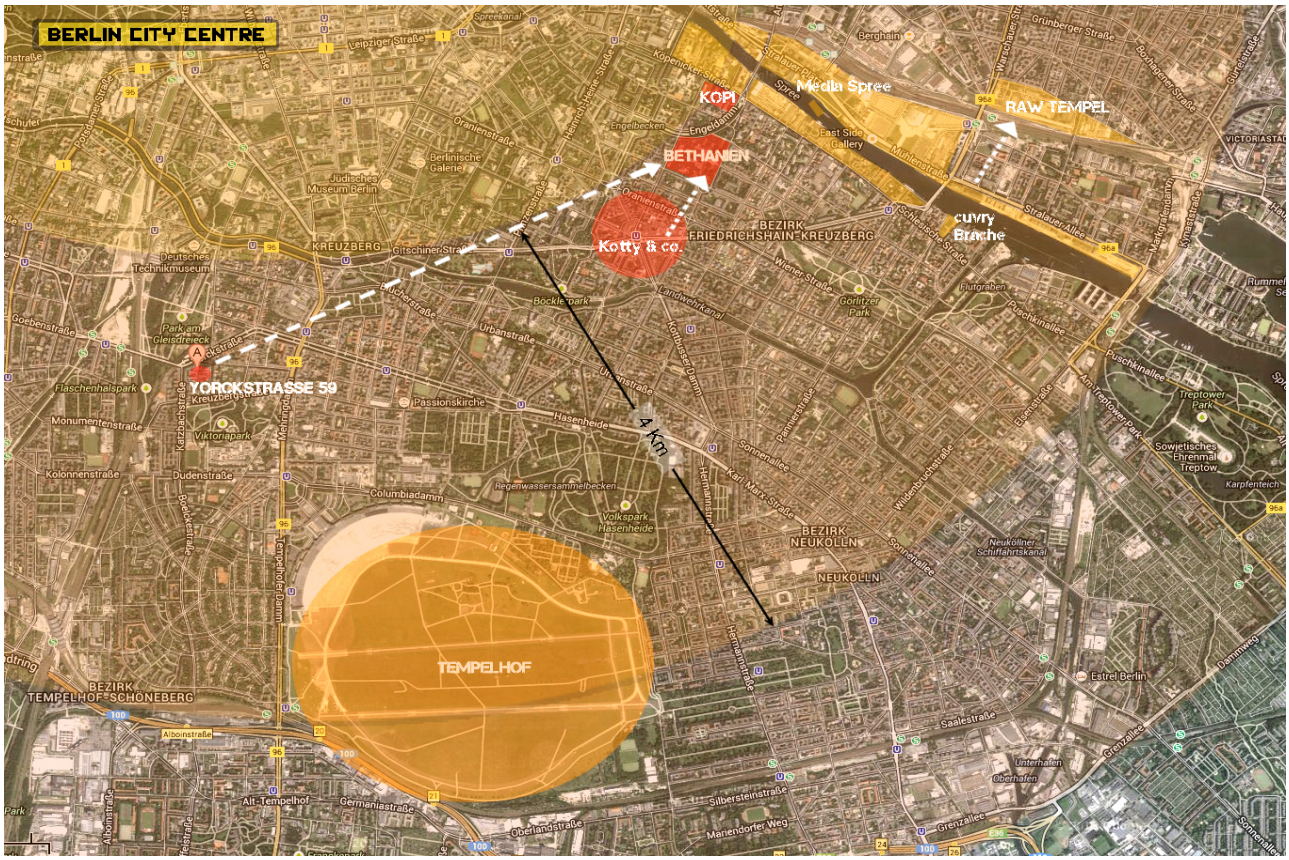
What emerge from the analysis of these cases, is that these practices are able to transform what results as "voids" in planners maps, namely places that in the absence of investment are often visually hidden from the public eye (Ibid., 2012), in physically and symbolically "visible" places in the urban geography of the citizens' everyday life. Moreover, they have been capable to respond to problems of exclusion of certain groups from the access to basic resources (such as housing, employment, education) and lack in spaces for social-political-leisure activities often affecting peripheral (physically on the outskirt of the city or threated as peripheral in the urban development strategies) areas of the city.

BERLIN FOUR SELECTED PRACTICES OF SPACE (RE)APPROPRIATION

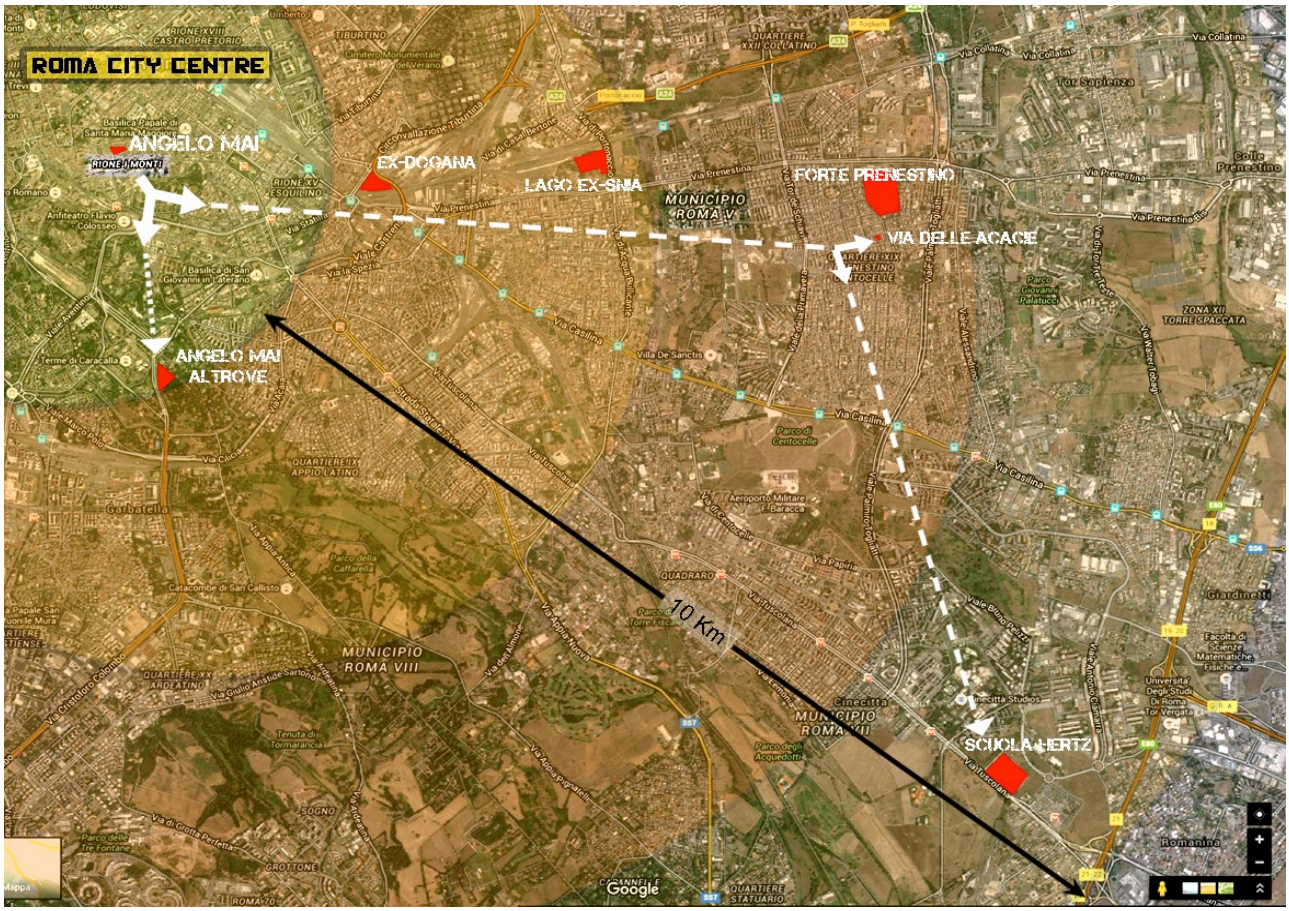
NAME	**1. Köpi 137**	**2. RAW Tempel**	**3. Bethanien**	**4. Tempelhofer Feld**
Typology of Re-appropriated space	House project – social centre – wagenplatz **(occupied in 1990)**	Entrepreneurial self-managed space for cultural production **(occupied in 1997)**	Self-managed public space including housing, social, political, cultural, educational and artistic activities **(occ. in 1970&2005)**	Co-managed public space including a public park and many temporary uses **(attempted occupation in 2008 and citizen reappropriation)**
Privatization processes concerning public assets	**Privatization of public housing stock (1994)**	**Privatization of public industrial facility (1999)**	**Privatization of public space (2004)**	**Privatization of public transport facility (2008)**
Ownership	Municipal property since 1990	Municipally managed since 1996	Municipal property since 1970	Municipal property since 20008
District	Mitte-Kreuzberg	Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg	Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg	Kreuzberg- Neukölln- Templehof
Typology of Public asset	**East Berlin public housing managed by the housing company WBM**	**East Berlin National Railway facility (area used until 1993 for the repair and storage of trains)**	**Socio-cultural public asset since 1970 (former hospital)**	**National Airport asset – before managed by national minister of transports**
How the issue started	1990 Property vacated by the former tenants for	1992 Disposal of the area.	1969 property vacated for planned demolition	2008 Demise of airport activities – the Senate

and evolved? Confronting formal & informal strategies played over public spaces	planned demolition – protest against planned development of the area. The building is squatted by squatter movement to create a house project	A public Trustee, as entity for the privatization of industries in the former GDR, become responsible for the management, valorization and privatization of the property	and construction of public housing stocks – occupied by citizens for protest. 1970 the demolition is avoided and the place is assigned to local groups for self-managed cultural and social activities and local public services are located in the south-wing	of Berlin buy the property from the National Minister fro Transports. Municipal Plans for the development of commercial, residential activities and a park are settled. In 2008 activists from the radical scene attempt to squat the former airport. The squatting action is immediately repressed
	1993 property managed by the Urban Development Company GSE – ratified contract with squatters	1996 the *Bezirksamt* took possession of the land and became responsible for the area: request of four times rent increase (20.000 Marks)	2004 south wing is vacated for planned privatization – all the public services are shut down or relocated outside of the building	2009-2014 the area is used as a public park and many temporary uses are organized over the space by organizations of citizens
	1994 the property is privatized (returned to the former owner). Following privatization evictions are attempted for the implementation of planned provisions that permits the construction of high value offices and a Parking space in the area	1999 some artist and pioneers from the independent art scene (re) appropriated the space and founded the R.A.W. Tempel association	Occupation of the property by people evicted by an house project (Yorck 59); the occupation is joined by the neighbours and a campaign against the privatization is organized – collected 14.000 signatures for local petition	2012 the City propose again the development of the area and activate a "participative process" to debate over the proposed project for the development of the public park (just a little part of the entire area)
	Squatters radically oppose (with many supporters) the eviction of the Köpi 137 project. Through the identification of the property with the idea of a "Risky Capital Investment" they create a powerful deterrent for potential investors willing to invest on such a central area	In 2000 ownership transferred to Vivico GmbH (offspring company of the German Railways) and then privatized. The artist collective that obtained a temporary leasing contract since their presence was initially intended as capable to enhance the value of the area are constantly threatened by eviction	Between 2005 and 2009 a negotiation with local authorities take place. Many citizens' participate to the negotiation process. 2009 the citizens succeed in avoiding the privatization and a 15 years lease contract is signed by the occupants with a society for urban development for self-management of the property.	2014 the Referendum on local level organized by the citizens against the development of the area is successful for the "NO" (the faction opposing the development of the area). The area can be used just as a public park and every permanent construction activities is forbidden by the local referendum
	Today: the house project has a legal leasing contract but is constantly threatened by eviction since the owner wants to develop the area with luxury offices	Today: the RAW Tempel cultural project is under eviction for the transformation of the area in luxury apartments and offices	Today: the Bethanien is self-managed public space managed by a non-profit association constituted by several cultural-social-political projects and the house project running the space since 2005	Today: the Tempelhofer Feld is a public park where only temporary uses are accepted while all the prevision of permanent development and partial privatization have been opposed

LOCALIZATION OF THE CASES ANALYSED IN THE TWO CITIES AND THEIR CONNECTION TO LOCAL CONFLICTS



Map of the conflicts and (re)appropriation of space analysed in Berlin: Köpi, Raw Tempel, Bethanien, Tempelhofer Feld



Map of the conflicts and (re)appropriation of space analysed in Rome: Forte Prenestino, S.C.U.P., Angelo Mai, Lago ex-Snia

ROME FOUR SELECTED PRACTICES OF SPACE (RE)APPROPRIATION

NAME	1. Forte	2. Ex-Dogana	3. Angelo Mai	4. Laghetto ex-Snia
Typology of Re-appropriated space	Occupied self-managed social centre **(Occupied in 1986)**	Temporary entrepreneurial cultural /leisure activities **(Temporary lease since 2014)**	Occupied self-managed space including housing and cultural production and social activities / after 2009 housing occupation separated by cultural project **(Occupied in 2004)**	Co-managed /self-managed public space **(Reappropriated since 2014)**
Privatization processes concerning public assets	Attempt of privatization of public facility for green areas (1995)	Privatization of public facility (2007)	Attempt of privatization of public school (2002)	Attempt of privatization of public green area (1990s/200s)
Ownership	City property since 1976	National Railway company property until 2007	City property since 2009	City property since 2014
District	V Municipal borough (Centocelle)	II Municipal Borough (San Lorenzo) – near V Borough	I Municipal Borough / V Municipal Borough (Centocelle)	V Municipal borough (Pigneto/prenestino)
Typology of Public asset	Military barrack (fort): National property of the Ministry of the Defence bought in 1976 by the City for the creation of a park and public facilities	Former Railway Yard Customs: National property inserted in the list of asset for securization in 2002	Local subsidized public school: private (religious order) property reclaimed by the state in late 1990s inserted in the list of assets for securization in 2001	Area included in a plan of localization of public offices provided by the City Plan of 1962: partial municipal public area since 1994 and then 2014/ partially privately owned area
How the issue started and evolved? Confronting formal & informal strategies played over public spaces	Property abandoned since the beginning of the XX century when the military fort was demised	Property left vacant since 2010	Property left vacant since early 1990s since the boarding school is removed from the premise	Property left vacant since the demise of the industrial activity located in the area until 1950s
	Attempt to privatize the property in 1995 opposed by the movements (in the framework of the discussion over the Resolution 26/1995)	Privatized in 2007 (securization national policies): Fintecna Immobiliare spa became responsible for the establishment of a public-private company that would proceed to the valorization of the premises. The area is now owned by Pirelli Re real estate	Attempt to privatize the property in Monti district in 2002 opposed by citizens' movement / in 2006 eviction of the municipal property occupied in 2004 / the property is abandoned since 2010	Attempt to privatize the area during the 1990s and 2000s through project that have been approved by the City but contested by the citizenry / property has been reclaimed by the City in 2014 after increasing peaceful protests organized by people taking over the space for public use
	Today: Property never regularized results illegally occupied as a Socio-cultural centre and housing project since thirty years	Today: the property has been sold and valorized with increased building provisions and through permission for **temporary uses in the cultural and leisure field**	Today: The first public property occupied is abandoned / the second has been regularized by temporary lease contract for socio-cultural activities/ the housing projects evicted	Today: The property have been reclaimed by the Municipality and a participated project have been proposed as result of the negotiation between citizens and institutions

D.1 | Same pattern in different conflicting urban practices?

In the Berlin and Rome urban contexts, several different "insurgent practices" have been developed by the citizens in the last four decades. These different practices seem very similar each other but different at the same time.

Might we consider these different approaches to reclaiming spaces process as an evolution of the same pattern in conflicting urban practices?

The research analyse four different categories of (re)appropriation of space, in which the tactic of squatting is used within different political-social frameworks and relationships with the community, the physical space of the city and the city authorities (and the existing order). **«Central to this practices, seems to be the idea of people acting autonomously and collaboratively to reclaim control of spaces […] (and) in doing so, radically transforming, from the ground up, their physical environment»** (Ward, 1982, 2000, 2008).

All the typologies (tenants groups, new urban political movements, counter-cultural movements, autonomous movements) described in the following paragraphs are part of the today's struggles in the cities of Berlin and Rome. Among theme, the ones insisting particularly on the inner city space of Berlin are: *House projekts* (alternative housing projects & Social Centers)*, Kultur haus* (Alternative Cultural Centers)*, Wagenplatz* (Informally occupied parking areas)*, Kindergarten, Garten fur Urbane Landwirtschaft* (gardens for urban agriculture), and other "alternative" projects. Most of them cannot be defined anymore as squats, as for the autonomous spaces during the late 1970s and late 1980s, because today these spaces are regulated under different forms and illegal occupation are just shortly tolerated by the city authorities.

In the case of Rome, the one insisting in particular on the city peripheries (while few are located in the city centre) are: *Centri Sociali Occupati Autogestiti* -CSOA (Occupied/self-managed Social Centres), *Occupazioni Abitative* (housing squats), *Spazi Pubblici Autogestiti*, SPA (Self-managed Public Spaces), and forms of guerrilla gardening. In Rome, most of the "Centri Sociali" and "Occupazioni abitative" are illegal squats while the SPA and gardens are regularized by covenant with the City authority.

Even if many of these spaces are connected to the Autonomous, anarchists movements, actually most of these are «self-organized communes and collectives which have arranged their own spaces in highly rational and efficient ways», that means that these places are not based on an "anarchic-chaotic" order as are described by the dominant discourses (Newman, 2011, 347). Despite, these spaces are closer to a "destructive-creative" approach,[80] typical of the radical politics (the 'urge to destroy' was also a 'creative urge' for Bakunin), it means that these practices don't entail **just a disruption of the existing order of space but a capacity to invent alternative spatial imaginaries** (Newman, 2011).

According to Chantal Mouffe: **"Every order is, therefore, susceptible of being challenge by counter-hegemonic practices, which will attempt to disarticulate this order and to install another form of hegemony".** In the confrontation between institutions and informal actors we will notice how this process of disarticulation of the "adversary" order in order to rearticulate the same elements of this order "in a new form of hegemony" is a strategy/tactic used by both the (often radically) opposed parties.

For instance, according to Newman (2011) the **interesting perspective of anarchist approach to planning** is relies on its **capacity in questioning** and **breaking down «the hierarchical structures and the intellectual division of labour usually associated with the planning process» and to show that «people have a capacity to plan for themselves and to act cooperatively in the organisation of physical space**.» (Newman, 2011, 348).

Since, these "insurrectional spaces" are seen as «many cracks within the dominant social, political and economic order […]: **(w)e should see it as a micropolitics which, rather than supplanting macropolitical practices (in which case it would become simply another form of macropolitics), acts to supplement them"** (Ibid, 2011, 353). The negotiation of these "micropolitics" and "alternative spatial imaginaries" proposed from the bottom results important in a process of democratic definition of urban strategies.

As Mouffe says: "the autonomy of the political only makes sense if it is thought of in terms of a politics of autonomy". The existence of autonomous movement, organizations and political spaces, effectively forces us to re-situate the political dimension away from the "hegemony of the state" and towards alternative practices and forms of decision-making.

[80] As the creative destruction of the political-economic space create by the "actually existing neoliberalism" processes, conceptualized by Brenner and Theodore (2012).

A first comparison on different strategies related with (re)appropriation of space in different historical contexts:

SOCIAL MOVEMENTS: are a type of group action. They are large informal groupings of individuals or organizations, which focus on specific political or social issues. In other words, they carry out, resist or undo a social change.

The **protests of the 1970s** comprised a worldwide escalation of social political conflicts, predominantly characterized by popular rebellions against capitalist bureaucratic elites defining unnegotiated urban ideologies (late 1960s early 1970s) as for the first "anti-growth" movements that were progressively rising in the north American cities, animated by citizens more interested in improving the quality of urban life than in merely promoting economic growth as such (Molotch, 1976). The struggle were particularly focused on the sphere of socio-spatial reproduction (Castells).

This escalation of social conflict was retorted with an escalation of political repression and through neutralization strategies

Started in the transition between Fordism and post-Fordism

SQUATTING[81] (from the '70s on)

Squatting (def.) consists of occupying an abandoned or unused/abandoned plot and/or a building that the **squatter** does not own, rent or otherwise have lawful permission to use.
Yet, according to Kesia Reeve (2005), "squatting is largely absent from policy and academic debate and is rarely conceptualized, as a problem, as a symptom, or as a social or housing movement".
Squatting movements are political and engage in squatting as forms of political collective action

Practices connected to this category: the Squats Köpi 137, George-Van-Rauch-Haus, several Wagenplatz (occupied parking areas), or in Rome Forte Prenestino, ex-Snia, Acrobax, etc.

The **protests of 2011** comprised a worldwide escalation of social conflicts, predominantly characterized by popular rebellions against strategies pursued by supranational, national or local authorities and that can be describe with the Harvey (2005) definition of "accumulation by dispossession"; that involves «conversion of common, collective, and state form of property rights and the suppression to right to the common» and it also «chipping away at common property rights that have been won in the course of the Fordist class struggle (such us access to education, healt care, welfare, and state pensions) reverting them to the private sector.» (Meyer, 2013).

This escalation of social conflict was retorted with an escalation of political repression or pacification strategies

Started in a new transition era from the current hegemonic dimension to the next one

REAPPROPRIATION[82] (last decade)

Reappropriation (def.) is the cultural process by which a group reclaims—re-appropriates—terms or artifacts that were previously used in a way disparaging of that group.
The term *reappropriation* can also extend to counter-hegemonic re-purposing, such as citizens with no formal authority seizing unused public or private land for community use. The term *reappropriation* is an extension of the term *appropriation* or *cultural appropriation* used in anthropology, sociology and cultural studies to describe the hegemonic action of reabsorbing subcultural styles and forms, or those from other cultures, into mass culture through a process of commodification: the mass-marketing of alternate lifestyles, practices, and artifacts.

Practices connected to this category: Tempelhof, several unused spaces transformed in public spaces as the "Ein Platz für die Marie" (a "reclaimed" public space in the Mitte neighborhood, etc.), in Rome the "Parco delle energie", the "Parco del lago", "casetta rossa SPA", etc.

[81] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Squatting#cite_note-Housing_and_Social_Policy-3
[82] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Reappropriation.

CATEGORIES[83]	GOALS
1. "Deprivation based" — i.e., homeless people squatting for housing need	1. Commons
2. An "alternative housing strategy" — e.g., people unprepared to wait on municipal lists to be housed take direct action (as discussed in the preceding paragraph)	2. Alternative public spaces fostering "freedom of movement"
3. "Entrepreneurial" — e.g., people breaking buildings to service the need of a community for cheap bars, clubs etc.	3. Self managed and auto determined services for the community (Self-managed public spaces, Kindergarten, etc.)
4. "Conservational" — i.e., preserving monuments because the authorities have let them decay	4. Conservational versus Gentrification
5. "Political" — e.g., activists squatting buildings as protests or to make social centres	5. "Take back the city

Interruption in political tradition (post-political dimension)?

«While the squats at the beginning of the 1980s contributed decisively to the implementation of a policy of "caution urban renewal", the squats of the 1990s constituted an alien element in neoliberal redevelopment policy in East Berlin» (Holm, Kuhn, 2011) distinguishable from the cautious urban renewal in the western part of the city by criteria relating to real estate, urban planning and finance. In Rome, while the mass of people mobilized for housing struggle from 1960s to 1980s was able to push the implementation of housing policies the radical movements of from the late 1980s to today have been considered alien elements in neoliberal urban development and treated mostly as a problem of social deviance (while regularized just as a form of pacification)	The resulting contemporary metropolis is a site of collision between forces of exploitation and dispossession and increasingly coherent, yet still fragile and contradictory movements for new kinds of citizen power and social justice (Holston, 2009). An increasing mass of active/insurgent citizenship in the last years is emerged in the two cities counter-proposing forms of collective (re)appropriation and subsidiarity with the state to the increasing privatization of the public city. For instance in Berlin are emerged numerous citizens' movement opposing unnegotiated urban development strategies finally producing the privatization of public areas, while in Rome in the recent years is emerged a movement for the definition of the "commons" on a urban scale. The peculiarity of these new movements is their capacity to attract a crossectional wide sector of the society.
In Berlin there were «attempts to incorporate the squatter movement's multifaceted and often self-organized cultural forms of expression into the image of a vital and creative city.» (Holm, Kuhn, 2011). **Nevertheless, the squatter movement's demands for a cautious urban renewal and for more participation, were absorbed into the software of neoliberal urban policies and the socio-political; the spatial influence that they have had is still not recognized (Holm, Kuhn, 2011).** In Rome the squatters instances were partially recognized in the implementation of public housing policies to address housing crisis (1960s-1980s). Unlike the practices of illegal building (in the "borgate" situated in the peripheries of Rome) that were regularized producing an effect of diffusion of "ownership" (form of proto-neoliberism – Coppola, 2013) the squats were rarely recognized and are co-opted siding (unofficially) the official strategies to address housing crisis and the management of abandoned public property and lack in services in the city outskirts	**Fostering of a "post-political consensus":** There are people seeing this transformation as positive, because the "post-political consensus" indicate that, with the disappearing of the adversarial model of politics, democracy is become more mature, and that is considered an important advance for democracy. In their vision, no antagonism has been overcome; we can really have a consensual democracy (A.Giddens, Beyond Left and Right; U.Becham). The increasing attempt to achieve an higher level of legitimacy of these new urban movements, for the recognition of legitimacy of their forms of spatial reappropriation, is flattening the political debate towards a form of "consensual democracy"?

[83] Dutch sociologist Hans Pruijt separates types of squatters into five distinct categories: (Pruijt, 2004).

In relation to the idea of the "Post political consensus" according to Chantal Mouffe: "I disagree with such a view and I consider that a well function in democracy requires a confrontation in democratic political position. It is something that is precisely very dangerous because when passions are not mobilized by democratic direction they find other outlets, in fundamentalist movements, in particularistic demands, or non-negotiable moral issue. When society lack dynamic democratic life, with a real confrontation among diversity of real alternatives, the terrain is ready for other forms of identification of ethnic, religious or nationalism nature, and this leads to the emergence of antagonism that cannot be managed by the democratic process." In her vision we can describe the two different phenomena in this way:

"the crucial dimension of the transition from Fordism to post-Fordism was, what I would call, a discursive re-articulation of existing elements" (Chantal Mouffe)	"Hegemony through neutralisation" (or what Gramsci has called sometimes "passive revolution")

Some topics provided by Mouffe's considerations[84] results interesting for my research analysis on cases of radical (re)appropriations: the concepts of **Creative "Multitude"** and **"Hegemonic struggle".** The "Multitude" (a collective radical subject that overcome the idea of class struggle) leading to a new type of governance which open the way to a more autonomist and independent form of subjectivity with the expansion of new form of cooperative communication and the invention of new communicative form of life, those subjectivities can express themselves freely and they will contribute to the formation of a new set of social relations that will finally replace the capitalist system. Paolo Virno that has been together with Toni Negri and Hardt a central reference for the autonomous movements since the 1970s, asserts that in the refusal to work and in the different form of "exodus" and disobedience that one should locate any possibility of emancipation. In fact, the development alternative self-organized forms of work in the squats (intended as forms of "social welfare" – Membretti) and of the different form of "exodus" and disobedience from and to the institutions have been central elements in the development of autonomous spaces. According to Virno, and **for the autonomous movements, any majoritarian model of society that will be organized on the State has to be rejected and replaced by another model of organization of the multitude, which have to be more universal**. According to Mouffe, in opposition to Virno's theory, in the transition from Fordism to post-Fordism in which capitalism have been reorganized according to a new model of production starting the era of immaterial labour, the "hegemonic struggle" has played a central role. She describes the nature of "the political" as based on two keen concepts: the contraposition between "antagonism" and "hegemony". On this struggle, generative of new strategies and practices intended to overcome or transform the system proposed by the adversary, is played a generative force fundamental for the democracy. The antagonistic/radical practices of reappropriation analysed in the research embody exactly this constant confrontation/contraposition.

Definitions of "antagonism" and "hegemony" according to Chantal Mouffe:

ANTAGONISM	**HEGEMONY**
One side it is necessary to acknowledge the dimension of what is proper to call "the political", as the ever present possibility of **antagonism** and this require on the other side coming to terms with the lack of a final ground and the undesignability that perverts every order.	And this is precisely what we means recognizing the **hegemonic nature of every kind of social order** and envisaging society as the product of a series of practices, whose aims to establish order but always in a context of contingency. **The articulation of practices through which a given order is created and the meaning of a social institution is fixed (this is what we called hegemonic practices)**, every order, is the temporary and precarious articulation of contingent practices (that is what is the fundamental thesis of the hegemonic socialist strategy) and it mean that things could always had been otherwise and that every order is predicated on the exclusion of other possibilities, it is always the expression of a particular structure of power relations.

The demand of autonomy of the new movement of the sixties, the counter-culture: According to Boltansky and Chiapello, all those demands as been harnessed in the development of the post-Fordism network economy and transformed into a new form of control, like the aesthetic strategies of the counter-culture. Their demands of autonomy and participation have been harnessed in the dominant system but neutralized in their subversive contents. This approach reveals how **the crucial dimension of the transition from Fordism to post-Fordism was a discursive re-articulation of existing elements**. And this is what, permit us to apprehend it as a hegemonic struggle (Mouffe).

[84] Quoted by a lecture on "Democratic Politics and Agonistic Public Spaces" hold in 2012 at Harvard University by Chantal Mouffe.

It is worth mentioning again the meaning of two strategies that have significantly characterized the confrontation between hegemonic and counter-hegemonic strategies. **Strategy adopted by conservative institutions:** what Gramsci has called **"Hegemony through neutralisation"**(or sometimes he used the term of "passive revolution") is a situations where demands which challenge an established hegemonic order, are recuperated by the existing system in a very specific way: they satisfy those demands but in a way that neutralize their subversive potential.

The todays new urban movements, new practices of radical (re)appropriation of space and of definition of space of legitimacy for these practices are the result, instead, of the capacity of radical movements to transform starting disarticulating and rearticulating the discursive and strategic dimension of the hegemonic order. It refers to the International Situationist movement's strategy called "detournement". **Tactic adopted by radical/insurgent informal actors:** A **détournement** is a technique that consists in "turning expressions of the capitalist system and its media culture against itself" - as when slogans and logos are turned against their advertisers or the political status quo. Its opposite is recuperation in which radical ideas are twisted, commodified, and absorbed in a more socially acceptable context. It is a tactic that can be adopted from the bottom, by the "users" of the city, since it produces the conditions for sneaking in the other's field, the field of the domain, the only existing one where to be able to define a strategy (de Certeau, 1984).

What emerges is that a correct confrontation between practices of reappropriation of urban space and the processes of institutionalization of such practices entails an important generative democratic potential while is often reduced to neutralization, co-optation, normalization, and contention of such practices. It is therefore needed, to individuate an inclusionary strategy that creates the conditions through which a set of counter-hegemonic interventions, can attempt the real dis-articulation of the existing hegemony and establish a new more democratic one thanks to a negotiated and agonistic process of re-articulation of new proposed elements and the creation of a new configuration of power.

D.2 | Four "macro-categories" to analyse the grassroots practices of (re)appropriation

I propose here to explore four "macro-categories" as a useful tool to understand the categories of autonomous movement, organization and political spaces that have been developing in Berlin and Rome since the early '70s on: the "fortress", the "entrepreneurial self-managed space", the "village", and the "reclaimed public space." The definition of these categories, that sometimes have imposed the over-simplification of very complex conflicts, are based on an attempt to define in which conditions forms of "conflicting citizenship and (re)active zones" can deal with institutionalization and democratic confrontation with state authorities. Talking about "autonomous" spaces, even the most radically opposed to institutionalization, we cannot though really speak of absolute autonomies (that is rarely evincible), «**considering that the relationship between autonomous spaces and the State is particularly ambiguous, but if we think about this spaces as not-fully formed totality, we can say that they are more probably an on-going form of experimentation, what Foucault (2002) would call 'practices of freedom'»** (Newman, 2011).

We can borrow the two notions of democracy developed by Abensour (2011) to help defining some important element of how these practices, grouped in four "macro-categories," intend their confrontation with state authorities. Abensour (2011) argues that genuine democracy articulates itself in opposition to the state; he proposes **two notions of democracy: the 'insurgent democracy' and the 'conflictual democracy'**. «Insurgent democracy is not a variant of conflictual democracy, but its exact opposite. Whereas conflictual democracy practices conflict within the State, a democratic State which in its very name presents itself as an avoidance of the original conflict, inclining as a result conflictuality towards permanent compromise, insurgent democracy situates conflict in an other space, outside the State, against it, and far from practicing the avoidance of the major conflict – democracy against the State – it does not shrink from rupture, if need be» (Ibid, 2011).

The "Fortress", the first category, refers to that practices of squatting (Deprivation-based squatting; Squatting as an alternative housing strategy; Conservational squatting; Political squatting) that actuate a "spatial auto-exclusion" considering finding only out of the State the capacity to locate any possibility of emancipation. These spaces have chosen to follow the strategy, that Paolo Virno would call, "exodus", that consider that any majoritarian model of society organized on the State has to be rejected and replaced by another model of organization of the multitude which have to be more universal. These spaces even if organize many activities open to the public, produce a strong ideological selection of the participant and users of the space.

(The two files analysed for "The fortress" category: Köpi 137 and the Forte Prenestino)

The "Village", the third category, refers to the practices of squatting, mostly Entrepreneurial squatting but could be also a Political squatting or "large squats," that keeping a form of "protective enclosure", and opposition to the hegemonic order intended as a constant challenging/questioning of its models. However "the village" open their spaces to different communities and the city providing a multiplicity of services, it both propose a strong interpretation of the

reappropriated space but also create the possibility to appropriate the space, to struggle different interpretations of it and to play different understanding of the "right to the city" over it. It becomes finally a space for collective activities and search for "agonistic" confrontations over urban meanings between the institutions, the citizens and more radical instances, in order to legitimize the proposed alternative "project" for a more radically collective, participated and self-managed public space.

(The two cases study for "the village" category: Bethanien and Angelo Mai)

We can categorize the first two cases as **'insurgent democracy'** because they "situate conflicts in another space, outside the State".

The **"Temporary use"**, the second case, refers to former wastelands occupied by various individuals, groups, or entrepreneurs for "temporary" or "interim" uses and, in a second moment (during the discursive and policy shift toward the promotion of urban marketing and financialization strategies based on "creative cities" theory), been harnessed in recent economic and urban policies in the official city marketing discourses. Most of them are commercial activities, including exclusive clubs, beach bar, cultural spaces but also kindergarten and Bicycle repair shops (etc.).

(The two files analysed for "Temporary use" are: the RAW Tempel and ex-Dogana)

The **"(Re)claimed space"**, the forth case, refers to former vacant land occupied by various individuals, groups, or entrepreneurs for "interim" public uses, but used primarily as a strategy to draw public attention to claims emerged from urban social movements trying to oppose the privatization of parts of the city considered a "common good," using various state-driven mechanisms to advance their causes against civic policies, projects, and regulatory measures, that are considered detrimental to the city's public space. These are often also connected to more radical instances that refer to the claims for more social justice, or more inclusive practices. In their "conflict within the state" they have been (in most of the cases) "neutralized" while the institutional dimension of conflict has been included in a space for negotiation and individuation of alternative strategies of co-management between local authorities and active citizens groups.

(The two stories analysed for the "reclaimed public spaces" category: the Tempelhofer Feld and the "lake" ex-Snia)

In both cases, these practices were easily supported by the local state due to the benefits in terms of socio-economic development and management of the area. In facts they provide at little costs for the city authority to the maintenance of the vacant property in terms of security and vandalism; to the socio-economic development of the area; to the maintenance and accessibility to new public spaces (Colomb, 2012).

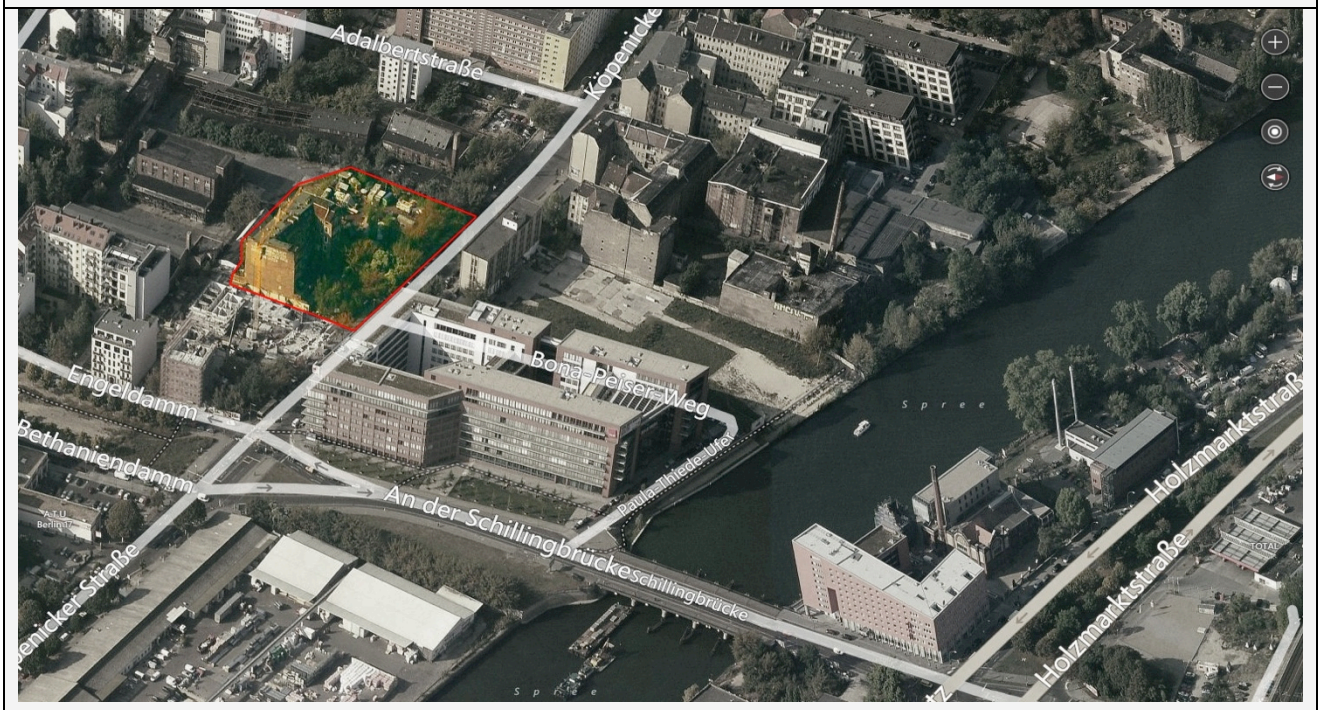
We can group the last two categories as **'conflictual democracy'** because this practices "conflict (initially) within the State, a democratic State which in its very name presents itself as an avoidance of the original conflict, inclining as a result conflictuality towards permanent compromise."

In connection to the analysis of these four categories, we can observe how a transformative process passing from more radical ("revolutionary") to more state-driven ("reformist") mechanisms is transforming the way in which these practices are intended and implemented in order to advance certain causes. Squatting, as a radical practice, while creating a condition of constant conflict and rejection of authority (not recognizing the given order) in addition to antagonism against the other parts of the community considered part of the hegemonic order, is mostly used by minoritarian groups (such as young people, alternative movements, socially marginalized people, etc.) finally giving voice to the interests and desires of a little part of the community. For this reason, squatters have always had to face a constant "problem of legitimacy." To create a comprehensive insurgent project, in re-appropriation of space, capable of including the needs, desires and interests of the entire community, the new practices have started to address community problems through universal values such as the ideal of "common good" or "social justice" (Tempelhof "freedom of movement", or the movements for the definition of "commons" on a urban scale in Rome, ect.). This is the case due to some global conflicts within the citizenship with a cross-sectional generational / political character, that are organized, often, in resistance to the state or local policies and the commodification of the urban space. The opposition between a part of the community and the other, as was with squatting, in this new era of citizen mobilization (apparently) is strongly reduced. In these terms, this new generation of "insurgent practices" inspired by the common good, seem to have reached a sort of "higher level of legitimization" than the old practices. Had these new urban insurgent practices to sacrifice the political verve of the old practices in order to achieve a level of universal legitimacy? Are these new practices capable to radical question the dominant system? According to Chantal Mouffe the acquisition of universal values that led social justice to the heart of the debate, has indeed led to an evolution in the contemporary debate on participation and a more inclusive approach, but on the other side seems to have flattened the political positions on one unique universalistic "post-political" dimension. Instead, according to David Harvey, the importance of the new movements for social justice, relies in their powerful discourses that can mobilize political action (Harvey, 2006, p.361).

The "Fortress", the first category, refers to that practices of squatting (Deprivation-based squatting; Squatting as an alternative housing strategy; Conservational squatting; Political squatting) that actuate a "spatial auto-exclusion" considering finding only out of the State the capacity to locate any possibility of emancipation. These spaces have chosen to follow the strategy, that Paolo Virno would call, "exodus", that consider that any majoritarian model of society organized on the State has to be rejected and replaced by another model of organization of the multitude which have to be more universal.

THE "FORTRESS"

1.a | Köpi 137



Localization of the area:	On Köpenicker Strasse is situated the Köpi 137 Hauprojekt in a big area that, looking from the street, looks like a reappropriated "wasteland." The area is located in Mitte (the central historical district) borders Kreuzberg East. Mitte, until 1990, was part of Berlin East. The neighbourhoods Mitte and Kreuzberg are now experiencing strong processes of urban regeneration (also connected to mega-projects along the river Spree), increasing privatization of public estate and widening phenomenon of gentrification.
Space typology:	Residential building and a vacant plot
Property owner:	Public property until 1995 – now private
Reason for vacancy:	Eviction of the tenants (1990) for planned demolition of the complex
Planning destination:	Alternative space for collective living and artistic and cultural activities
Reclaimed space as:	Mixed living and cultural, social and political use
Typology of users:	People from the radical left; young precarious
Nationality:	Various due to the international, trans-local and local dimension of the space
Legal status of the area:	Assigned to the cooperative of the inhabitant with lease contract since 1991 / cyclical attempted evictions since 1996
Actual use:	Cultural activities + hausprojekt * Wagenplatz
Conflicts over Köpi	• The privatization of a public asset used for autonomous forms of collective living and cultural production; • Urban regeneration strategies and the city transformed in a "secure capital investment;" • Opposition to development plans provisions for the area that would produce eviction of the tenants and marketization of the area; • The defence of Berlin's identity and the Köpi as a symbolic place for autonomous movement

Informal actors' claims:	• Provide a solution for affordable housing in inner city and propose alternative forms of collective living; • Permit citizen empowerment in self-management and reactivation of big abandoned areas, taking them away from profit logic; • Self-produce cultural, artistic, social and political activities and partly self-entrepreneurial purposes; • Negotiation of their permanence in the space
Stakeholders involved in the conflict:	• WBM Municipal Housing company and GSE urban development • District Kreuzberg-Friedrichshain • The owner • Squatters/tenants • Autonomous movement in Berlin (Köpi is a reference point)
Strategies adopted by informal actors:	• Squatting • Lease contract for self-help • Big mobilization of supporters against eviction
Strategies adopted by formal actors:	• Legalization of the squat through a lease contract • Privatization • Building permits for change of use provisions from residential to offices

"KöPI" HOUSE AND CULTURAL PROJECT STORY:

In 1905, a Jewish family built the residential building in Köpenickerstrasse 137. In 1934, the property was sized by the Nazist regime. **During the GDR period, the building became "property of the people"** since the property is located in Mitte. Mitte, until 1990, was part of Berlin East. The localization of industrial activities and some residential building characterized the areas located along the river Spree, near Kreuzberg east. The closeness to Kreuzberg-East, an ex-working class neighbourhood, in which urban underground culture has played a significant role in the local urban restructuring process, resulted significant after the fall of the Wall, when, shortly after the fall of the Wall, the East Berlin inhabitants flew out of the city living many empty houses, often completely furnished behind. Following the fall of the Wall, the big presence of empty publicly owned apartments blocks attracted between the 1989 and 1991 a new squatting wave and the people belonging to the radical scene of the former-East and West Berlin occupied many of these vacant residential buildings. Among them, on February 23, **1990 the property in Köpenickerstrasse 137 was occupied**. The property had been left vacant after the eviction of its former tenants due to its alleged demolition. Neither the municipal housing company (WBM) as administrator of the house nor the East Berlin police opposed the squatters at the beginning. After the city reunification process was completed, the first evictions of squatts in East Berlin started. In response to the urban guerrilla generated by the three days of battle for the evictions of the many squats located in Mainzer Strasse (further described in the paragraph over the Bethanien case study), the district administration called a round table to negotiate the legalization of the other occupations. In summer 1991, the Köpi was **legalized through a preliminary leasing contract between residents and the municipal housing company WMB**. This letter of intent encompassed the use of the whole property of Köpenickerstrasse 137 for collective living/commercially use and included the **structural self-help interventions previsions** and the deal for the leases contract. In the same year the autonomous alternative housing project (*Wagenplatz*) "Schwarzkanal" was created in the empty plot near the house and cultural project "Köpi 137." On May, 1st 1993 the Society of Urban Development (GSE) started the management of the property on behalf of the WBM. Another individual agreement was then signed between GSE and the Köpi tenants. Few years after the reunification, the area was returned to the former owner and ceased to be public: in **1995, the building was privatized and transferred back to Volquard Petersen**, the original owner. Since October of the same year, the KG company took the management of the property on behalf of the new owner. **A year later, the leasing contract with the Köpi tenants was terminated without notice and they were asked to leave the house** within a week. Since the tenants didn't accepted the first and the second notice in December 1996, the owner presented an eviction request before the Court of Berlin-Tempelhof. The request was rejected. The **reason for the intended eviction** was connected to Petersen and the Partner KG will **to build an office building on the property with garage**. Although the building permits were issued by the district, the project was never implemented due to the increasing indebtedness of Petersen. Due to its debts, the building was put under receivership in April 1998 and the Commerzbank asked for the sell of the property in 1999.

"Köpi 137" entrance from Köpenickerstrasse 137[85]

At the auction, however, no interested party were found. Another auction on 2 November 1999 was cancelled due to lack of buyers. In 2006 the Commerzbank has submitted a new application for foreclosure at the local court. **The plot due to its location on the river Spree near the Ostbahnhof is considered potentially extremely attractive for the market**.

The current value has been calculated of 1,670,000 euros for the main plot and total 1,815,000 euros for the split in three auction items that include the park ground (Wagenplatz). In 2007, the Köpenickerstrasse 137 was sold to the lowest bid for about 835,000 euros. The same day a big demonstration took place against the sell out of Köpi due to the increased risk of eviction of the alternative project that had became a symbol of the autonomous movement (locally and internationally) during the years. Instead, in 2008, after the negotiation with the buyer, the tenants were granted with a 30 years lease. The actual owner had indeed bought the property on behalf of a real estate developer in Berlin, but wasn't entitled to sign the lease. In 2010, the inhabitants found out that the Commerzbank was planning again to auction the house. On 28 February 2013, after the property was auctioned for 405,000 euros many protests were organized to support the Köpi.

Image1[86]

Image2[87]

WBA Köpi bleibt Demo Berlin 22.02.2013-0078

The buyer was Startezia GmbH, a sister company of the previous owner's company (novelty Köpenickerstrasse 133-138 GmbH & Co. KG). Another part of the property was placed in another auction and sold in 2013 to the same Startezia GmbH. The area today is still occupied by the house and cultural project "Köpi" and "Köpi Kellern" and by a Wagenplatz (parking trail used as alternative form of collective living). The plot has never been transformed, since the area that appears neglected is not attractive for the market. Also the areas surrounding the Köpi 137 property where never developed. In fact, despite the neighbourhoods Mitte and Kreuzberg are now experiencing strong processes of urban regeneration (also connected to mega-projects along the river Spree), increasing privatization of public estate and widening phenomenon of gentrification cum displacement, the area where the Köpi is located remained unattractive for the market.

[85] Source: http://www.flickr.com/photos/95714545@N00/5367139380
[86] Source: http://www.flickr.com/photos/95714545@N00/9732443148
[87] Source: http://www.flickr.com/photos/95714545@N00/8507745430

According to Andrej Holm[88]**:** «In the case of Köpi 137, you cannot consider this experience commodifiable into a strategy of real estates' advertising. You cannot include it into the "New Berlin!" urban marketing strategy. At least, it will be impossible for a long time, even if it is located in Köpenicker Strasse, in the neighbourhood of *Mitte*, that is the most central high prize area of the real estate market in Berlin. If you stay in front of the house, you see that those property grounds at the left and right of the Köpi are empty and you would ask yourself "why?" This is because the Köpi is there. Nobody build a luxury block there. I think that Köpi has a strong scaring effect on investors and this is a form of make de-attractive and de-commodifiable an urban place. This is a very interesting strategy to oppose gentrification. But this strategy works only in special conditions and, of course, in limited urban spaces. I'm far to say that we have to transform the whole Berlin in a kind of Köpi, it is really unattractive for most people.»
He add, during the interview, that the ground model of the Köpi, that he consider successful and very well expressed, is that Köpi **remain a "risky capital investment"** ("Köpi bleibt Risiko Kapital" - a written banner on the façade since the demonstration against the first attempt to selling out the building). «This is a very good idea I think, to transform our places, our homes, maybe the whole city into a kind of "risky capital investment". It has to be a risk to invest in Berlin. **That would be a secure tendency to decrease the phenomenon of gentrification; it would works much better than all new rent laws and all subsidies.** We should push out investors only interested in profit. And when the investors are not going to invest in a place? When there is no profit or high risk to realize this profit.» According to Holm, the tenants' movement could learn from this radical movement/punk scene in Berlin and from the squatter scene. «But than these experiences have to be translated into other contexts and what I think is that, in most cases, activists are not able to do that, they simply transfer their experience keeping the same structure into another context; it produces conflicts. **I think we have to learn how to translate different experiences in different situations/contexts and not simply replicate them**. Of course, there is no way for the tenants' protesters to squat their houses. Maybe some squatter would argue: "why don't you squat your house when the price become too high?" But it wouldn't work for these kind of situations.» **The question is: How could we bring the power and the ideas from this grassroots experiences into more mainstream policies?** «It is again the matter of "translation". How you can translate the experience of ***selbsthilfe*** programs that is one of the most famous models to organize housing without profit? This is a model to de-commodify housing, a very good model. But **it only works in a context of active subjects and high consensus into the project.** Since twenty years, among activists, there is an on-going discussion over the individuation of modalities to translate this kind of really successful experiences into a broader context. **What can we learn from this experience to organize and manage public housing? Of course there is a big difference in organizing alternative housing strategies for small groups of people or organize broader housing solutions for thousand of people**». According to Holm it is a matter of rescaling that is still difficult to realize. «In a really positive sense I would understand this questions of mainstreaming grassroots experiences in terms of **how could I bring other ideas into a new hegemonic or mainstream discourse?** This is the question. I think there is a great need for grassroots experiences and this "do it yourself" style of organizing urban spaces and communities. **We have no "tools for translation" available at the moment**. There is still a limited interest by the State or by the mainstream institutions to learn from these grassroots. There is a very low level of understanding and acknowledge of these practices. **Would be good to bring our local based and small experiences into a broader political discussion**».

Conflicts over strategies: the privatization have not undergone a negotiation between the stakeholders and the planning previsions and the building permit issued by local authorities are considered as a way to foster speculation over the area that fuels uncontrolled rent price increase and displacement of the population.

Have this grassroots experience been incorporated in the urban general plan/ included in urban agenda?
The space has been opposing any interaction with the authorities but for the negotiation of the leasing contract at the beginning of the squatting practice. The autonomous cultural and political position of the informal actors makes the conflictive interpretative frameworks incommensurable and difficult define the space for a mutual learning from the grassroots experience on one side and from mainstream institutions and their way to operate on the other.

Have this practice been able to change planning previsions? If yes, how? No, in fact the space have been granted with planning previsions for the creation of offices and garage that would meant the eviction of the house project.

Doing so, has been reached a higher level in representing common public interests? No, the public property has been privatized as a big part of the public stock from the Berlin East. The property is not available to the collective use. It is collectively used thanks to the self-management that has a space for cultural and collective activities but its radical dimension make the place "accessible" only to those people that share radical left values and not to everyone.

[88] Semi-structured interview to Andrej Holm (Assistant Professor for the Institute of Urban Sociology, Humboldt University, Berlin): he is researching since more than 10 years on the topic related to gentrification of the East part of Berlin and his social effects and collaborating with tenants' groups. He is the author of the paper "Squatting and Urban Renewal: the interaction of squatters movements and strategies of urban Restructuring in Berlin" with Armin Kuhn that have been an important reference for my research.

1.b | CSOA Forte Prenestino

Localization of the area:	Working class neighbourhood called "Centocelle" (before considered a very peripheral area external to the city, now it is much more integrated in the city fabric) very high density population, mostly characterized by private few storey residential blocks, the district suffers a strong lack in public spaces
Space typology:	Former military fort (surface: 13 hectares)
Property owner:	Property owner: Public. State property, became City property in 1976
Reason for vacancy:	Military function dismissed since the beginning of XX century
Planning destination:	District public assets (public garden)
Reclaimed space as:	Squatted alternative counter-cultural space for alternative social, leisure, artistic, political activities + alternative housing solution (about 100 people are involved in the alternative project)
Typology of users:	Young neighbours; alternative political scene; autonomous movement
Nationality:	Mostly Italian and few migrants
Legal status of the area:	Illegally occupied (since 1986)
Actual use:	Socio-Cultural activities + housing solution * parking lot for vans as temporary living solutions
Conflicts over the Forte Prenestino:	• Controversial presence of public areas left vacant while peripheral districts were suffering a strong lack in public assets and services provision • Exclusion from the right to a decent quality of life in the soulless, working class peripheries • The mono-centric character of city development (exclusion of peripheries) • The cultural exclusion of youth counter-culture and the commodification/marketization of socio-cultural spaces

Space squatted since 28 years and maintained in a backstage conflict position with local authorities – the local authorities has neither regularized this form of "spontaneous urbanity" nor have repressed it; the alternative project havs a peaceful (for the many activities organized within the Forte) / conflictual (mostly for noise or parking problems in case of music events) relationship with the neighbourhood. Institutions have created no space for negotiation with occupants as considered promoter of an unnegotiable claim over a public space. Conflict between institutional and radical interpretative frameworks considered incommensurable.

["Forte Prenestino" squat is connected to the third generation of squatting in Rome. These spaces are called Squatted Self-managed Social Centers (Centri Sociali Occupati Autogestiti, CSOA). The practice has spread throughout Italy, since the late 1970s, starting from the squatting of the large amount of "voids" and disused sites that have been left vacant in cities, such as industrial sites and public assets. In Rome, the phenomenon has been localized mostly in peripheral working class neighbourhoods as a reaction against the social, spatial and economic decay and the bad quality of life in those areas. It is also politically and culturally strongly connected to the *Autonomen* German squatter movement in relation to the affirmation of space for youth counter-culture and the experimentation of alternative forms of collective living, leisure, political, cultural and social activities].

Informal actors' claims:

- (Re)appropriation and "liberation" of an abandoned space in the peripheral area without services and spaces for social and leisure activities; space for experimentation of forms of subculture and alternative collective living

Provide a solution to:

- Need for spaces for collective social and leisure activities
- Need for spaces for subcultural artistic and cultural experimentation
- Need to oppose the social, spatial and economic decay of the area
- Need for space of counter-power and counter-cultural everyday practices

Stakeholders involved in the conflict:

- Roma City
- The autonomous movement of social centres ("coordinamento autonomo dei centri sociali")
- The neighbourhood committee of Centocelle ("comitato di quartiere")
- The tenants/activists/managers of Forte Prenestino
- The neighbours

Strategies adopted by informal actors:

- Squatting
- Attempt of negotiation for assignment of the public property by the adoption of Resolution 26/1995 (See File: Resolution 26/1995)
- Activation of a multiplicity of self-managed services
- Big mobilization of supporters against eviction
- Experimentation of forms of local entrepreneurialism and social welfare

Strategies adopted by formal actors:

- Refusal of legalization of the squat through a lease contract
- Attempt to sell the property
- "Selective neglect" approach

CSOA FORTE PRENESTINO'S STORY

The sixteen forts and the "entrenched camp", each fort is located on a consular road of Rome

The aereal view of the Forte Prenestino (http://reworkshow.wordpress.com/2012/05/04/336/)

The Forte Prenestino is a *Centro Sociale Occupato Autogestito*, CSOA (occupied self-managed social center) since 1986. On the website of the CSOA "Forte Prenestino" it is described as: "a social centre, a place of sociability, a meeting place, a place for leisure and collective organization of time, a place to exchange ideas / visions / energies / knowledge. It was left to decay and was reopened, lived, crossed and experienced without permits that would have never arrived, political servitude or legal recognition. **An illegal place by necessity and by choice.** The place is self-managed and experiment the organization of its space and its activities based on the free association of individuals united by a shared planning view and shared ethics."

The history of the Fort Prenestino started between 1880 and 1884, when it was realized and it became one of the sixteen forts built to defend the neo-capital of the kingdom of Italy. This "entrenched camp" was the protective belt of the city and it was located outside the perimeter of the built city. The structures were since the beginning under-utilized and soon abandoned. Today these forts are located inside the city's urban fabric and the only one to be used is the Forte Prenestino. «The facility covers an area of about 3.2 hectares, and is composed by massive tuff masonry and vaulted ceilings covered with a thick layer of backfill; It rises from the long ditch dug around it, at a lower level than the ground level. From the small and unique entry into the front that faces the city opens into a long corridor that cuts through the entire complex and ends within the two parade grounds, used at the time for military exercises. The cunicolar and labyrinthine interiors overlooking on them relate to different levels through long and intricate paths, designed for sliding troops.»[89]

The fort is located in the district Prenestino Centocelle. During the Second World War, the district of Centocelle experienced a great urban expansion. In particular the whole area was subjected to strong expansion especially with regard to the areas adjacent to roads Casilina and Prenestina, on where large *borgate* (working class suburbs) and areas of shacks (especially leaning against the train lines and along the Roman aqueducts) were built from the beginning of the century. After the second World War the area was affected by intensive phenomena of informal building, in addition to the localization of public housing districts (see description of the Centocelle neighbourhood in the "Angelo Mai" case study paragraph). Between 1973 and 1976 the Communist Committee Centocelle (CoCoCe) - then largely merged into the Armed Formations Communist or Red Brigades (*Brigate Rosse*) - was one of the most influential communists committees in Rome. In this context, in 1977, a year after the fort became municipal property, the district's inhabitants attempted for the first time the former fort occupation. In fact, in December 1976, the mayor of Rome, Giulio Carlo Argan (Italian Communist Party, PCI), requested to the Ministry of Finance the transfer of the abandoned forts property to the Municipality of Rome to dispose them as public parks and neighbourhood facilities. On 28 April 1977, after long negotiations, the Forte Prenestino formerly owned by the State was handed over to the City of Rome. This transaction started a long legal dispute between the state property and the municipality to obtain the payment of compensation for occupation. In the April issue of the neighborhood's newspaper, called "Centocelle", according to the neighbourhood committee, was launched for the 1° of May a day of struggle for the occupation and self-management of Forte Prenestino. «"What we do with Forte Prenestino?" Said the editorial, and entrusted to the assembly of participants the contents of the occupation.» The occupation took place at the end of the demonstration: «Actually, we had already been in the Fort as children, it intrigued us so much, we climbed over to go there and play. **The Forte for us was therefore also a place of imagination, tied to the childhood of many of us**. The first days of occupation I just remember the long meetings; in fact even we knew what we were going to do, there was a clear strategy».[90] The occupation was cleared after one month.

[89] http://reworkshow.wordpress.com/2012/05/04/336/ (translation by the author)
[90] Interview to Gianfranco Giombini, cit.

Inside view of the abandoned Forte Prenestino - 1977

Article "What do we do with the Forte Prenestino?" headline "The Forte Prenestino is our"

Master Plan (PRG) of Rome of 1962, area designated for Zone N (public parks)

Between March and May of 1986, began an initial wave of occupations of various social centres in Rome enacted by dozens of people. «After a first phase of consolidation, the acceleration that followed would bring in the turn of the 1990s to the occupation of about twenty spaces, involving a thousand of activists and several thousand regular users.» (De Sario, 2009).[91] **In the debate between the various components of the coordination of social centres, it was discussed a collective goal, the occupation and re-appropriation of social spaces, in the framework of a political analysis that put the urban and social restructuring of the metropolis at the heart of contemporary conflicts** (Ibid., 2009).

[91] Translation by the author.

Within this wave of occupations, the **Forte Prenestino was also targeted by an occupation** on May 1st 1986. The occupation was organized and put into practice **by a group of neighbours**, celebrating the "Not-Labour Day" in the adjacent park, and **«some young people from Centocelle**, which have long felt the **need for social spaces**, and on this issue for a long time proposed various initiatives within the district» (Dazieri, 1996).[92] The squatters had to confront with a huge property of about 13 hectares composed by many rooms and large green spaces. «At the beginning of the occupation the place resulted in a real illegal dump, because for many decades had been abandoned to decay, despite its location in **an area with a high population density and an endemic lack of space for socializing and green**.» (Ibid., 1996). The space was occupied with the aim to create those resources that were missing in the neighbourhood. The purpose was to oppose the social degradation (crime, heroin) increasingly wide spreading in the peripheries during the 1980s, and create "a spaces for playing music, have a beer at affordable prices and being together" (personal interview to one of the first occupants). «**The place has once again become accessible to the public thanks to the hard work of the squatters** for **cleaning**, **securing** (removal of remnants of war and hazardous waste), **renovating** (recovery of the long left abandoned spaces; connections to electricity, water and gas; construction of toilets; etc.) and **adapting** its spaces to the various human and collective activities» (Ibid., 1996). In the early 1990s, the first **tensions in the relationship between the inside and outside of the centre** began to emerge in part because of its growth and development. The creation of the CSOA Forte Prenestino and his daily life "had absorbed a lot of energy and life projects" that had produced an effect of inward gathering inside the place that returned an impression of protection from the outside. But this **comes into conflict with what had been the original intent of the early occupants** and that was based on the idea that the "Forte" would have been **a starting point** space for the movement, **from which "invade enemy territories" to bring social initiatives and core political action inside the district** (Dazieri, 1996). In addition to the activists also the neighbours manifested tensions and different needs compared to some years before. Centocelle was changing rapidly in those years. From a strong working and underclass connotation it was shifting to the social mix that characterizes it today. « This condition was leading to a misalignment of the social fabric of the district compared to the socio-cultural references of the activists. […] The relationship with the district was no longer taken for granted but it was negotiated and reinvented from time to time. Eloquent was the difficult relationship established with petty crime in the area surrounding the Forte Prenestino, who considered the new space inhabited by young people as a possible alternative market for the sale of narcotics» (Ibid., 1996, 57).

In September 1995, the Ministry of Finance auctioned at a very low price Forte Prenestino. This act provoked disappointment among the neighbours and the occupants, since considered a real expropriation of public property. For its part, the municipality of Rome that never paid for the acquisition of the Fort from Ministry of Finance couldn't oppose its choice to "sale" the property. Forte Prenestino's activists then decided to respond with the permanent mobilization "Stop the auction," reclaiming the right to access and appropriation of abandoned and underused public assets for social purposes. This mobilization took place in the **framework of large disposals of public property that began in the 1990s, which produced a political struggle against privatization**, supported by the coordination of the Roman social centres committee. The protesters were claiming the individuation of normative tools **for the regularization of practices of social reuse of public property that has led to definition of (despite rarely applied) Municipal Resolution No. 26**. The auction was temporarily suspended thanks to the citizen mobilization in December 1995, while the negotiations between the Ministry of Finance, the City of Rome and the social centre, that could have lead to a definitive solution of the dispute, never took place (Dazieri, 1996). The former right wing mayor Gianni Alemanno (2008-2013), in April 2009, signed an agreement with the National Revenue Agency that allowed the City to hold ownership rights over some National vacant (or to be renovated) assets (including the Forte Prenestino), while the State in turn could get hold of some municipal properties currently used by law enforcement agencies, with relative sparing due to the absence of rent. «Alemanno wanted to reassure the occupants on the future of Forte Prenestino but warning them. "**The transfer of ownership of Forte Prenestino by the State to the City will allow us to have a more transparent management of the occupants, in order to transform the mere occupation of an area in a community centre integrated into the urban fabric, with no space for illegality**. However there is no negative will

[92] Translated by the author.

against the social centre that instead will be protected. We will confront the occupants - then concluded the Mayor – with no willingness to remove them» (Blogo, 2012). **The legalization has never occurred so far and the large publicly owned Forte Prenestino maintains its status of illegal occupation**. Over the years this space has become a symbol for the independent movement at the local and extra-local (also international) level. This meant that this space is today associated with a strong collective symbolic imagery.

From the analysis of this story emerge some basic elements for the analysis of the case of the Forte Prenestino which are: the **procedural nature of these experiences that are confronted with needs and tensions evolving** both in terms of active citizenship (in the production of these practices) both in constant confrontation with the district and its population. From the point of view of formal actors, the lack of regularization of illegal grassroots practices raises questions about the respect of rules and security. In addition to that, it to the necessity to calculate the provision of standards for a large space that unofficially offers a multitude of uses of a space otherwise abandoned.

According to Maurizio Nuccetelli: [93] «the vast majority of Social Centers unfortunately didn't choose to endeavour the way of regularization. Their choice was rather a choice of opposition. So, for instance, the *Sant'ambrogio*, i.e. the self-managed occupied social center called *Rialto* took place in a public property that was planned to become the UPTER (University of the Third Age) location, so they asked another public property in turn and obtained a new place where they relocated, called *Sant'ambrogio* (today the place is called *Rialto Santambrogio*). I mention this experience because it was hard fought: once they got this new location, the municipality offered another solutions, but they never accepted. Social centres are mostly the result of illegal occupations; just few are regularized with a temporary lease contract, such as *Acrobax*, *la Strada*, the *Angelo Mai Altrove*, etc. **The attempt for negotiation that came from the municipality could not be more than a tool to regularize their presence in those places, which also means that they would have to pay rent.** Sometimes has been possible to find an agreement and sometimes not. Indeed, the "32" location in Via dei Volsci 32 (one of the historic occupations of Rome) linked to the radical left movement of *Autonomia Operaia* (firstly formed in Via dei Volsci), was purchased by the City of Rome since it was a private property, for which the private had undertaken a lawsuit with the Municipality (during the 1980s). The squatters stayed for years until the owner obtained repossession, then the Municipality (during Veltroni center-left wing mayor) has purchased the property in order to safeguard this historical autonomous reality within the city. In this case, one of the historic leaders of the movement, Nunzio D'Erme (at that time Municipal councillor), who was born and lived in *Via del Volsci 32*, strongly supported the defence of this place because of its historical importance. Nevertheless, the institutions couldn't established any relationship with the groups inside the "32" who have maintained an antagonistic position in the confrontation with the institutions. Their autonomous dimension and strong opposition distinguish the reality of the social centres of Rome; I think, however, that many of these spaces have taken a commercial turn over the time: the Forte Prenstino organize concerts, they sell alcohol, etc.». On their side, social centres oppose the need to organize events that allow the activists to obtain the necessary resources to manage, renovate and maintain this space and the offered activities completely self-managed and self-funded. The City Council has proceeded to the purchase of buildings occupied only two cases in Rome: in the case of Via dei Volsci 32, historical occupation, symbol of the "autonomy" and the radical left movements of Rome and in the case of the right-wing squat Casapound (occupied in 2004) On the Esquilino hill. Casapound became quickly symbol of neo-fascist in Rome and throughout Italy.

«Additionally, **whether to accept or reject relations, negotiations and/or agreements with local authorities has always been an issue that has created fractures within the movement and many *Centri Sociali*** related to anarchist networks remained contrary (Berzano, Gallini and Genoa 2002). Nevertheless, the issue of legalization comes out regularly in the life of *Centri Sociali* as well as for squatting for housing, mostly as a strategy to claim the recognition of legitimacy and to grant the "right to stay put" to autonomous projects.» (Mudu, Rossini, 2016). According to decision-makers, many of CSOAs in Rome have never been regularized because they often oppose an antagonistic position in the confrontation with the institutions. As a matter of fact, in Forte Prenestino case an historical squat located in a public property, abandoned for nearly a century, the city has never really opened space for negotiation "so to transform the mere occupation of an area in a community centre integrated into the urban fabric." Despite the Mayor Alemanno's claims, the regularization of the occupation never took place. The reason given by the administration is the unresolved dispute between the domain of the state and the municipal administration, on the ownership of the area. Yet, according to the administration the "commercial turn" of some social centres, self-managed by Onlus, thus diverged from their role as a non-profit association that offers social policies from below. As stated in the website of CSOA Forte Prenstino: "A place for illegal necessity and by choice."

Conflicts over strategies: the disinvestment of the state in public sector that resulted in the abandoned public area and the lack in public spaces in peripheral areas (often present but never activated); the sell out of public estate and the consequent increasing problems in access public spaces; the mono-centric development of the city; the absence of

[93] Semi structured interview to Fabrizio Nuccetelli, secretary to former Public assets and housing policies Councillor under the center-left wing mayor Veltroni (2011-2008);

space for negotiation over alternative strategies and forms of citizens' empowerment

These issues have been incorporated in the urban general plan/ been included in urban agenda?
No, the space is occupied and self-managed since thirty years but it has never been officially recognized and it results as an "urban void" on planners map. Nevertheless, the general issue related to the assignment of abandoned public spaces to no-profit organization offering local social and cultural services has been recognized, with the resolution n°26/1995 (intended to regularize the many illegal occupied social centres in the city of Rome) establishing the possibility of assignment of public assets for social, cultural activities. The CSOA Forte Prenestino has never been included in the list of regularized occupied self-managed spaces.

Have this grassroots experience been able to change planning previsions? If yes, how?
No, the area maintained the same planning previsions (public green area) but was never activated. The other activities carried out within the Forte Prenestino space, where never recognized.

Doing so, has been reached an higher level in representing common public interests?
Yes/no. On one side, the practice has influenced the prevision of privatization for the area, which, after big protests, remained public. Moreover, the area, reclaimed by groups of citizens' from the neighbourhood and radical groups, have offered a set of activities and services in an area otherwise left enclosed and abandoned (as for all the other forts around the city). On the other side, could be argued that, the CSOA can reach a lower level of inclusion than an institutional public space, due to its strong political orientation, that naturally produce the exclusion of those that do not share the same values. Nevertheless, it is hard to find public spaces that can be considered completely inclusive. Moreover, these spaces, are able to include social groups that fell excluded in other institutional public spaces (e.g. immigrants). Last but not least, the individuation of institutional strategy for the development of these kind of public spaces, the former- Forts, results very complex so that, as mentioned above, all other public property Forts, remain till today abandoned, because of the difficulty of finding funds and collaborative actors for their regeneration, securing and management.

What are the elements in common between these two practices?

We analyse the similarities and differences between the two practices of appropriation of interest for the research:

A common element is the challenge by marginalized subjects (e.g. Young people participating in the counter-cultural movements) of hegemonic models of production of space, social reproduction and colonization of the practices of everyday life. To understand modes, instances and types of subjects involved is fundamental their contextualization within a youth and working-class radical political scene of the late 1980s and early 1990s, identified in the *Autonomen* movement in Berlin and in the birth of the Social Centres' Committee in Rome. Both practices analysed, one called "Hausprojekt" and "Kulturalprojekt," the other "occupied self-managed social centre," arise primarily from the juxtaposition of counter-cultural and counter-hegemonic models of use and production of urban space. In both cases, **the people involved are young people who suffer from a state of marginalization / exclusion both spatial and cultural, albeit for very different reasons**. For this reason, these marginalized subjects **mature antagonist reactions and develop forms of dissent performed through actions of reappropriation of space**. The goal: the creation of spaces for youth empowerment; the collective construction of social spaces for independent culture and urban regeneration ("occupation and re-appropriation of social spaces, in the framework of a political analysis that put the urban and social restructuring of the metropolis at the heart of contemporary conflicts"). To many this seems to be the only way to differentiate themselves and contribute to the process of transformation of the city: opposing and proposing minoritarian alternative "narratives" from the dominant ones. Both characterized by a strong political dimension: the movement of the radical left of Kreuzberg SO36, born by the students' movement and social movements of the 1960s-1970s; labour movements and the extra-parliamentary groups in Centocelle. Both marginalized youth in terms of both space and the exercise of the "right to the city:" Kreuzberg SO36 was a poor working-class neighbourhood always characterized by a concentration of foreign workers, students and marginal cultures and those belonging to the category of subcultural movements; Centocelle, working-class district, which developed due to illegal allotments, wild speculation and public housing districts, on the edge of the city with a structural lack of services and spaces for the community (where residents as young, people participating in radical left political groups, workers and craftsmen suffered dynamics of exclusion for a long time).

Category of the conflict: conflict over access to resources (such as spaces for socializing, culture, political debate and leisure); conflict over recognition (lack of a mainstream representative conflictive groups such as the young and left-wing radical groups); conflict as identity (polarization of interpretations such as the institutional grand narratives and the minoritarian antagonistic narrative of the radical left of autonomous groups)

Category of "routinizable conflict:" the demand for access to space resources for the development of autonomous activities for organizing affordable and collective space for living, for independent culture, for sociability and leisure,

recognition of the right to propose alternative strategies from below

Category of "fundamental conflict": recognition of radical instances (such as the denial of the right to private property, the dominant dimension of nuclear family, the right to appropriate the right to participate in the processes of radical transformation and production of space; subversion of the dominant economic, political and social model; recognition of groups and individuals not recognized by the representative democracy; etc.)

Areas typology: former marginal city areas

Attempt to/actual privatization of the public property: in the framework of the gradual privatization of public spaces and goods during the 1990s

Practices that arise from the dispute of marginalized subjects (such as young people participating in the counter-cultural movements), models of alternative production of space/social reproduction

Subjects: people affected by several levels of exclusion (exclusion from fundamental resources such as the access to housing or job opportunities and civic/cultural exclusion); excluded from the exercise of power > and young activists of autonomous movement and the radical left; radical political subjects

How the public administrations have been confronting with these two conflicts?
In both cities, the public administration has been confronting with the antagonistic instances of such practices categorized as "fundamental" conflict, and therefore not negotiable. The repression of these radical practices, however, would have meant a radicalization of the conflict between institutions and informal actors. Hence, in both cities, these practices have not been repressed. The difference lies in how the public authorities of the two cities have managed to keep these radical practices in the territory with which have failed to negotiate shared interpretive frameworks:

Berlin
Reaction to the illegal occupation? "Strategies of spatial control / co-optation" regularization through self-help programs and affordable lease contracts

Why? Legalist attitude of "selective legalization" especially for practices that are not intended as too radical > normalization of insurgent practice: firstly regularized by public entity, then by the private owner through lease contracts to a constituted association of tenants. During the late 1990s are approved profit oriented development plans for the area (offices and parking area) obtained during the years 1990s: the alternative project Köpi (housing + social and cultural) is threatened by eviction since nearly twenty years. The response of the institutions first occupation was based on the nature of the conflict, even if "fundamental" conflict type, presented characteristics, and space for negotiation, which allowed to turn it into a "routinizable" conflict: access to affordable housing, through contracts of self-help housing, which would allow mixed use of space (also social, commercial, etc.). **The space was however regularized in the framework of the attempt to pacify a radicalized urban conflict** arose after the wave of occupation of former Berlin East abandoned houses, then violently evicted by the police in 1991. The truce to the urban warfare was negotiated thanks to the regularization of many illegal occupations.

Rome
Reaction to the illegal occupation? "Selective neglect" strategy: illegal activity never regularized nor repressed

Why? Permissive/tolerant attitude of "selective indifference or neglect" especially confronting with autonomous radical practices > radical grassroots practice was able to provide a set of services to the peripheral neighbourhoods that the local institutions failed to provide: these practices result often in unofficially flanking official public policies. Furthermore the public asset is difficult to transform: either in an institutional public space (given the size and characteristics of the building and the area), both in a private space (failed attempted auctioning in the 1995) as the urban forecasts do not provide profit oriented development plans for the area. The area that was considered in the recent past extremely peripheral, is recently gaining interest for the real estate market (opening of the new metro line C connection to Centocelle > new centrality of the area). It is not clear **why the public institutions, during the thirty years of occupation, have never regularized this practice** demanding for payment of a rental fee (even symbolic) to the users. The answer seems to be based on the **nature of the conflict, of fundamental type, which does not allow the commensurability of interpretive frameworks**: the public sector does not want to recognize the legitimacy of these practices; these practices do not recognize the public actor as a legitimate decision maker.

The **“Temporary use”**, the second case, refers to former wastelands occupied by various individual, groups, or entrepreneurs for “temporary” or “interim” uses and, in a second moment (during the discursive and policy shift toward the promotion of urban marketing and financialization strategies based on “creative cities” theory), been harnessed in recent economic and urban policies in the official city marketing discourses. Most of them are commercial activities, including exclusive clubs, beach bar, cultural spaces but also kindergarten and Bicycle repair shops (etc.).

THE “TEMPORARY USE”

2.a | R.A.W. temple

Localization of the area: The area is located along Revaler strasse in the Friedrichshain neighbourhood (former East-Berlin). The area was characterized by the localization of industrial activities and big transport infrastructures. Since localized near the Wall it was considered a peripheral area. The radical counter-cultural scene has influenced the development of the district since the fall of the Wall, colonizing the numerous "indeterminate territories" localized in this district. Many **forms of spontaneous urbanity and alternative practices** flourished and concentrated in the districts of Friedrichshain-Kreuberg *Spreeraum* (a vast tract of inner city vacant land on both sides of the Spree River) where was the heart of the *Zwischennutzung* ("in between use") culture (Heyden, 2008). Today, the area is considered very central and it is fuelling its fast transformation. The neighbourhood borders the river Spree and it's part of the Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg Borough (since 2001).

Space typology: East Berlin National Railway facility (area used for the repair and storage of trains); The size of the area is 10 ha.

Property owner: First owner after the disposal of the area: Treuhand (i.e. Organisation for the privatization of industries in the former GDR) from Deutsche Bahn; In 1996 the *Bezirksamt* (Municipal Borough) took possession of the land and the head of Bezirksamt Helios Mendiburu (SPD) became responsible for the area; 1999: the Deutsche Bahn (the German railway company) wants to sell the whole area (public owned) to private investors; The area is now privately owned by R.E.D. a Finish real estate company

Reason for vacancy: Function dismissed in 1993

Planning destination: Railways activities – area of valorization

Reclaimed space as: Temporary use for artistic/cultural/leisure activities

Typology of users: Middle class, "creative class"; today many tourists

Nationality: Italian and foreigners

Legal status of the area:	The Temporary uses lease contract has been revoked and the activities are today under eviction
Actual use:	Cultural and leisure activities: urban art and clubbing
Conflicts over the ex-Dogana:	• Privatization of a big public space – speculation over a public area • Not-negotiated plans for the development of the area • Change of planning destination that do not recognize the value of the temporary cultural/artistic activities, since provide for the development of apartments block, malls and offices in the area • Opposition against the localization of a mall in an area characterized by little retails and craft activities • the commodification/marketization of the alternative counter-culture
Informal actors' claims:	• need for negotiated strategies of urban development capable to address local needs • need for spaces for not-commodified spaces for artistic/cultural experimentation • need to oppose the social, spatial radical transformations
Stakeholders involved in the conflict:	• State Property • Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg district • The investor (real estate investor/developer) • The neighbourhood committee • The activists from the temporary cultural activities • The neighbours
Strategies adopted by informal actors:	• Reclaimed abandoned space for working/artistic activities [Practice of reappropriation: space In 1992 Andreas Baier with Nicholas Schnur founded the initiative "FIPS" ("Friedrichsheiner Infrastruktur Projekt in Selbstverwaltung - Friedrichshainer infrastructure project of self-management); In 1999 Carola Ludwig and Bibiena Houwer and pioneers from the independent art scene founded the R.A.W. Tempel association] • Attempt of negotiation for assignment of the public space • Resistance against planned eviction • Big mobilization against speculation • Public petition
Strategies adopted by formal actors:	• Intended privatization of national property • The area is managed by: Eisenbahn Immobilien Management GmbH, that had to find temporary projects such as the RAW-Tempel to keep the space used and then sell them the area to a private owner • Lease contract for temporary uses to autonomous activities that reclaimed the abandoned space (intermediate tenant: Cultural office of Friedrichshain) • Sell out of the public property • Valorization of the area (change of planning destination for the area) • Attempt to negotiate

RAW TEMPEL's Story:

The 'RAW' compound (RAW from 'Reichsahnausbesserungs-werk' -i.e. Reichsbahn repair shops) is a former Germany National railway facility. Its primary function was the repair, and formerly also the construction, of railway vehicles or their components. This vast area of industrial structures is located between a socioeconomically problematic residential area of extreme density (Boxhagener Kiez, district of Friedrichshain) and a radical openness, which is part of an extended stretch of urban wastelands, on the north side of the River Spree ('Oberer Spreeraum'). This wide urban vacant space is the result of Berlin specific situation related to his big stock of derelict lands. The development and reactivation of this particular area, at the beginning of the 1990s, was ignored by the boom in new constructions and urban development more focused on central area of 'Berlin-Mitte'. So, in the past decade «this urban fringe has evolved as a "laboratory for examining the residual" (Oswald, 2000), a safe haven for sub-cultures and the 'temporary'» (Groth, Corijn, 2005). Since the mid XIX century until 1993 it was used for the repair and storage of trains (at its peak, it employed more than 1200 workers). This densely built industrial environment has been constructed as a 'city within the city' (buildings for administration, a former doctor's surgery, a gas station and several large construction halls). After the disposal of the activities in the area, several grassroots autonomous groups and activities, in different phases, (re)claimed this spaces.

1° phase[94]**:** The initiative "FIPS" ("Friedrichsheiner Infrastruktur Projekt in Selbstverwaltung - Friedrichshainer infrastructure project of self-management) emerged with the idea to keep the industrial facilities od the dismissed site active by carrying out training courses for those involved with the cranes. In this large plot of land were also organized workshops for metalworking, woodworking and driving of motor vehicles, all available to young people. Some used this space to pay the fines working: FIPS was also recognized for offering this service called in German "Straftilgung" that means cancellation of penalties, including through work, in this case, for example, community work. For others, working in this place was also a means of reintegration into the job's world. When the initiative FIPS was operative, 7 companies worked in the area, since, as explained by the owner of the "1-2-3 Bühnenverleih" company: "FIPS offered me a favourable rental and has given me the material I needed". **"We offer the space and means of production, people put their own ideas", so Andreas Baier** (co-founder in 1992 with Nicholas Schnur of the initiative FIPS) **described the idea of the project. "With nothing but material and effort we were able to give people the chance to make it independently and also to create jobs".** Originally FIPS had rented the land from the Treuhand (nb. Trustee entity for the privatization of industries in the former GDR). At that time they were paying a rent of 5750 marks for the area. When in 1996 the Bezirksamt (the Borough Council of Friedrichshain) took possession of the land and the head of Bezirksamt Helios Mendiburu (SPD) became responsible for the area, the problems started with the request of rent increase. The Bezirksamt wanted to bring the rent up to 20000 marks, almost four times increase in the rent. **"Of course, this kind of rents would mean the end for FIPS, as well as for the 35 jobs, for cultural activities and support to young people".** The Bezirksamt reasons for rent increase for the organizers of the FIPS project was impossible to understand. "**We do exactly what so many politicians are asking for. People should be happy that here we create autonomously jobs"**.

2° phase[95]**:** From 1999, the R.A.W. compound has been **appropriated by pioneers from the independent art scene** who were attracted by "the atmosphere of secrecy and enchantment" and had the clear **objective of providing 'free' space for the establishment of cultural and social projects** on a secluded site. The founders of the RAW-Tempel (Carola Ludwig and Bibiena Houwer) see the **temporary use of the project as an opportunity for a bottom up development of the city**. It is expected a colourful mix of art and youth projects. But **before the project could work in all respects, it was first necessary to agree on a lease**. The organization could not become a direct tenant, and the landlord was no longer the Deutsche Bahn. Because the area was not being used for some time, in fact, the Eisenbahn Immobilien Management GmbH, whose job was just to find projects such as use of the RAW-Tempel, started looking for projects to rent the area. **To deal with the promotion and sale of the area was been appointed** a sister company Eisenbahn Immobilien Management GmbH, the **Allianz**. **The Allianz Grundstücks GmbH has agreed a lease (until 2002), where the district of Friedrichshain became tenant and could sublet the area at the RAW Tempel project**. The Municipal Borough had, therefore, the task of facilitator and mediator between RAW-Tempel project and Allianz. "There are no subsidies, the district will help indirectly the cultural project, so that the organization pays only operating costs and the tenant does not get the profits". Marcus Dreβler **from Allianz,** in an interview in July 1999, said about the RAW compound: **"We expect only a return of image and we see this as a rental investment in the future"**. He also speaks of **"contemporaneity of interest**". Form the ownership point of view, basically, **this temporary uses would also reduce the risk of vandalism,** since the area is used instead of abandoned. "**At the moment, there aren't concrete plans for use at of the area**, and the property do not have major priority for the research of other projects", said Heyder.

[94] Informations obtained by the article: "Initiative droht Mieterhöhung" (9/6/1999) by Julia Weidenbach, *Taz*, pg.17 (articles translated by the author).
[95] Informations obtained by the article: "Kulturtempel fahrt ins Eisenbahanwerk" (5/7/1999) by Marc Ermer, *Taz*.

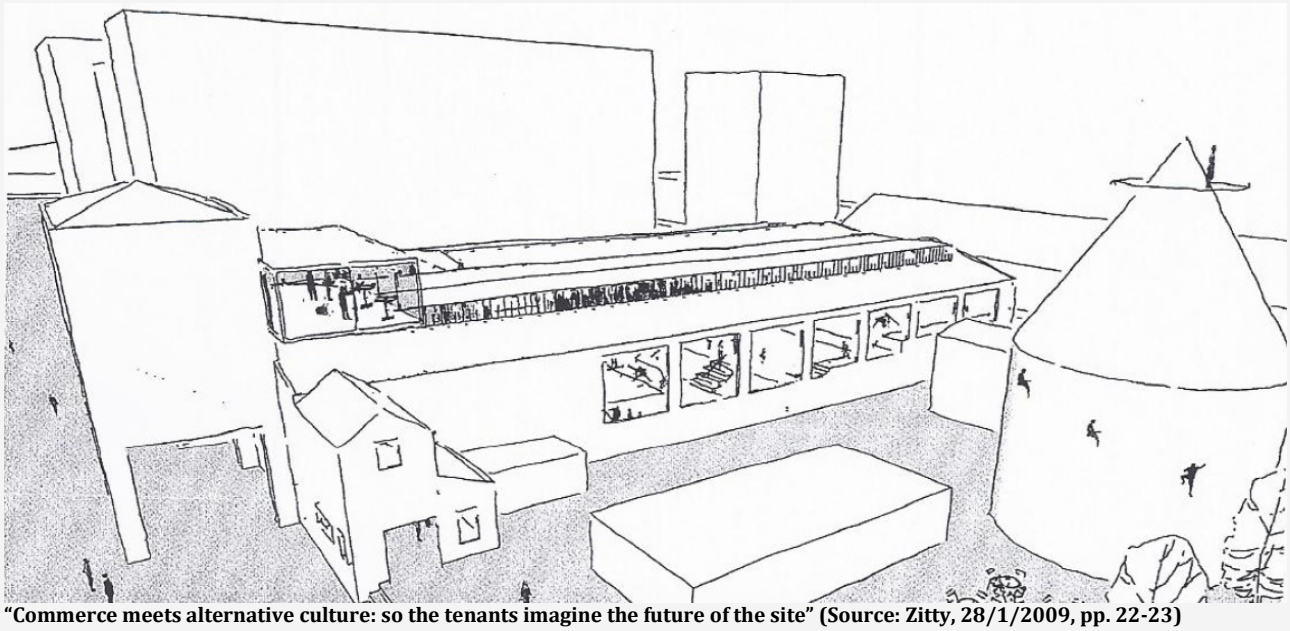
«From a vacant lot in a thriving cultural landscape: In just 10 months the cultural association RAW-Tempel managed to breathe life into the dilapidated buildings of the former workshop of the Reichsbahn in Revaler Strasse. For musicians, artists, theatre groups and youth initiatives, the area between the tracks under the bridge Warschauer (not too inviting at first glance), has become a creative space and a meeting point. But now the future casts shadows on the flourishing life of this abandoned».[96] The space, since the beginning of the autonomous project, has rapidly been «colonised by diverse initiatives and individuals from the districts of Friedrichshain and Kreuzberg and has over a period of only three years evolved as an open 'parallel universe', a complex entity still relatively free from economic and spatial constraints where a radical pluralism flourishes. At present, this unique site is used by more than 40 different socio-cultural projects both from the professional and experimental scene; it functions as a major stabilising element for the neighbourhood and offers a high degree of social inclusion.» (Groth, Corjin, 2005). The high degree of social inclusion derives, according to Groth and Corjin, from the "less politicised" and "more accessible to the public" dimension of this project, confronting with the remaining squatter initiatives in adjacent Rigaer Strasse.

"Monumental building ensemble of the cultural centre RAW-Tempel e.V. in Friedrichshain:" RAW Tempel compound map of activities[97]

Inside view of one of the abandoned warehouse within the RAW compound[98]

[96] From the article: "Blühendes Leben auf der Brache" (10/2000) by BK, *BezirksJournal*.
[97] Source: RAW Tempel website.
[98] Source: http://www.clubberconfession.com/wp/wp-content/uploads/2016/01/gentrification-berlin-768x506.jpg

Since the beginning of the 2000s, the situation of the RAW Tempel project became increasingly precarious. In fact, initial existence favoured by political support from the district authorities, the project started to be threated by eviction since the ownership was transferred to an offspring company of the German Railways in 2000, (Vivico GmbH as investment company) with the mission to exploit former railway land under full profit maximisation. «This transferral of ownership coincides with the aforementioned[99] development pressures on the 'urban bathtub' of the Upper Spree area and marks the **planning for the commercial exploitation of the site** of 'RAW-Tempel.'**A feasibility study commissioned by the new property owner thus foresees the construction of office and retail developments at high building densities with only minor preservation of the remaining industrial structures**.» (Groth, Corjin, 2005). In 2001, the Vivico Management GmbH, cut the contract of use with Friedrichshein-Kreuzberg district, which was to last until mid-2002. «The district has formally opposed the termination of the contract and called on the Raw-Tempel to ignore this violation of the contract. In this way the Vivico will be induced to give up the dissolution of the contract, these are the estimates of the deputy mayor Michael Schäfer.».[100] The temporary use of the industrial wasteland has been accompanied by a research project under the direction of **Philipp Oswalt**, from the Technical University. **According to the scholar, because the area can not develop "in the traditional way", it would be correct to encourage its use through existing local resources**. But Deutsche Bahn AG, in the long term, wanted to sell the land to obtain revenues. "Until the management will be in deficit, the state will not be able to invest in the rail network", explains the director of Vivico Jürgen Heyder.
In order to resist against the eviction request from the owner and «opposes content to the anonymous spatial production of commercialised containers» (Ideenaufruf, 2002b, p. 3), in 2001 a call for ideas was organized in the neighbourhood (*"Ideenaufruf"*: 'Call for Ideas'). «As a flexible but increasingly professional forum for intervention (uniting researchers, architects, interested citizens and the tenants), it has eventually also succeeded in addressing its claims via formal channels.» (Groth, Corjin, 2005). Thanks to that, despite the conflict over the legitimacy or not of the RAW Temple project to stay put in the area, the 35 projects included in the RAW Tempel have never been evicted. Nevertheless, during the 2000s, the alternative nature of the projects settled in the area has been strongly co-opted by the urban marketing discourses on "New Berlin!" (thanks to "the atmosphere of secrecy and enchantment" of the abandoned industrial site and the big presence of urban art) and the area became very attractive for tourism.

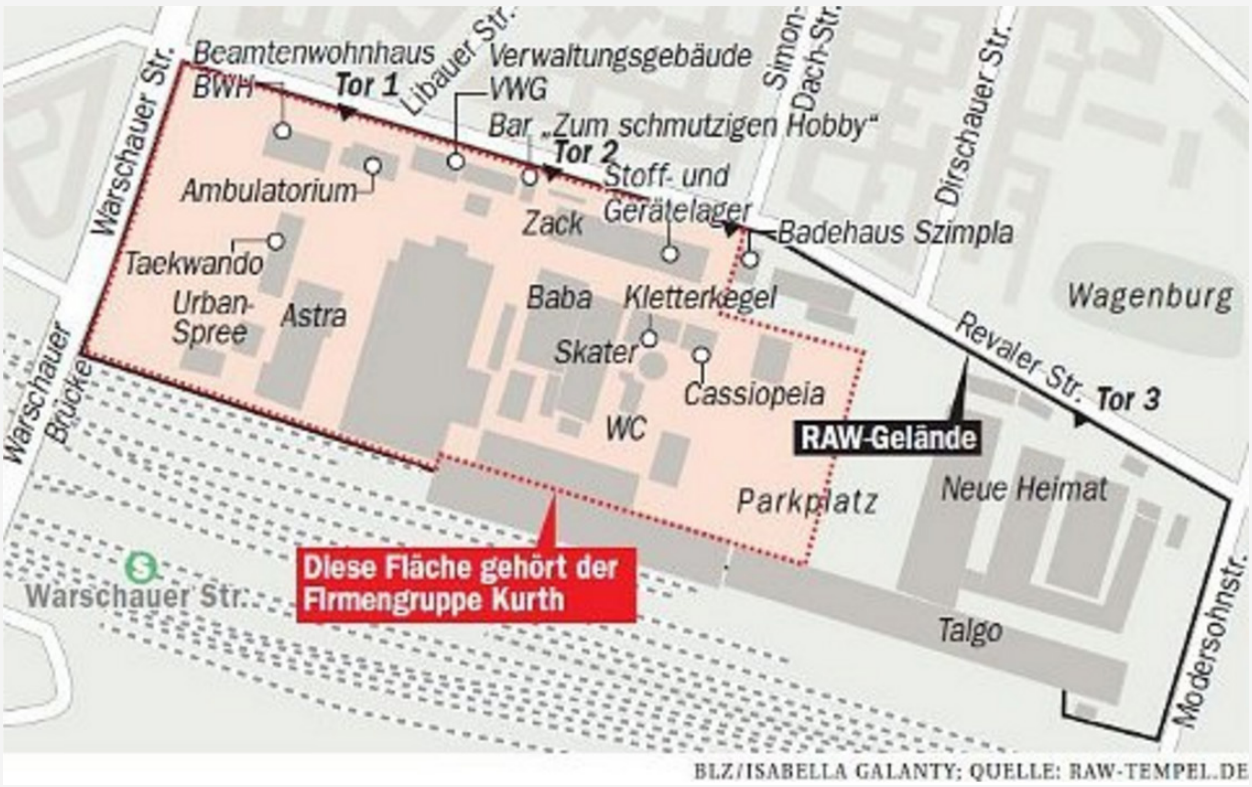


"Commerce meets alternative culture: so the tenants imagine the future of the site" (Source: Zitty, 28/1/2009, pp. 22-23)

In 2007 the area have been sold to a new owner (R.E.D. a Finish real estate company) that has terminated the leasing contract (existent tenant agreement "*bestehende mietvertrage*") with the tenants without notice and is threatening once again the eviction for the 65 projects working in the R.A.W. Temple (more then 130 people). The new owners want to make a "sustainable city" within the compound.[101] In 2014, due to the resistance opposed to the project by the RAW Tempel association, the Municipal Borough lead by the Green Party (supporting the alternative project) and the boroughs, the RED company sold the are to the Kurth Immobilien Göttingen, for 20 million euro.[102] The new company

[99] The Upper Spree area at present is increasingly seen as the new major development axis in Berlin, due to the mega-size of the area individuated by city master plans (Media Spree project) and the centrality of location, offering big potential for retail and third-sector business development. 'Media Spree' is a recent project to develop the waterfront of the River 'Spree' into a new location for media-related industries and services. It manifest the one-sided, ambiguous character reflected by the restructuring of Berlin since 1989 (Groth, Corjin, 2005).
[100] Information obtained by the article: "Pioniere bei der Reichsbahn" (31/5/2001), *die Tageszeitung*.
[101] Information obtained by the article: "Was die da machen ist falsch" (28/1/2009), *Zitty*.
[102] http://berlinocacioepepemagazine.com/gentrificationvenduta-larea-del-raw-berlino-dira-addio-a-cassiopeia-neue-heimat-e-suicide-circus-1745/#st-hash.d2EkVeow.dpuf

keep waiting for the eviction of the alternative project and the development, profit oriented, of the area. Despite that, the Municipal Borough is asking to open a table of negotiation with the new investors in order to individuate development strategies that could respect the socio-cultural use of the site. Today it is not clear if the RAW Tempel projects and the other temporary contracts for other associations/clubs will be terminated or not.



Map of the activities in the Raw compound area. The red area now belongs to the Firmengruppe Kurth society

We could argue, though, that these projects have somehow took part in the "game" of exploit former railway land under full profit maximisation, in order to obtain advantageous lease contracts, and helping make it one of the best-known tourist attractions in Berlin. Today the area, best know for the big concentration of clubs (Astra, Badehaus Szimpla, Raw Tempel, Urban Spree e Cassiopeia) and leisure activities, have partially lost the initial social, artistic and experimental vocation toward a more commercial oriented activities. Would be more fair to ask today how legitimate is to manifest for the right to stay there of the same activities, after many years, rather than give space to new projects. Certainly wild speculations, as well as the “circus for tourists” dimension, both are things that do not enrich the city, the neighbourhood. The development of the area through “anonymous spatial production of commercialised containers” wouldn’t contribute in any way to make room for the social and cultural vitality that is presented as the hallmark of the city, but increasingly lost. It would worth to discuss of a public re-conversion of the area (when possible), as heritage and so “commons”, that has no right to be taken away from the citizens. The problem is not so much about gentrification itself, rather the processes of privatization, and the legitimacy of the political decision to privatize the neighbourhood of this “indeterminate” area important for the collective definition of a new identity for the city and the neighbourhood. I argue that, talking about gentrification and grassroots initiatives (like reclaimed spaces within the city for artistic or social activities or even as alternative housing project), they have been used, in some occasion, as an actual force attracting investments. For example Marcus Dreβler from Allianz in an interview in July 1999 says about the RAW compound: "We expect only a return of image and we see this as a rental investment in the future”. He also speaks of "contemporaneity of interests”, since the support of such temporary uses, not only would enhance the property value but it would also reduce the risk of vandalism. Moreover, I argue, this concept of spatial uncertainty have been used also to enable public disinvestments on public spaces management, increasingly relying on private initiative and the co-optation of the radical urban movements in the city marketing discourse, the planning and heritage system. «As state expenditure for the purposes of public ownership is declining in political viability, progressive city governments are turning to their planning and heritage systems to prevent an all-encompassing middle class colonization of their cities. But common planning and heritage practices in places used by marginal cultures create a double paradox. First, protection of a place to prevent demolition and/or change of use can hinder its continuity. A place of value to a marginal culture is most likely to be so for its use and meanings. Preserving the place so that changes cannot be made to allow evolution can render the place irrelevant. If the place is protected in such a way that it can adapt to changing requirements, however, the second paradox arises. The possibilities of adaptive reuse greatly increase potential value. Reuse combined with recognition—the designation of cultural value and ‘authenticity’—puts a premium on the place such that the resulting cachet exacerbates the pressure for gentrification.» (Shaw, 2005, 150).

According to Andrej Holm[103], «The used image of being alternative and outside the mainstream for the kind of advertising building as a hype space and a tourist space and a creative space and so on have produced an inclusion in the infrastructure of the new Berlin, now every tourist, every person that come to Berlin have to go to Tacheles or RAW Tempel and have to feel the experience of the "real" Berlin. This is kind of "appropriate the city and shape the city by your self", I think, make it out (a part a small kind) of commodification in the broader sense until now. RAW and Tacheles are an example of this commodification in the structure of tourisms' marketing and city marketing. We have this tendencies to co-opt radical movement but it can never be an argument to stop radical movement and to stop us to think on other possible strategies than the mainstream. Should be more than only a group specific experience. How we can bring into a broader context and attention these topics? This is the conflictual and controversial point to discuss the mainstreaming of the radical experience as well as its risks. What we criticize of the co-optation strategies is that it appears "unfear", since the State take over and incorporates all our everyday knowledge and practices. These same practices, when considered too radical, were often previously repressed. This is the reason why many activists are against these strategies. But maybe would be interesting to discuss on how to invert the mechanism. How could be if these practices started to take over institutional strategies? This could be a way to rethink relations between grassroots' movements and activists' movement and the society and to address the general distrust in the institutions. Sometime I would say **"Let's try to co-opt the State or the institutions or mainstream debate"**. It would be importat to build a real negotiation between formal and informal actors in order to individuate better solutions for the urban development strategies for the city, better solutions for recognizing fragmented society, better solutions for communicating between different parts, people or interests and be able to bring them into the broader context.»

Conflicts over strategies: The informal actors claimed the necessity to support "temporary uses" as capable to generate local entrepreneurism, social welfare and the integration of 'soft tools' in the planning process (providing for the continuous participation of civil actors) in opposition to the controversial role of the public authorities in supporting the progressive sell out of public properties and urban development project "profit oriented" that are progressively provoking social and urban fragmentation. The formal actors: the Municipal Borough supported the project since "less politicised" and "more accessible to the public" (confronting with the more radical squatter initiatives and autonomous spaces). The conflict has been generated due to the disposition of the Urban areal development project, "Media Spree", as a City initiative producing the privatization of many former National properties. The reclaiming strategy itself, have not generated conflicts with authorities. It has been seen, instead, as a catalyst for positive urban transformation and a means for "neutral costs" management of the area.

Have this grassroots experience been incorporated in the urban general plan/ been included in urban agenda?
Yes/No, the reclaimed space has been soon regularized as temporary uses. The claim for the recognition of the value of temporary uses as "catalyst of urban development", for their capacity to activate local entrepreneurialism and create "autonomously jobs", has been incorporated in urban agenda. Nevertheless, the initial project, promoting the maintenance of the productive vocation of the area as not be sufficiently supported and vanished over the time, substituted by a more artistic-cultural ("immaterial labour") oriented projects. This new vocation of the area has been supported as capable to produce a "**return of image"** to be seen as a rental investment in the future. The shift toward a more "creative city" oriented strategies has further produced the co-optation of such practices within the urban marketing discourses and the orientation of urban agenda towards the promotion of "urban pioneers" initiatives (SenStadt, 2007). The RAW Tempel compound is today one of the hallmark of the "new Berlin". On the other side, this grassroots practice has not succeeded in being incorporated as a permanent element in the city master plan, also due to its temporary nature understanding. Nor has bee able to stop the privatization of the area and to avoid the approval of "profit oriented" development plans.

Have this practice been able to change planning previsions? No, the area has been provided by traditional development plans since the new market demand permitted a return to regulated urban planning.

Doing so, has been reached a higher level in representing common public interests?
No/Yes. The practice hasn't been able to influenced the prevision of privatization for the area. Moreover, the initial socio-cultural, experimental vocation of the grassroots practices settled in the area, have transformed over the time and today the area, looks increasingly touristic and is losing its character of livable place for neighbours and creative space and a meeting point. On the other side, at the moment, the presence of the many self-managed projects within the area, have been able to stop the transformation of the area and to open participated discussion over the future of the RAW compound. The "call for ideas" (*Ideenaufruf*) held in 2001has undertake a neighbourhood survey (1.800 people) and issued a public call for ideas: organizing debates and numerous workshops on themes of sustainable urban development. «It clearly acknowledges "the residual space as a physical breeding-ground for the development of sustainable urban structures, cultures and networks" (Ideenaufruf, 2002) which risks being destroyed by the built conceptions of traditional urban planning processes.»

[103] Semi-structured interview to Andrej Holm (Assistant Professor for the Institute of Urban Sociology, Humboldt University, Berlin).

2.b | Ex-Dogana

Via dei Sabelli
Via dei Marsi
Via dei Campani
Via dei Lucani
Via degli Ananami
Via di Porta Labicana
Via dei Frentani
Via Giovanni Giolitti
Piazzale Labicano
Via Prenestina
Via Stradella
Via dei Sardi
Via dei Latini
Via dei Volsci
Via dei Marsi
Via dei Lucani
Via dei Frentani

	• Opposition against the localization of a mall in an area characterized by little retails and craft activities • The commodification/marketization of the alternative counter-culture
Informal actors' claims:	• Need for negotiated strategies of urban development capable to address local needs • Need for spaces for not-commodified spaces for artistic/cultural experimentation • Need to oppose the social, spatial radical transformations
Stakeholders involved in the conflict:	• State Property • Roma City • The investor (real estate investor/developer Pirelli Re) • The neighbourhood committee of San Lorenzo ("*comitato di quartiere*") • The activists from autonomous scene • The neighbours
Strategies adopted by informal actors:	• Attempt of negotiation for assignment of the public space • Big mobilization against speculation • Public petition
Strategies adopted by formal actors:	• Sell out of the public property • Valorization of the area (change of planning destination for the area) • "Temporary uses" for the valorization of the area

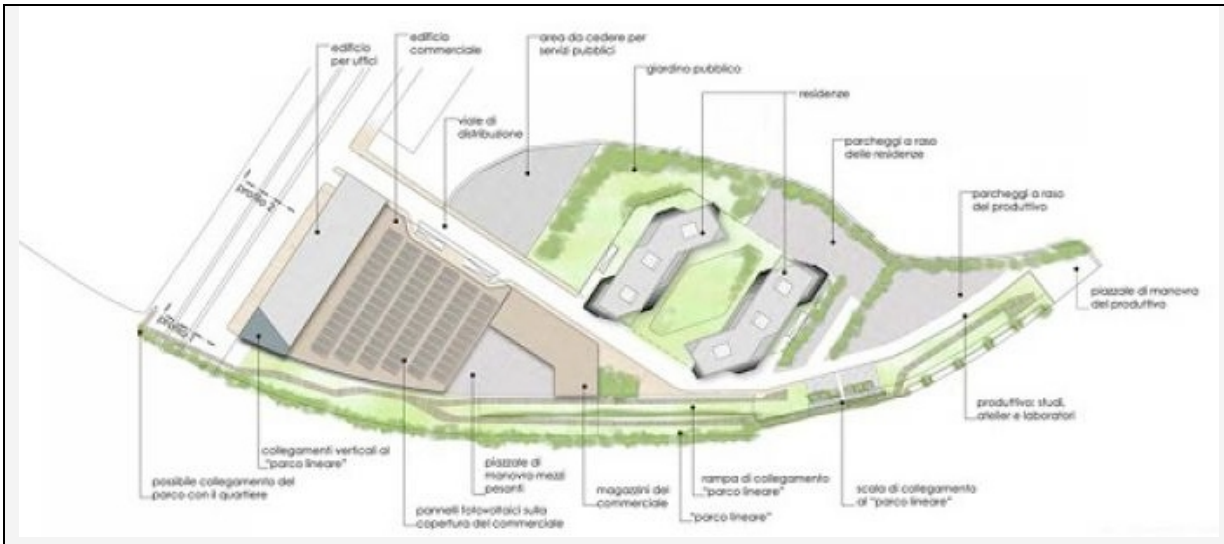
THE EX-DOGANA STORY

The area is located in *via dello Scalo San Lorenzo* 10 in the former historical working class neighbourhood called *San Lorenzo* (former peripheral area; now central area). This originally a working-class neighbourhood has been central for the historical evolution of the "Italian Resistance Movement" during the IIWW and after the war a strongly politically active zone (from Communist Party to the extra-parliamentarian radical left groups since the 1970s on). The area is historically characterized by industrial activities, popular workshops and small crafts. Since the main university campus of Rome is located in the district, this area has always been very important for the students' movement. The radical counter-cultural scene has influenced the development of the district with the localization of many autonomous spaces. Today the many independent realities of the district are organized in the *"Libera Repubblica di San Lorenzo"* ("Free Republic of San Lorenzo"). The area is also characterized by big infrastructures since it is located near the central station of Rome and is crossed by the urban highway *Tangenziale* ("Ring Road"), a busy highway that causes high levels of air and noise pollution in the neighbourhood. This main city road was realized as provided by the 1962 city Master Plan. In this plan, the wrong prediction of population increase, calculated over 5 million inhabitants, served to fuel the need to build many housing units, fuelling further wild speculation. That plan contained, however, an "idea" for the proper development of the city: the construction of the Eastern Administrative System, the SDO (*Sistema Direzionale Orientale*). The SDO project involved the integrated development of management offices (ministries, headquarters of institutions, universities, private offices) which, driven by high traffic roads and other general services, would have been able to reassess the eastern peripheries of the city and free the historical centre districts from a plethora of buildings required for the functioning of the national government. Over the years, the project was never realized and its areas were progressively occupied by illegal allotments and sold to private investors (See the ex Snia's park of the lake story). In addition to the Tangenziale, the neighbourhood is bordered and crossed by several train tracks. Because of this, the customs of the railway station was located in the district up to 2010. At the beginning of the centre-left wing Rutelli's city council, in 1993, was planned a new public transport solution, for which was coined the slogan *"la cura del ferro"* ("the treatment of iron"), since Rome was suffering an excessive use of road transportation vehicles. This important turning point was obtained through the agreement between the City and the National Railway company (*Ferrovie dello Stato* SpA, FS). Under Rutelli, the city planned to use many kilometres of railway lines' underutilized tracks for urban mobility. The year before (August 1992) FS had been transformed into joint stock companies, all held by the Ministry of Economy and Finance. «Rutelli, signing the protocol, agreed that, in turn for the acquisition of new rail links, Fs had the green light to develop its areas (Termini, Tiburtina, Ostiense, St. Peter). Public services? No! The authorization that the Mayor Rutelli released were intended to "make profit", to embark on real estate transactions and, as an additional recompense, to give the green light to Fs for the development of numerous projects on the area individuated for the localization of the high-speed node of Rome, and to localize its organizational assets in the near area of the *Scalo San Lorenzo* [where is located the former railway Customs]». (Marchini, Sotja, 2014).[104] Thanks to this agreement between the City and FS, the railway areas were suddenly provided with the permit for the development of seven million cubic meters for new buildings. The profits derived from the development and/or sell of the valorised areas had to be invested in turn in rail services for the city. The provisions for the railway areas provided by the 1992 Programme of the city of Rome and one the 2000 Programme, were confirmed by the new city Master Plan, approved in 2008. It confirmed the possibility to build in the railway areas, in order to "redevelop and enhance" those areas and the possibility to achieve annuity through the realization of large cubage. These plans included also all the areas where were located dismissed railway service facilities. This is the case of the area of the

[104] Information gathered from the article "*Alla Dogana di San Lorenzo si usa la street-art per fare rendita*" (translated by the author) [http://www.dinamopress.it/news/alla-dogana-di-san-lorenzo-si-usa-la-street-art-per-fare-rendita]

former Railway Customs (*ex-Dogana*). The buildings and warehouses that form the site of the former Customs were built in the early XX century. The story of the privatization of the ex-Dogana area in San Lorenzo, begins on December 24th, 2002, when the Council of Ministers authorized the State Property Agency to divest a number of assets belonging to the state, some of them in the Rome area (Securizations). The same day were also divested three buildings of *viale Europa* (E.U.R. neighbourhood) known as former *Torri delle Finanze* (Towers of Finances). Just like the former Torri delle Finanze, also the ex-Dogana passed into the hands of "Fintecna Immobiliare spa" which established a call for the creation of a public-private joint venture that would proceed to the exploit of the real estate. This is called *Progetto Pentagramma* (Project Pentagram) and, along with the buildings of the ex-Dogana in San Lorenzo, provides for the "transformation" of three other buildings: the *Istituto Poligrafico* and *Zecca dello Stato* (Printing Office and State Mint); the former National Geological Institute; the redevelopment of the *Valcannuta* area. The ex-Dogana building complex that is located in via Scalo San Lorenzo, with the new city Master Plan (adopted in 2002 and approved in 2008), becomes an area of particularly significant economic valorization (*Ambito di Valorizzazione*). The *Ambiti di Valorizzazione* (areas of enhancement) «concern those parts of the historic city whose identity characters exhibit physical and functional deterioration. They are aimed at "achieving new conditions of environmental quality morphological and functional complexity"» (City of Rome website). In 2007, Pirelli Re (who later became Prelios), Fingen and Maire Group win the auction, and now all together hold 50% of the new company called *Residenziale Immobiliare 2004* (Residential Real Estate 2004). The total value of the four properties was set at approximately 368 million euro. A parliamentary interrogation on September 12th 2007 which bears the signature of Francesco Storace (right wing party) raises doubts about the fairness of the established value. Storace advances a calculation: the Istituto Poligrafico is located in Piazza Verdi in Parioli neighbourhood, where at the time the cost per square meter was set at about 10,000 Euros per sqm. We read in the query: "Multiplying the cost per square meter for the total area of the property, 54,000 square meters, according to the listing real estate market would be 540 million and not 368 million." Moreover it is the total price of the big operation and not of a single property.[105] The City Master Plan (PRG) provided for the possibility to demolish the facilities of the ex-Dogana and to build on an area of about 16,000 square meters offices, residential, commercial, and tertiary activities. In 2011 it is proposed a development project for the area (All Project srl), which includes the demolition of existing buildings with the exception of the body used for offices overlooking Via dello Scalo San Lorenzo. On the freed area is hypothesized to realize a mall and two residential buildings. In the part of the area, bordering the train tracks, the project provides a linear park at an higher level, functioning as a noise barrier. A small area in the north is transferred to the Municipality for the localization of public services (Marchini, Sotja, 2014).). While initially, the P.R.G. provided the building permit for 16.922 square meters (40% for residential, 50% commercial, services and tourist facilities and accommodation, 10% productive settlement). The new proposal made by the owner, assuming the implementation of the housing plan, with demolition and reconstruction, provides a building permit for an area of 19,630 square meters with a total of 320 new residents (42% residential, 30% commercial, 10% productive settlement and 18% residences for students).[106] Valorization of urban areas is produced through a particular mechanism of financialization of urban space: first, the public administration creates a real estate fund (in which are placed the public patrimony); second, these companies, such as the *Società di Gestione del Risparmio*, SGR (Asset Management Company), both manage the assets to be enhanced, and is entitled to propose projects for the valorization of these urban areas. When a process of valorization is settled, the public administration is supposed to refer to a public call in order to define the best strategies to achieve this goal, instead it can entrust directly the SGR to define the processes of valorization without a public call. Citizens are completely excluded from the decision-making process. SGR could be the mechanisms for enhance collective savings instead are basically used to allow the local and trans-local elites to make profit on public goods. Yet, the constitution of *Fondi Immobiliari Pubblici*, FIP (public property funds) is necessary for the implementation of the "securitizations" of public estate, since they turn public property into a financial assets, so to individuate and locate resources for the valorization of these financial assets.

[105] Information from the editorial "*Un centro commerciale al posto dell'ex Dogana: a San Lorenzo sale la protesta"* in *Roma Today* issue November 24th, 2014, by Ylenia Sina [http://www.romatoday.it/politica/ex-dogana-via-dello-scalo-di-san-lorenzo-centro-commerciale.html]
[106] Cit., Roma Today, November 24th 2014.



The new owners of the area, the *Residenziale Immobiliare* 2004 spa, a mixed public-private company, is responsible for the valorization of the area. Instead of directly operate to sell the area or realize the planned cubage, it is planned to proceed through a valorization process. For the valorization process, the new owners decided to open the spaces and make the building complex available for temporary cultural activities, giving visibility to an area for a long time abandoned and absent from the everyday geographies of the inhabitants. «In these days, the entrance doors of the buildings bordering via dello Scalo San Lorenzo were wide open. Now, the "new" powerful owners of the area have decided that it's time to kick off their program of "architectural regeneration": the umpteenth mall (the financial daily *"Milano Oggi"* talk about Esse Lunga firm) and the umpteenth apartment blocks. This time, there isn't the usual banner "for sale", but the glittering banner of the Outdoor Urban Festival. An "event", we are told, to "raise questions about the future dynamics of the city." Thus, the organizers of the festival speak to the city, calling fifteen of the world leading exponents of the Street-art to "appropriate" the vast industrial structure (still in good condition) with their art. **They open up that space, unknown to most people, to transform it in a workshop of "the urban wonder".** They show it **and then destroy it**. They open to close. **It is a window on the new urbanism of finance. To generate income, is no longer sufficient to build real estate, what is need is to turn everything into a commodity. Even street art, created to bring the conflict in the urban order**, in opposition to the monotony and prison of city blocks, to make facades and walls, in which are enclosed our lives, "eyes open the living." […] At the Dogana, in Rome, is built, for the first time, a segment of the new manner in which economic elites want to snatch us the city. To do this, they want to take possession even of our lives and our way of being in the city.» (Marchini, Sotja, 2014).[107]

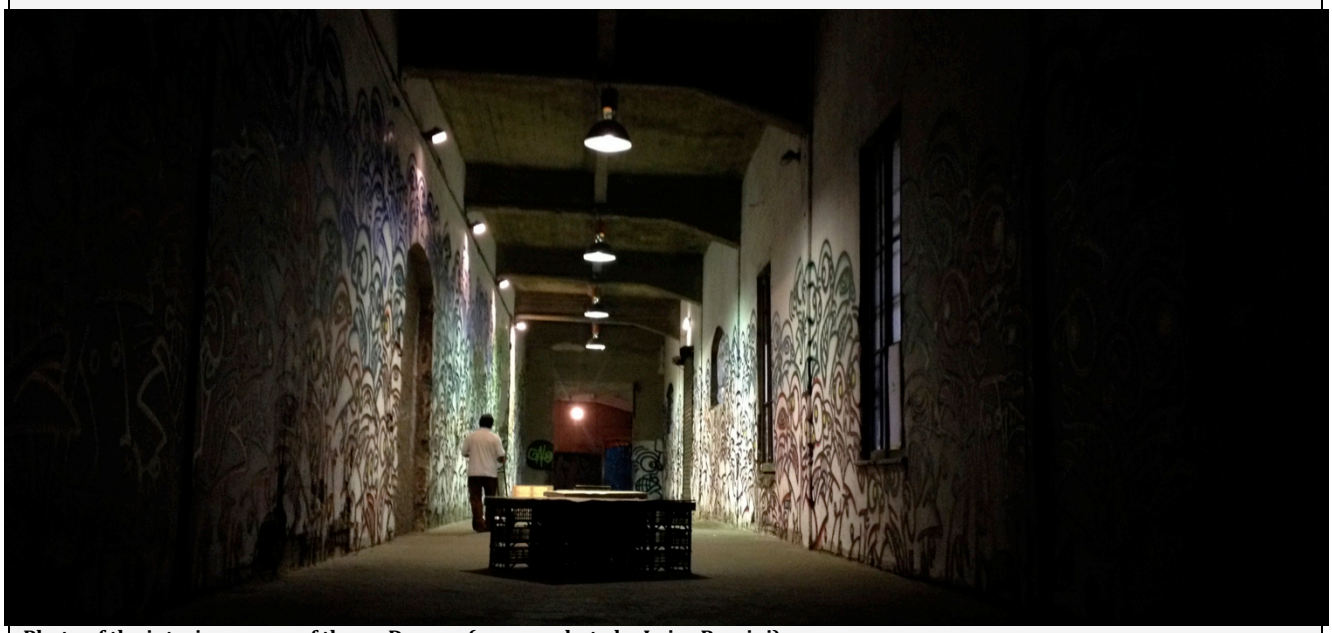


Photo of the interior spaces of the ex-Dogana (source: photo by Luisa Rossini)

[107] Translated by the author.

A group of independent realities of the district, organized in the Free Republic of San Lorenzo, has drawn attention to the project. But the conflict on the project is spreading among local shopkeepers worried that a new mall could destroy small businesses in the neighbourhood already strained by the crisis and the nightlife. We read in the petition: «Such speculative operation could jeopardize definitively the already precarious economic and social equilibrium of working-class and historic districts such as San Lorenzo and Pigneto Casal Bertone, already pressed by speculative dynamics that are making them difficult to inhabit and live. These neighbourhoods were once the fulcrum of craft activities and productive work relationships. Today the economic, social and cultural development of the city is profoundly changing because of market laws and the pursuit of profit at any condition, in the absence of a plan capable to support the actual needs of its inhabitants. The construction of a big mall in San Lorenzo is a project that goes against the city and its inhabitants. Would also deny the Italian capital of a valuable area that could accommodate not only services and facilities, which actually are lacking, but a whole urban fragment capable of projecting Rome to the levels of other European cities, that on former industrial areas have reinvented urban collective, accessible, welcoming and exciting spaces, not only in economic terms.» (see the petition: https://www.change.org/p/consiglio-comunale-di-roma-chiediamo-che-venga-bloccato-il-progetto-di-demolizione-della-ex-dogana-di-roma-per-la-costruzione-dell-ennesimo-centro-commerciale-e-di-residenze-di-lusso).[108]

Citizens and inhabitants of Rome are demanding that the urban voids, that are intended to be filled with concrete, are returned to the city, not as decided by the economic convenience the economic elites but for the social convenience of the many, who lives in the city in increasingly precarious conditions and (as in the case of district), in suffering the strong lack of public collective services of any kind. **"Save the ex-Dogana to save then Rome by urban planning choices dictated by finance."** (petition opposing the demolition of the ex-Dogana premises and the speculation over the public area).

"Sdogana la città" ("De-Customs the City"), demo of citizens in front of the former customs[109]

Conflicts over strategies: Opposition against the sell out of public assets, in this case of a valuable area that could accommodate not only services and facilities, which actually are lacking, but to reinvent a former industrial area through urban collective, accessible, welcoming and exciting uses, not only in economic terms, capable of projecting Rome to the levels of other European cities. Conflict over the localization of a mall in a neighbourhood with an economic fabric based on small shops and crafts. Conflict over strategies of financialization of urban public areas: the strategy of valorization based on the transformation of the city spaces in commodities provokes the increase of speculative phenomena and market interests that generate side-effects, such as gentrification cum displacement. Criticized the localization of new inhabitants in an area that suffers high levels of air and noise pollution, car traffic and lack in the provision of public services.

[108] Translated by the author.
[109] Source: http://www.romatoday.it/politica/ex-dogana-via-dello-scalo-di-san-lorenzo-centro-commerciale.html

Have this grassroots practice been incorporated in the urban general plan/ been included in urban agenda? The discursive use of the concept of artistic temporary appropriation of the space is used for profit oriented economic goals. The successful localization of artistic, cultural and leisure activities in the area has not influenced the provisions of the master plan. The citizens are demanding to the local administration to change the master plan and revoke the privatization, in order to oppose the increase in the number of inhabitants in the neighbourhood and the localization of a mall, considered both socially and economically unsustainable, and instead promoting the creation of a big public space where localize public services and multiple activities to be agreed with the citizenship. None of these claims/alternative proposals from the bottom have been included in the urban agenda at the moment.

Have this practice been able to change planning previsions?
No, the area has been provided by traditional and "profit oriented" development plans.

Doing so, has been reached an higher level in representing common public interests?
No. The citizens have had no space for negotiation over the issue of privatization and valorization of a public asset. Moreover, the area was particularly valuable for the implementation of public policies in a district lacking in the provision of public services and increasingly affected by market interests pressure and ungoverned social dynamics.

What are the elements in common between these two practices? We analyse the similarities and differences between the two practices of appropriation of interest for the research:
In the case of the former Customs in Rome, we cannot properly refer to the practice of reappropriation because the area has never been actually occupied. The valorization process, however, have called for the "artistic reappropriation" of the ex-Dogana spaces, but for commercial and not for political/social transformation goals, that usually are connected to these practices. According to Marchini and Sotja (2014), it is a window on the new urbanism of finance. "To generate income, is no longer sufficient to build real estate, what is need is to turn everything into a commodity. Even street art, created to bring the conflict in the urban order." In this framework, both the reclaimed processes analysed, albeit from different circumstances, present the emergence of a conflict over the strategy to co-opt the alternative practices and imaginary (such as the street art to regenerate abandoned spaces) as capable to produce a symbolic Added Value (AD) useful for valorization processes and the financialization of the urban space. This added value has not been recognized, though, in the pro-active capacity to propose alternative and participated uses of the public spaces, to oppose to privatization and traditional development strategies.

Category of the conflict: conflict over access to resources (such as spaces for socializing, culture, political debate and leisure), conflict of recognition (lack recognition of the legitimacy of alternative proposals ;lack of representative space for the citizenship and its claims)

Category of "routinizable conflict": the demand for access to space resources for the development of multiple, alternative, collective and participated usages of the space (for example through the recognition of temporary uses agreements). Recognition of the space for negotiation of alternative solutions for the development of urban public spaces to oppose to privatization (the local authorities and the planner as mediators capable in the challenge of achieving diverse and empowering participation).

Category of "fundamental conflict": recognition of radical instances such radical questioning the dominant economic, political and social model of financial urbanism and ask for the right to participate in the processes of radical transformation and production of space and so affirm the collective interests over the powerful economic elites.

Areas typology: former working-class district now affected by speculative interests

Space typology: big former industrial areas – National Railway properties

Privatization of the public property: in the framework of the gradual privatization of public spaces and goods during the 2000s connected to the securization strategies.

Practices that arise from the dispute for excluded participate processes capable to affirm the collective interests over the powerful economic elites, due to the absence of spaces of democratic negotiation over the general urban ideologies imposed over strategies of urban transformation. It produced over the time the increasing disenfranchisement of the population from the dominant paradigm of urban development connected with the neoliberal hegemonic system affecting all the levels of social life and producing the increasing marketization of the city and its spaces, due to the growth-oriented and gentrification-friendly approach to urban development.

Subjects: excluded from the exercise of power > citizens, neighbours, independent movements

How the public administrations have been confronting with these two conflicts?
In both cities, the public administration has been confronting with different types of reclaiming processes. In the case of Berlin, where the local administration have confronted with an actual radical reappropriation of space the conflict has been categorized as "routinizable" conflict to solve with the adoption of a temporary use lease contract. In the case of Rome, the dimension of conflict is more complex. On one side the reclaiming process have been symbolically used as an economic means (symbolic creative reappropriation) and it didn't produce an actual conflict with the institutions, since the public-private joint venue produced the juxtaposition of interests between the economic elites and the public authorities. The conflict emerged from the reclaiming process used as a social and political means, symbolically enacted by the neighbours and independent groups through use of the radical democratic tool of the petition (provided by the local Regulation on Citizens' Participation), it has been considered as a fundamental conflict since it was radically questioning the dominant urban development paradigm connected with the neoliberal hegemonic system, accused to produce the increasing marketization of the city. Moreover, since the strategies of privatization of public spaces and goods have been imposed on a multiscalar level of governance (from the imposition of the "Stability Pact" in the framework of the "European fiscal Union", to the Securization Law at the National Level, to the budget cuts at the local level) and therefore forced the local authorities to pursue the valorization of public areas for their privatization. Moreover, even if the active citizenship and informal actors, in a contest of erosion in the role of institutions, have proposed **self-organized alternative strategies to confront with urban issues** (like temporary appropriation of space), in this confrontation between conflicting interests, opinions and values expressed over the production of space, in the last decades, the economic elites have been privileged by the public administration, because in the framework of public disinvestment they are described as "reliable" partners.
On this point of view the RAW Tempel case is similar and different at the same time. Berlin have been strongly affected in the last two decades by policies and strategies for the valorization and privatization of the public spaces and goods, but the major political power of the Municipal borough (confronting with Rome) have allowed to renegotiate each time conflictive instances that emerged in the territory and to play a real role as a mediator between the stakeholders. In fact, even if the Berlin Senate have approved profit oriented strategies of development of the area, the Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg Borough is struggling, since many years, in order to grant voice to the minoritarian instances and proposals that come from the bottom. Finally, the temporary uses that have been developed in the area, despite being used for valorization process have also showed to the inhabitants, alternative possible usages of the RAW compound. Today many people is opposing the creation of the umpteenth are for offices and apartment blocks, demanding instead the creation of alternative, collective and participated uses in a valuable area, that can be constantly reinvented because without a stable definition of its uses. In both cases, though, the characterization of these practices of appropriation as producers of "urban wonder", and not of practices of social transformation, has resulted in less radical forms of conflict.
The difference lies in how the public authorities of the two cities have managed to keep these radical practices in the territory with which have failed to negotiate shared interpretive frameworks:

Berlin
Reaction to the reclaiming process? "Strategies of spatial control / co-optation" regularization through "temporary uses" lease contracts

Rome
Reaction to the reclaiming process? "temporary uses" used for their symbolic AD in enhancing the value of the area/ selective neglect of the claims from the bottom asking for the reworking of the master plan previsions

"Temporary uses" in both cases used for its capacity to enhance the value of an area, attract investments, and as a competitive oriented strategy. It is made visible, in relation to temporary uses: «Temporary uses are at the same time often (although not always) perceived by public authorities as an intermediary, second-best option for vacant urban spaces in the absence of other development options, or as a prelude to more profitable ventures to be launched by the initial users themselves or by external investors» (Colomb, 2012). I argue that "temporary uses" strategies have been developed as a tool for valorization of urban space: «Over the past two centuries, the valorization of urban space has been a key accumulation strategy for capital (Castells, 1977; Harvey, 1981) and property rights have given capitalist firms relatively free reign to produce urban space to maximize its exchange value. […] When coupled with a central role for inhabitants in decision-making, appropriation poses a direct challenge to a set of political-economic relationships that have been critical to the valorization of urban space and the accumulation of capital in the modern era.» (Purcell, 2002, 103). Are temporary users «to remain nothing more than gap-fillers until market demand permits a return to regulated urban planning?» (Misselwitz et al., 2007, p. 104) Controversial elements related to these new urban policy, that, it is not able to:

1. Effectively "defend" the right to stay put or represent the instances of a project that have a good local response;
2. or sufficient to translate in the system of regulations existent grassroots' practices that are present on the urban territory since a long time (more than 5 years) and for this reason are not definable as "temporary."

THE TWO CASES STUDY

The selected category of the cases study

The "Village", the third category, refers to the practices of squatting, mostly Entrepreneurial squatting but could be also a Political squatting or "large squats," that keeping a form of "protective enclosure", and opposition to the hegemonic order intended as a constant challenging/questioning of its models. However "the village" open their spaces to different communities and the city providing a multiplicity of services, it both propose a strong interpretation of the reappropriated space but also create the possibility to appropriate the space, to struggle different interpretations of it and to play different understanding of the "right to the city" over it. It becomes finally a space for collective activities and search for "agonistic" confrontations over urban meanings between the institutions, the citizens and more radical instances, in order to legitimize the proposed alternative "project" for a more radically collective, participated and self-managed public space.

THE "VILLAGE"

3.a&b | Bethanien “south-wing” and “Angelo Mai”/Altrove

The two case studies presented, as empirical analysis of the research topic, are related to significant cases of **radical/insurgents (re)appropriation of two symbolic public spaces that were affected by programs of alienation of public property**, since the neoliberal restructuring, starting from the shift from Government to Governance, push for the liberalization, deregulation and privatization of formerly public authority tasks. In this framework, during the 1990s, both Germany and Italy have actuated a “first” intensive phase of financial restructuring based on the privatization of many of the municipal and State companies (among them the public housing companies) and the introduction of QUANGOs forms of management for public services. Yet, during 2000s, a “second” phase of structured finance process is started in which public assets, receivables or financial instruments are acquired, classified into pools, and offered as collateral for third-party investment. In fact, the Rome case study Angelo Mai complex has been affected by the Italian law for “Securitization” (“Cartolarizzazioni” - Dlgs 267/00)[110] approved at the beginning of the 2000s, for the adjustment of national and local budgetary frameworks, due to the “stability pacts” signed for the participation in European currency system. In a similar way, the Federal State of Germany ask to its capital city, Berlin, to adjust its high indebtedness (resulting from the complex process of annexation of the East part, the sudden change in the local economy and the expensive renewal programs for the city centre implemented during the 1990s), when in 2001 the city went almost bankrupt due to its 80 billion DM debt - about 35 billion euros (The Guardian, 2001). Despite during the 1990s the city provided the privatization of many of the municipal and State companies and local public assets, in the laps of time between 1991-2004 its debt has grown from 10.8 billion euros to 56 billion euros. So that, in 2005, Senator of finance of the State of Berlin, Thilo Sarrazin, introduces “*Kalkulatorische Kosten*” requiring local governments to pay huge “indirect” costs (that affected the Berlin case study, the Bethanien complex), unsustainable if the properties are underutilized or vacant, on public property under their jurisdiction. In these two cases, as in many others, **citizens were faced with complex choices derived from multi-scalar levels of governance (from the European Union, to the national, to the local scale) that had not been democratically negotiated with the district and its citizenship**. At the local level, however, there was the possibility of triggering a negotiation, demanding for the recognition of the right to participate in decision-making processes that directly affect citizens' lives. In fact, in the period in which the conflict regarding the two cases study began, new legislations regarding the activation of the process of participation of citizens, in decision related to urban transformation on district/city levels, were introduced in both cities (Berlin 2004 [111], Rome 2006 [112]). Moreover, the conflictive citizenship involved in the analysed cases, through the experimentation and implementation of different forms of participation, shows the constructive and planning dimension that participation can have. Moreover, it **oppose to the privatization strategies connected to scarcity of resources for the implementation of local public policies and programs, proposing solutions based on “subsidiarity” between informal and formal actors**. In this framework, even before the affirmation of the recent global economic crisis, the urban space had become an ‘object’ of contention and claimed by groups of inhabitants that through the reclaiming strategies became “active” to self-individuate alternative solutions to local problems. Yet, through the adoption of such strategy city’s inhabitants perform their dissent and resistance against local as global issues, where extra-local level of governance produce not-negotiated effects on the local scale, such as the progressive financialization of the urban space in a framework of increasing public authority role crisis. In fact, the cases present articulated forms of reclaiming of the space questioning the real democratic dimension of participative tools, proving the capacity to self-address unaddressed local issues, trying to challenge the multiscalarity of policies that affects their urban public spaces, generating a renewed debate over the “Right to the city”. The intertwining of different needs/visions that have been projected over these two public indeterminate spaces, the Bethanien and the Angelo Mai complex, **showing how complex can be the social understanding of the right to the city (Harvey, 2012), have resulted in the overlapping of different levels of planning that have produced the attempt/experimentation of “mixed uses**[113]”. Moreover, these practices of (re)activation of indeterminate spaces show how different actors can refer to more or less radical forms of physical and symbolic (re)appropriation [114], such us squatting actions, or non-institutionalized/hegemonic forms of “space production”, or citizens’ groups initiatives and protesters that used mainly conventional methods, such as meetings and petitions, supplemented, in the case of Berlin, by the disruptive adhere to the squatting action and, in the case of Rome, by other performative actions (as the human chain). What we will observe is how these **different radical or**

[110] See the Angelo Mai case study’s File 1 in appendix.

[111] § 44-47 - BzVwG - District Administration Act - valid from 31.12.2003. It is important to stress that, the Berlin’s Boroughs are governed by a Borough council (*Bezirksamt*) that have a high degree of independence from the city government due to the peculiar condition of and Berlin as a city state since 1990 (since the city of Berlin is a “unified community” the district offices are not dependent on local government functions but practice). The borough assembly (*Bezirksverordnetenversammlung* – BVV) is after the Berlin Constitution (Articles 69-73) “organ of the district's self-government”. It chooses the district office (*Bezirksamt*) and its task is to control the district's administration. In addition, it decides the district's budget, which, however, needs the approval of the House of Representatives (*Abgeordnetenhaus* – the city and State parliament). Berlin executive Body is the Senate of Berlin. The Governing Mayor is simultaneously Lord Mayor of the city (Oberbürgermeister der Stadt) and Prime Minister of the Federal State (*Ministerpräsident des Bundeslandes*).

[112] Resolution n°57/2006 – City Administration Act – valid from 2.3.2006.

[113] With “mixed use” is intended that the radical practice or (re)appropriation enacted over the former-hospital complex “Bethanien” in Berlin and over the former boarding school “Angelo Mai” in Rome, have produced not only an housing or a cultural or a political space, but the mix of all these, and others, different uses.

[114] To Lefebvre appropriation is an essential human desire leading eventually to “the true space of pleasure, which would be an appropriated space par excellence” (Lefebvre, 1974, 167) – an ideal essential to the right to the city but yet to come.

institutional spatial political tactics can coexist and how intertwining, overlapping or opposing each other they can produce different outcomes in fostering their claims. In fact, while institutional and conventional methods can rise the level of legitimacy and recognition, the implementation of forms of "radical urbanism", like squatting, permits to make visible the "invisible": both to give voice to unheard needs and claims and to produce a wider public awareness over conflictive issues. **In these two cases we will observe how this has been used by insurgent groups to transform the power positions, challenge the concept of illegality with the value of legitimacy, and try to force radical confrontation with the institutions for the individuation of negotiated solutions** - that can be innovative while more often result to "normalize" disruptive strategies proposed from the bottom. On the other side, the conflictive confrontation between grassroots practices and formal institutions, challenging the controversies of the dominant neoliberal strategies, shows all its **complexity when the planning policies and practices include their instances addressing ambivalent types of alternative strategies**. Results, in fact, complex define a unique understanding of the affirmation of such tactics: proposing/imposing radically progressive forms of co-production and self-management of public spaces, pushing for a more flexible normative frame in which unhinge the hierarchical relationship between formal actors and the informal actors[115], they could result more profitable/favourable or even aligned to the hegemonic neoliberal strategies, fostered by local and extra-local elites, than opposed to them (both weakening the role of the public institutions in providing State-helo and fostering the understanding of self-help policies for the poor and for the management of non-utilitarian public spaces).

Analysing the selected case studies I will try to question their actually progressive dimension in proposing new ways of "space production" (Lefebvre, 1974):

- Are the urban conflict related to these cases both embodying the crisis of the democratic system, excluding citizens from extra-local decisions processes (such as the European Union dictat) that affects them on various levels and to the incapacity of fostering local public policies relying on European funds more than on national ones?
- Could they help to understand what role should have formal and informal actors in a democratic citizens' empowerment system?
- Can these experiences be pivotal elements for the implementation of strategies based on sussidiarity between formal and informal actors?
- Is it possible to rescale these bottom-up practices from micro-scale to mainstream strategies?
- Are these radical forms of participation proving the ability of informal actors in developing and proposing alternative strategies?
- Are these practices actually capable to (re)signify indeterminate spaces as "urban common" toward forms of more collective, participated, experimental and negotiable public space production?
- Do they actually produce the co-existence of different or even new uses of the space capable to translate the increasing complexity of the society and the fast transformation of its needs, interests, desires and political claims?
- Are they able to challenge the rigid dichotomy between public and private property?

The selected cases study for the comparative analysis will be described detecting the elements of interest connected to the aforementioned questions.
Finally, the relationship that these two forms of spontaneous urbanity have had, during the evolution of the conflict with the institutions, like the kind of tools developed in the years to exclude/co-opt/include/negotiate such practices, has been analysed in order to understand how these tools emerged (as imposed or negotiated) and if they have produced some forms of ibridizations between top-down strategies and bottom-up practices, often facing radically antagonistic positions. The factor of interest for the research is then to understand whether the recognition, legitimacy and institutionalization of these practices can uncover a generative democratic potential of policies and alternative practices useful for the planning field. Moreover, the coercive, co-optative procedures, of neutralization or containment, or inclusion and empowerment put into play for repression, integration or enhancement of these practices, allow us to investigate the mechanisms that affect the democratic decision-making processes and strategies for urban development in these two cities (which were recently characterized by a large number of urban conflicts) and connected practices of public space (re)appropriation. Through the critical analysis of the cases study the research intend to address the following questions: in urban insurgent practices addressing forms of radical participation, that in these days are trying to redefine their legitimacy as political actors within the city, is it possible to find what is missing (voluntary or not) in public policies? Is it a dialogue between informal practices and official strategies possible? Recognizing and incorporating the self-help strategies within the city policies should be considered as step forward in urban democracy and citizen empowerment or a step backward to a disempowered "public" action that rely on the private initiatives? How these practices can be legitimized/incorporated without giving up their reformatory power?

It is worth stressing that behind similarities, the two cases presents many differences, referred to the difference in the public actor's role negotiating new forms of urban development, confronting with local/global urban issues and

[115] We can see how in both cases emerges the attempt to overcome the role of formal actors as monopolizing the "production of space" and the reductive role of the "inhabitants" as simple "end users" of the determined spaces, in order to affirm the citizens' empowerment.

conflicts, more or less "routinizable" varying between the two cities. Very relevant results to be also the different contexts of public recognition and legitimation of such radical practices: they can be considered as acceptable or not acceptable, as well as the radical interpretative frameworks can be considered as more or less commensurable by both formal and informal actors involved in the conflict. It results to be deeply embedded in what kind of ethical and technical-analytical discourses are commonly produced to define these kind of conflicts, discourses and interpretative frameworks that are often rooted in the historical and cultural background of both national and local contexts: in this case Berlin (Germany) and Rome (Italy). In any case, despite the two urban contexts differ in various aspects (political system, spatial and historical context, typology of urban conflicts, level of the citizens' participation, imposed/negotiated strategies and tactics, presence of manifest or latent interests), were chosen two case studies of (re)appropriation that are as similar as possible and differ only in the factor of interest for the research.

The analysis of the cases study has been based on a qualitative methodology of data collection:

1) Analysis of documents (see Files in appendix):

Analysis of documents: Berlin

- Books and academic articles: define the historical spatial context of Berlin and Kreuzberg
- Analysis of documents from city administration: city master plans and objectives for city development
- Self-help and DIY strategies: "Bericht uber Stadterneuerung 2000-2001" Mitteilungen des Präsidenten des Abgeordnetenhauses von Berlin Drucksache Nr. 14/821
- *Stadterneuerungsprogramme* (City Renewal programs): "Bericht uber Stadterneuerung 2000-2001" Mitteilungen des Präsidenten des Abgeordnetenhauses von Berlin Drucksache Nr. 14/821 and academic articles (Bader and Bialluch, 2009 ; Holm and Kuhn, 2011)
- Local urban regeneration programs: Quartiersmanagement – 1999-2009 in Berlin
- Urban marketing discourses: City and Municipal borough wesites and academic articles (Marcuse, 1998; Shaw, 2005; Colomb, 2012)
- Modes of local governance: (Marcuse, 1998; Häußerman, 2003; Gualini, 2008; etc.)
- Housing policies: survey provided by Andrej Holm and data from the tenants collectives
- Public estate management: analysis of documents over public rentrenchment and the *Kalkulatorische Kosten* normative for the calculation of public estate management costs for local authorities
- Law for local participation and direct democracy: leggi § 44-47 – BzVwG - District Administration
- Citizen self-empowerment: Analysis of the document "new concept Bethanien" realized by the "south-wing association" of citizens
- Strategies for definition of forms of self/co-management: GSE Ltd (no-profit Society for Urban Development, Trustee Berlin) lease contract for the management of the public property "Southwing Bethanien" and *Zwischennutzung* (temporary uses) norms (Senstadt, 2007)
- How does a society for Urban Development work in Berlin: Society for Urban Development GSE Ggmbh, trustee of Berlin (that manage the object of the case study on the behalf of the Municipal Borough Kreuzberg-Friedrichshain) website informations
- Media (newpapers news over the conflict)
- "New Yorck im Bethanien" & IZB Websites

Analysis of documents: Rome

- Books and academic articles: define the historical spatial context of Rome and the I and V Municipal Borough
- City development Plans (various city's Master Plans – *Piano Regolatore Generale*, P.R.G.)
- Policies and practices actuated for the implementation of housing policies (from subsidized housing to social housing and the privatization of the housing sector)
- Heritage management (cartolarizzazioni): privatization of local and national public companies since the 1990s on (info provided by a survey presented at the Biennale of Architecture of Venezia in 2014) and the Securization law (in Italian "Cartolarizzazioni" - Dlgs 267/00)
- Participation law: Resolution n. 101/1994 and n°57/2006 – City Administration Act
- Law for local administrations reform (Law No. 142°/2014 – previous ones in 2000, 2009, 2012)
- Urban regeneration programs for the city centre and peripheries: *Piani di Recupero* (Law No. 457/1978 art.28), *Piani di Zona* (Law 167/1962) and *Zone "O"* (adoption of variant zones "O" P.R.G. in 1978) for the recovery of illegal developed city areas
- Self-help programs (Regional Law 1998 for Self-rehabilitation)
- Resolution 206/2005 for Housing Crisis and regularization of illegal occupations
- Law for Self-construction proposed by housing movements
- Resolution 26/1995: for allocation of unused public assets for social purpose and regularization of occupied self-managed social centres

- People initiative's Law for new strategies of allocation of vacant property for public purpose from deLiberiamo Roma movement
- List of occupations provided by the document of the Committee on Safety Roma Capitale
- Media (newpapers news over the conflict)
- CSA Angelo Mai & Hosing movements / tenants associations Websites

2) Analysis of discourses of stakeholders involved in the conflict:

+ From the City/Borough government's level (budgetary problems, economic competition, urban marketing, etc)
+ From citizens' level (non-democratic planning strategies, gentrification issues, exclusion from participation, etc)
+ From radical groups' level (finanziarization of the city, reclaiming of the right to the city, need for non-profit autonomous spaces, anti-capitalist strategies experimentation, exclusion of the weaker sector of population from the city, etc)

3) Direct and participant observation:

a. Berlin's case: I have been living on the site for few weeks and participating to the place activities and (public/semi-public spaces) for several months
Participating activities:
- Studying in the semi-public library (inside the collective housing area);
- Taking contact with all the tenants of the housing project and their everyday practices;
- Participating to initiatives of the "community" (political discussions, demos, etc.);
- Participating to the "Voku" (community dinner) every Monday.

b. Rome's case: I've been participating to the activities of Angelo Mai social centre for several months, and I've been involved in the network of self-managed spaces in the city for more than one year, taking contact with many activists, occupants, participants. I've visited the housing occupations (via delle Acacie and Scuola Hertz before their evictions).
Participating in Angelo Mai initiatives after its second eviction;
Participating to public assembly with the Autonomous spaces' network, local politicians and citizens' groups (such as deLiberiamo Roma)
Participating to public assembly held by housing movements and deLiberiamo Roma in by the City over the housing issues and the public assets management issue

4) Interviews:

a. The Berlin case study's interviews:
- Some informal interviews to the people living in the house projects
- 4 semi-structured interviews to tenants/activists of the "NewYorck" project (one of them has been part of the previous Hausprojekt "Yorck 59" and another is a researcher on squatting movement in Berlin; both have been activists in the Berlin's squatter movement)
- Some informal interviews to people involved in the "Initiative future Bethanien"
- 1 semi-structured interview to a main actor in the campaign "Bethanien for all" (Simone)
- 1 semi-structured interview to one politician from district administration (Daniel Wesener, Green Party)
- 2 semi-structured interviews to activists/scholars doing action-research on the former squatter movement and the actual tenants movement based in Berlin (Andrej Holm, Armin Kuhn)

b. The Rome case study's interviews:
- Some informal interviews to inhabitants/activists living in via delle Acacie/scuola Hertz
- Some informal interview to Angelo Mai's users/workers/activists
- Informal interview to Giulia: Pina Vitale's daughter, activist of the housing movement "Comitato Popolare di Lotta per la Casa" and inhabitant of the housing squats
- Semi structured interview to Pina Vitale, founder and activist of the housing movement "Comitato popolare di lotta per la casa", involved in the Angelo Mai/altrove and via delle Acacie and Scuola Hertz occupations
- Semi structure interview to Stefano Gatti activist involved in both Angelo Mai Self-managed social centre and the Housing squatting in via delle Acacie 56, student at the university of engineer architecture
- Semi structured interview to Alessandro Medici, former city councillor and chairman of the X Borough, twice a candidate for mayor, has always been close to the movements of struggle for the house;
- Semi structured interview to Fabrizio Nuccetelli, secretary to former Public assets and housing policies Councillor under the Veltroni Mayor's city council (2011-2008);
- Semi structured interview to Carlo Cellamare: professor of urban and regional planning at the faculty of construction engineering / architecture at La Sapienza University in Rome; In his research he investigates the forms of (re) appropriation of space in the city of Rome as a form of "project-action" and forms of (re)

appropriating the city space as relational and symbolic; also actively it participated in the "Social Network Monti" in the role of technical, for the definition of proposals for reuse of the old school of Angelo Mai in Rione Monti (case study)

The comparison of two stories:

Picture 1: The former Bethanien hospital today poly-functional spaces self-managed

Picture 2: the former boarding school Angelo Mai, from which came the first experience of the autonomous space Angelo Mai (then located in another building), today abandoned

The case of Bethanien (Picture 1), the story of a public building, a former hospital, which is involved in the privatization strategies fostered by the district administration, and then appropriated by the neighbours and by a group of squatters that organize a set of strategies to opposed its sale and to force the administration of the district to negotiate the fate of the public property and the alternative proposals for its future use, contains all the issues and topics above mentioned.

The case of the Angelo Mai (Picture 2), the story of the historical school of the Monti district, and its thwarted privatization through its inclusion in the strategies of valorisation and privatization of National properties. The local community struggle against it and its temporary occupation, related to a housing movement initiative together with young precarious artists, covers many of the issues that have been mentioned briefly in this introduction.

In both cities, two “empty” spaces, two “indeterminate territories”, two public spaces with a strong symbolic value for the communities, the Bethanien and the Angelo Mai complex, located in central neighbourhoods, have been targeted by practices or (re)appropriation as these places have been seen as important spatial resources by the citizens that understand it as a “common”. These spaces are even more important for the territory in relation to the fact that these districts, respectively Kreuzberg and Monti, today suffer of increasing dynamics of spatial exclusion due to: extremely high property values (in the case of Monti) or steeply growing values (in the case of Kreuzberg); the pressure of strong speculative interests (international companies in the case of Berlin, local investors and latent actors in the case of Rome); the increasing reduction / replacement of public space, connected to sales strategies and “enhancement” of public (often high value’s) properties. In fact, in both cities, the maintenance of these historical buildings, in times of local indebtedness, is presented as unsustainable but incredibly profitable, in case of sale, while the feasibility of the proposed usages from the bottom have to constantly confront with scarcity in economic resources. The rise in house prices, that both in Kreuzberg and Monti has been affordable for a long time, and business premises, with a local economy in both neighbourhood based on little retails and craft businesses, not matched with public policies capable to affect the moderation in market prices (liberalization of the rental market and sell out of public properties), is causing a gradual replacement of the social fabric and the exclusion of the weakest sectors of the population that are displaced to more peripheral neighbourhoods, with the risk of a deep transformation of local identity. In addition, the inability to implement integrated programs of regeneration of the historical centre that identify public spatial resources necessary for the creation of local services and promotion of social mixitè, is leading to a crisis of public space as its constant reduction / replacement and its consequent undersized units (worsened by the fact that these neighbourhoods have a high concentration of tourists). These parts of the city become so more and more “exclusive” while the difficulties to access to public resources, services and public spaces increases. In these contexts, the insurgent practices of spatial reclaiming have tried to oppose the operational capacity of the actors informal to the deficiencies or ineffectiveness of the strategies proposed by formal actors. Also they raise a number of questions: is still conceivable to locate public spaces for living or for welfare in central districts affected by heavy phenomena of land valorisation and gentrification? The reduction of the public city brings with it the reduction in the space of democracy in some parts of the city? Is it possible to think about alternative forms of management of public assets to reverse the trend of reduction / replacement of public spaces and alternative forms of welfare in city’s central districts and neighbourhoods affected by strong speculative interest?

BERLIN CASE STUDY - BETHANIEN

Localization of the area: Mariannenplatz, the big green public square where the Bethanien (Address: Mariannenplatz 2, 10997 Berlin) is situated in Kreuzberg East (postcode SO36). Kreuzberg-East borders Mitte (the central historical neighborhhod) on the north-side, the river Spree on the East and Friedrichshain (which is one of the most important districts in the ex-East Berlin), Neukölln (ex-working class district) on the south and Kreuzberg-West on west-side. Kreuzberg-East is differentiated by Kreuzberg-West because it is identified as an ex-historical working class neighbourhood, in which urban underground culture has played a significant role in the local urban restructuring process, now experiencing strong processes of urban regeneration (also connected to mega-projects along the river Spree), increasing privatization of public estate and widening phenomenon of gentrification cum displacement. This neighbourhood is today central in the city's urban marketing strategies.

Space typology: Hospital since the 50s of the XIX century until 1968; since 1970s it became a public space for artistic and cultural activities (North and East wings) and location of public assets (South wing)

Building overview Total floor area: 16,000 sqm. The entire ensemble Bethany is out with its seven buildings in the monument list Berlin under the entry 09031097. The main building is facing with the two towers above the entrance portal the MariannenpIatz. The U-shaped building from the 1847 has three floors, four floors in the north wing.

Property owner: Public property since the 1970s

Reason for vacancy: In 2002, the Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg district council decided to sell the Bethanien complex for alleged financial reasons. Since then, existing institutions were forced to leave the building to provide space for the planned "International Cultural incubator"; the (temporary) use of the vacant spaces was initially denied to interested parties

Planning destination: Space for artistic and cultural activities

Reclaimed space as:	Mixed cultural, artistic, social and political use (+ alternative housing project)
Typology of users:	"Südflügel e.V." is a non-profit association that gather under its legal status all the activities settled in the south-wing of the Bethanien complex: it includes the children's' day-care Kreuzberg North group, the healer School, the Association of Theatre Alliance "Druzhba eV" and the "NewYorck emancipatory space" project. The New Yorck project includes an Hausprojekt that houses people from urban underground culture and radical political scene composed by mostly middle class Germans and few migrants (Number of dwellers in the Hausprojekt: 30 people, including 5 children, that come from Germany, Italy, Spain, Cameroon – the people stay temporary or some is permanent) and the "public space" that is attended by people of various nationality participating in political local groups (such us anti-gentrification or pro-refugee rights groups) and people from the Berlin radical political scene; the theatre, the children and medical school and the ateliers and workspaces are attended by various people, mostly from the neighbourhood
Nationality:	Various due to the international, trans-local and local dimension of the space.
Legal status of the area:	Assigned to the "Südflügel e.V." a no-profit associations (that contains all the groups settled in the Bethanien's south wing) with a 15 years lease contract releasd by the Society for Urban Development of the city of Berlin "GSE", that is entitled to manage the Bethanien property (on behalf of the district council) since 2009.
Actual use:	Cultural activities + Hausprojekt + public self-managed space + public garden + kindergarten + theatre and alternative medicine school + workspaces and ateliers for artists
Conflicts over Bethanien due to:	• The exclusion of citizens from the participation in planning the future destination of big public spaces and in decisions connected with public expenditure; • Urban regeneration strategies and the sell-out of public housing estate fostering gentrification in the inner city districts (increasing in forced eviction due to rental arreas); • The rhetoric of city's bankruptcy and the *Kalkulatorische Konsten*; • Opposition to reduction/privatization and displacement of public facilities and the commodification/marketization of socio-cultural spaces; • The defence of Berlin's identity and the symbolic dimension connected with spaces considered as "commons" within the city
Citizens' claims:	• Access abandoned spaces in the economically inaccessible inner city; • Reclaim space for participation, debates and organisation of political initiatives; • Permit citizen empowerment in self-management and co-production of public spaces and services to activate big abandoned areas, so to take them away from uncontrolled private speculation; • Provide a solution for affordable housing in inner city and propose alternative forms of collective living; • Self-produce cultural, artistic, social and political activities and partly self-entrepreneurial purposes; • The set of a round-table to negotiate the alternatives for a more economic and socially sustainable management of Bethanien space
Stakeholders involved in the conflict:	• Senate of Berlin • District of Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg • IZB Initiative • Squatters of the Yorck59 Hausprojekt

	• Citizens organizations • Cultural, artistic and social activities working in the Bethanien complex • Neighbours
Strategies adopted by informal actors:	• Squatting • Temporary (re)appropriation of space • Referendum petition • Drafting a document containing proposals for alternative management of public property based on citizen empowerment (analysis of problems for sustainable management of public properties, individuation of alternative strategies for costs' management, legal structure, organizational structure, etc.) • Forcing the participation process to be more inclusive (enabling a big number of people to participate to round-tables) and pushing for confrontation on radical issues (such as the squatting issue) that have fostered the experimentation of an "agonistic pluralism" approach
Strategies adopted by formal actors:	• Regulation for citizens' participation and direct democracy • Set of round-tables for conflict resolution and negotiation of bottom-up proposals • Individuation and experimentation of a form of alternative management of public assets to question the policy of privatization and empower citizenship

Timeline of the conflict

1848 The Bethanien was founded in 1843 by King Friedrich Wilhelm IV, and established as Deaconess Hospital in the years 1845-47.

1961 The German Democratic Republic constructs the Wall that separates East and West Berlin.

1963 Starts the first Urban Renewal program: Kottbusser Tor area, including Mariannenplatz where Bethanien complex is situated, is the largest of the ten Berlin's redevelopment areas.

1966 The number of patients and the nuns from the Eastern part is dramatically reduced. The hospital is insolvent.

1968 Bethanien hospital is planned to be closed and its area redeveloped. Because of the closure of the hospital the City plans a large-scale demolition and redevelopment of the area to host a public housing stock.

1969 The demolition is prevented by the protest campaign "struggle for Bethanien" ("Kampf um Bethanien"), made through the opposition of community groups and preservationists and the use of strategic site occupation.

1970 The Bethanien became City property. The management of the building is assigned to a few local based no-profit organisations organising cultural and arts activities, and providing services to the community.

1971 The student movement claiming for a space for alternative cultural forms and collective housing (*Hausprojekt*) occupy the *Marta Maria Haus*, the dormitory of the nurses-nuns (separated from the complex and situated on the West of the green area surrounding the main building). The occupation is named *Georg-Von-Rauch-Haus* (in memory of the anarchist Georg Von Rauch member of the Berlin student movement who was mortally hit in the head during a shootout with the police few days before).

1972 The Georg-Von-Rauch-Haus squat enter into an agreement with the local administration and the building is regularized as "youth hostel" (Youth house project).

1974 2005 The South wing of the Bethanien complex is used to host services for the community (a big job centre placed in the 1st and 2nd floor of the building, a nursery, a kindergarten, a public gym, etc.).

2002 The district of Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg plans to sell the Bethanien to a private investor and existing institutions are forced to leave the building to provide space for the planned "International Cultural incubator" ("Internationale Kulturelle Griinderzentrum").

2005 In 2005, Senator of finance Thilo Sarrazin introduces "*Kalkulatorische Kosten*" requiring local governments to pay huge "indirect" costs (unsustainable if the properties are underutilized or vacant) on public property under their jurisdiction.

2005 After 30 years the job centre is closed and the three floors of the South wing remain vacant (in the previous years, other public services for the district were shut down, such as the Turkish-German library). The local administration's willingness to privatize the building become public.

2005 A group of residents of the district start make public the plan for imminent privatization of the area and star to organize forms of protest against the City plans for the development of the area.

2005 The three floors left empty of the Bethanien South wing are squatted. This happens just a few days after the violent eviction of one historical Hausprojekt, situated in West Kreuzberg, Yorckstrasse 59. The people living in the "Yorck 59" squatted the vacant South wing of the Bethanien and renamed the space "NewYorck in Bethanien".

2005 2006 The neighbours, community groups and squatters starts the "*Bethanien für alle"* (Bethanien for all) campaign. They gather signatures for a local referendum to stop the privatisation of the Bethanien. The organisation gathering all campaign supporters is named Initiative Zukunft Bethanien (Initiative for the future Bethanien) and its aim is to draw up alternative proposals for the future public development of the building. The IZB successfully gather 14,000 signatures.

2006 The District Council of Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg (BVV) decides not to call the referendum but rather to start a negotiation in order to find a solution with the citizens involved in the campaign "Bethanien fur alle" and the squatters, listening to their proposals.

2008 Since spring 2008, a group of local residents set up a neighbourhood garden in the Bethanien garden. After they were actively engaging a discussion about the transformation of the Bethanien park's free areas, the district council promised to them 2100 square meters of green space behind the Bethanien North Wing. The established gardens association eV started a negotiation for a cooperation agreement with the district office.

2009 The not-for-profit making GSE gGmbH (a no profit Society for Urban Development, Trustee of Berlin) becomes the owner and managing body of the building – as to lift the administration of the "indirect" costs imposed on public properties.

2009 The not-for-profit association *Südflügel e.V.* (Bethanien South-wing) is set up; it consists of all the entities that manage autonomously the South wing ("NewYorck" public space, theatre, nursery, school of alternative medicine, artist workshops). The Bethanien-Südflügel association stipulates an agreement with GSE to obtain the official management of the South wing (the agreement states that the Südflügel e.V. has to carry out the maintenance to the building at its own expenses, enhance the building to make it comply with current regulations and pay a rent to GSE).

1. INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORICAL AND SPATIAL CONTEXT

BETHANIEN's STORY

The Bethanien complex is a big public space surrounded by a public park placed in the centre of *Mariannenplatz* (Marianne square), situated in Kreuzberg East side (postcode SO36). Kreuzberg is today part of the combined Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg borough (since 2001). It is the smallest district of Berlin, but also the most populous and the most multicultural as well as one of its the best-known areas. Kreuzberg, colloquially also known as X-Berg, is often described as consisting of two distinctive parts: the *Östliches Kreuzberg* (post code SO36), that means the East side Kreuzberg, which has always been known as a melting pot of immigrants, fringe groups, students, alternative artists and members of the alternative scene and for its nightlife, its leftist politics and alternative spaces; and the *Westliches Kreuzberg* (post code SW61), West Kreuzberg, todays more characterized by a middle class population and a more family friendly environment than the East side, branded as the bohemian-alternative wild side of the city. Kreuzberg-East borders Mitte (the central historical neighbourhood and part of the former East Berlin) on the north-side, the river Spree on the East and Friedrichshain (part of the former East Berlin), Neukölln (ex-working class district) on the south and Kreuzberg-West on west-side. The story of the Bethanien complex is deeply intertwined with the historical urban development and the urban regeneration processes as well as urban conflicts that regarded Kreuzberg. Considering the amount of interesting references on the urban development of the area occurred in the last fifty years, it is possible to proceed through a zoom-in to the analysis of the top-down Vs Bottom-up policies and practice developed respectively in the urban development of Kreuzberg SO36, Mariannenplatz, the Bethanien complex and finally the self-managed south wing of the complex, which is the case study. It is worth to quote the Borough's presentation on "Visit Berlin" website 2014: «Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg is set in the heart of Berlin, on either side of the River Spree, on the border between east and west. It is one of Berlin's most interesting and fascinating districts. You'll experience urban buzz, vibrancy and diversity here at every turn. The streets and buildings have retained their very special atmosphere».

1.1 The formation of Kreuzberg: industrialization, *Miethaus* and its historical geography of protest

FIG. 1.1. VIEW OF MIETSKASERNEN IN THE NEUKÖLLN DISTRICT OF BERLIN, 1919. PHOTO: BPK, BERLIN / LUFTBILD BERLIN GMBH / ART RESOURCE, NEW YORK.

In contrast to many other areas of Berlin, which were villages before their integration into Berlin, Kreuzberg has a rather short history considering that it was formed only when the "Greater Berlin Act" (*Groß-Berlin-Gesetz*), on 1st October 1920, provided for the incorporation of suburbs and the reorganisation of Berlin into twenty boroughs (Brücker et al., 1994). Except for its northernmost part, the neighbourhood Friedrichstadt (established in the end of the 17th century), today's "Kreuzberg[116]" was a very rural place until the 19th century. This changed when, in the 1860s, industrialization caused Berlin to grow rapidly. In 1920, by annexing large neighbouring towns the "Greater Berlin" was created transforming the city in the third largest one in the world, raising the total land area from 22.8 to 340 square miles, and the total population, that in 1871 numbered 932.000 and in 1900 2.7 million, to 4 million (Pugh, 2014, 28). Starting from the 1870s to the 1890s, since a large numbers of people moved to Berlin to work in factories, starting from 1970s riots over the provision of housing occurred. In the framework of the need for housing for a rapidly growing working class population and in the absence of a real city building regulation, since the James Hobrecht's plan (1862) not provided any provision for 'what was or not built on the privately owned land that the streets traversed', a land speculation boom ensued as landowners sought to maximise windfall profits (Vasudevan, 2011, 292).

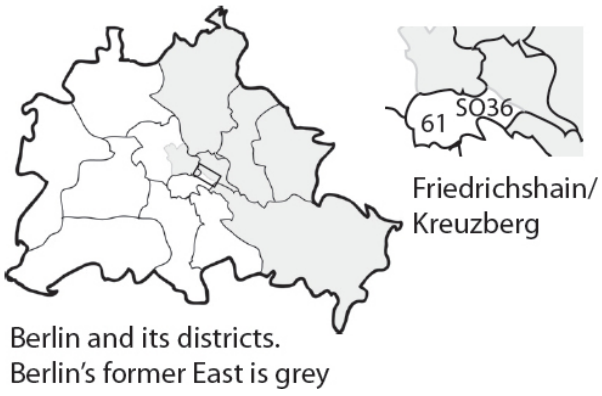
Many of Kreuzberg's buildings originate from that time in consequence of the building of extensive housing, such as the *Miethaus* (tenement house) or *Mietskasernen* – exploiting the dire needs of the poor, with widespread land speculation. «The blocks were densely built up with the Mietskasernen, or "rental barracks", for which Berlin would become infamous (Matzerath, 1984). Several Mietskasernen, comprising large multistory apartment blocks arranged around comparatively small interior courtyards (*Höfe*), occupied one block. More prestigious accommodation was located in

[116] The four *Friedrichsvorstadt*, *Friedrichstadt*, *Luisenstadt* and *Tempelhofer Vorstadt* were merged into the new VI borough of Berlin, named firstly *Hallesches Tor* and then renamed after the homonymous hill Kreuzberg, literally meaning "cross hill" (Wille, 1986).

front sections of the Mietskasernen nearest the street, while less desirable apartments were located toward the interior of the block, accessible only by walking through the linked courtyards.» (Pugh, 2014, 20). Soon, the Mietskasernen became hopelessly overcrowded causing the strikes over rising rents in the early 1930s. «In the winter, sickness and death were rampant, as many of the apartments did not have heating of any kind. […] The unique development of Berlin's built environment also helped to create the impression that the city was driven more by asset accumulation than social or aesthetic concerns, since the physical form of the city was a result of real estate speculation rather than a systematically implemented urban plan. In the ironically entitled The Most Beautiful City in the World, written in 1899 by the industrial and native Berliner Walter Rathenau, the author lamented this favouring of profit over planning.» (Ibid, 2014, 21).

The deleterious effects of the rapid growing in industrialization and in population contributed to create the idea that Berlin was a city of slums, a politically active working class, and unchecked speculation and massive wealth since the beginning of the twentieth century (Ibid, 2014). After the end of the IIWW, due to the destructions that were provoked on the city's fabric and the imperative posed by the urban regeneration programs, the deep transformation of the historically industrial and worker's district was strongly implemented, like no other, and shows upon itself the effects of urban development in Berlin[117]. In fact it passed through several stages of transformation of his social and spatial geographies, and of its physical spatial and architectural identity that became to be strongly interwoven with the political-economic and social transformations that occurred in the neighbourhood since the 1960s on. We will see how the urban regeneration will be strongly related to the biography of the Berliner Mietshaus that has been itself «intimately tied to successive rounds of creative destruction from at least the middle of the nineteenth century» (Vasudevan, 2011, 292). Moreover, we will see how squatting marked just the last episode in the social life of a particular architectural form, the Berliner Mietshaus or tenement house that, from riots over the provision of housing in the 1870s to widespread strikes over rising rents in the early 1930s to the struggles opposing their demolition during the 1960s-70s, has carried with it a "sedimented historical geography of protest" (Kowalczuk 1992).

1.2 *Kreuzberg Mischung* and the cultural production in Berlin's struggle for identity during the Cold War



"East and West Berlin" (Bader, Bialluch, 2009)

Berlin wall in Kreuzberg

After the war ends on 8 May 1945, much of Berlin was nothing but rubble: 600,000 apartments had been destroyed, and only 2.8 million of the city's original population of 4.3 million still lived in the city. In accordance with an agreement signed by the Allies, the city was divided into four sectors and administered jointly by the occupying powers, the United States of America, Great Britain, France, and the Soviet Union. Between 1946 and 1949 the growing conflicts of interest between the victorious powers with regard to the post-war order in Europe in general and Germany in particular put an end to the Allies' joint administration of the city so that Berlin becomes a Cold War hotspot[118]. When the German Democratic Republic (GDR) is founded in the Soviet sector on 7 October 1949, East Berlin becomes its capital and in the years that follow, the two halves of the city become intricately linked with the social systems of their respective state governments. In the framework of separation between East and West Berlin, Kreuzberg neighbourhood, despite its centrality, became a peripheral area in West Berlin and maintained this condition until the fall of the Wall. Its marginality is made visible by its actually exclusion from most of the urban planning projects of the time, as described in the Hauptstadt Berlin competition of 1957 (Sheridan, 2007).

After the construction of the wall in 1961, that transformed West Berlin in an "island" inside the German Democratic Republic (GDR), its marginal dimension was further worsened. As a matter of fact, «Kreuzberg SO 36 became a pocket

[117] Volker Von Tiedmann FBP (edited by), bürgerbeteiligung bei der Stadterneuerung, p.7
[118] Basic information are taken by the Berlin official website (http://www.berlin.de/berlin-im-ueberblick/geschichte/1945.en.html).

extending into the East, bounded on three sides by the Berlin Wall» (Bader, Bialluch, 2005, 93) and due to its isolation and the bad housing conditions in the area, «many skilled workers started to leave the former working-class district of Kreuzberg in order to move to large modernist suburban housing estates […]» (Bader, Bialluch, 2005, 94). In fact, its marginality was worsened by the large presence of abandoned buildings and lack of maintenance of the "survived" ones. Progressively, its population of German working-class was replaced by the city's poor, both native and immigrant, that came to inhabit the neighbourhood. Precarious workers, seasonal Turkish workers, radical political activists, hippies, students, unemployed people and artists became the local population and contributed to the definition of the so called "*Kreuzberg Mischung"* (Kreuzberg mix) referring both to the Kreuzberg's social fabric and to the peculiar mix in commercial and residential activities (Rada, 1997, 140). In fact, «(t)he on-going departure of German residents and business as well as the influx of people from other countries made for a unique West Berlin milieu. […] With the construction of the wall, Berlin became a large village, as the locals saw it themselves. West Berlin was open non-stop, as bars were allowed to operate all night. It was a city "that never goes bed", as the advertisement euphorically billed it, taking a page from New York City. […] West Berlin meant not only tight squeeze, but also the opportunity to try new things.» (Ibid, 2012, 85). The big presence of "cheap, low quality" old housing stock have been a prime target for immigrants, mostly *Gastarbeiter* ("Guest workers") and young people coming to Berlin after its division during the 1960s, attracted by favourable housing situation, due to: vacancy; the big flow of subsidies flowing into the West Berlin[119]; short-time very affordable leases of many old properties on the point to be destroyed and replaced by new constructions. In fact, the cheap living opportunities and the ample space, left behind by the exodus of a considerable chunk of the Berlin populace, was decisive for the settlement in the area both of the city poor and for the development of politically and socially alternative milieus in the city (Störve, 2012, 85). On the other side, the Municipally, that owned and subsidized housing companies for the creation of many public housing stocks, undertook the strategy to buy up properties from independent landlords for demolition and reconstruction, while many owners of historic buildings included in the areas for urban renewal interventions, deliberately let them crumble in order to torn them down and build new, more profitable ones.

After the IIWW, the subsidies flowing into the West Berlin enabled both the implementation of the urban renewal strategies, the construction of big stock of subsidized housing and the "rental control" policies, which made investments unattractive, regulating Kreuzberg's housing rents. The Federal Republic of Germany's (*Bundesrepublik Deutschland* or BRD) subsidies were intended to stop the constant decline of German residents in West Berlin. In fact, «the World War II and the cold war had successfully diluted the old Berlin and left to the west a weakedned "Westberlin" without a centre and much of its pre-war building stock, but with a steadly decreasing population» (Miller, 1993). This subsidies were including the *Soforthilfe* (immediate aid), which already amounted to 500 million marks in 1961, and the 1962 Berlin Aid Act, which lowered taxes for business that remained in the city (Störve, 2012, 81), as well as, after 1961, the Federal Republic, financed the so-called "jitters premium" (*Ziterpraemie*) through Subsidy Act of 1971, paying relocation expenses for those West Germans willing to move to West Berlin, and, to compensate West Berliners for living in the embattled city – the Ziterpremie was discontinued in 1994 - (Pugh, 2014, 84). The size of State's helps gives us some elements to understand why the city became so attractive in those years for young people and immigrants' families. In Kreuzberg the housing was of low quality, but cheap, which made the borough a prime target for immigrants coming to Germany (and Berlin). Störve provides some important information to understand the historical reasons for the large concentration of immigrants, mainly Turks, in the Kreuzberg district: «Though only about 20.000 foreigners lived in West Berlin in 1961, by the end of the 1970s, this number had multiplied by a factor of ten. By 1989 another 100.000 had arrived, so that by the reunification, around 300.000 foreigners were living in West Berlin. The main group numbering 128.000 foreigners was composed of Turkish immigrants (2008: 111.300), who came to Berlin's *Gastarbeiter* (guest workers) until a recruitment ban on foreign workers was imposed in 1973. They preferred to move into the city districts largely abandoned by their former German inhabitants. These included, first and foremost the neighborhoods situated directly next the wall, such as Kreuzberg, Neukölln, and Wedding, as well as Spandau» (Ibid., 2012, 81). By 2008, the foreign population in Kreuzberg still comprised 44 per cent Turks (SenStadt data). «The influx of foreigners into West Berlin had a lasting impact on the city. After the recruitment ban in 1973, many "gest workers" understandably sent for their partners and children to come live with them in Germany. […] Some streets gradually turned into their own cultural biotypes. While on the one hand they enriched the city, on the other they also brought social problems with them. Visas for family members largely stopped being issued in the early 1980s. From that time on, immigrants to West Berlin were primarily refugees from war zones and crisis areas who sometimes received permanent residency.» (Ibid., 2012, 81).

The same subsidies dispensed by the State (*Bund*) to West Berlin financed also the two important International Expositions, IBA [120] 1957 and IBA 1987, as well as enabled the implementation of the First and Second *Stadterneuerungsprogramme* (See file 2 in appendix) - "City Renewal programs", March 18, 1963, and November 26,

[119] Central for many social phenomena that characterized West Berlin have been its specific geography. In fact, after the 1961, West Berlin became as an "island" within the former German Democratic Republic surrounded by the Berlin Wall. It turned the city, and in particular the south eastern part of Kreuzberg (known as SO 36), into a peripheral zone.

[120] Interbau was a housing development, constructed as part of the 1957 International Building Exhibition (IBA '57) in the Hansaviertel area of West Berlin. «Gropius, Aalto, Niemeyer, Baumgarten, and Diittmann were among the architects selected to rebuild the western part of Berlin's central district and metropolitan age, both destroyed in World War II.» (Miller, 1993, 202-204).

1974, respectively -. Mostly the two competitions, but also the set of urban renewal programs, «recounts the role of cultural production in Berlin's struggle for identity during the Cold War rather than the role of architecture in forging new directions for housing.» (Miller, 1993, 204). Moreover, the IBA's competitions represented the deliberate effort at image an identity of West Berlin architecture and planning in the face of simultaneous efforts to redevelop the centre of East Berlin into the new Capital of the German Democratic Republic (Ibid., 1993, 204; Pugh, 2014, 28). The large renovation projects of the fifties and the sixties, though, started producing social distress between Kreuzberg inhabitants, since these programs were increasingly addressing the "cheap but low quality housing", crudely razing and substituting it by new decontextualized and less affordable new public housing stocks, with the result of provoking periodic radical evictions of tenants. These drastic renovations took place mostly in workers' neighbourhoods such as Neukölln, Wedding, and especially Kreuzberg. Inspired by American models[121], the basic principles for the first Berlin's urban renewal interventions and modernist urban development, seen politics and local professionals intend rehabilitation as an "top-down" non-negotiated long-term process in which the old was replaced by the new[122]; instead a negotiated process based on enhancing and preserving pre-war city wasn't conceived yet in the dominant renewal capitalist culture. In this framework, the *Mietskasernen's* neighborhoods of the Wilhelmine era become clear objective of abatement programs and reconstruction on a large scale. «(T)his policy of *Kahlschlag-*[123] or *Flächensanierung* (clear-cut or area renovation) was never designed to be especially cost effective and, if anything, only exacerbated an existing housing crisis through rampant speculation and local corruption.» (Vasudevan, 2011, 290). This brutal approach for the construction of subsidized housing was intended to address "future middle class" needs rather than to produce better housing conditions for city's poor, since the rents in the new-built social housing were higher than those of the low-standard housing dating from the period of industrialization. « This policy led to a housing shortage as the new construction did not keep up with the vacating of the tenants (Berger, 1987).» (Bader and Bialluch, 2005, 95). Moreover, despite the discursive promotion of these strategies these approaches weren't really relating to the opportunity to «correct the mistake of the past urban plans, in particular the infamous 1862 Hobrecht Plan and the Mietskasernen it had inadvertently produced.» (Pugh, 2014, 31). More in general, West Berlin's urban renewal programs, especially in the first phase, were deeply tied to the interests of a building industry still largely concentrated in the construction of large residential suburbs - the Märkisches Viertel, the Gropiusstadt, the Falkenhagener-Feld (Trebbi, 1978). As in many other western capitalist cities that were implementing the same strategies in the same historical period, the economic sustainability of the approach based on the demolition and reconstruction of entire parts of the city was thus guaranteed by the transfer of population from central districts of the city: the emptying of the centre was connected to the population of the new residential districts (Bodenschatz, 1987).

According to Pugh in the book *The Berlin Wall and the Urban Space and Experience of East and West Berlin*, conversely from the West, the East Berlin's urban planning and propaganda, especially in the first phase, were based on the "principles of the organic", on the "regard for the historical origins of the city's structure", the opposition against modern architectural style and urban development, based on the car's myth and on the paradigm of the suburban development fuelling the construction industry, but shared with the West the top-down imposition of urban transformation strategies, as well as the discursive dimension targeting such interventions as an occasion to correct "the mistakes of these past plans": «in contrast to the Charter of Athens, the Sixteen Principles (*Sechzehn Grundsaetze des Staedtebaues*) rejected zoning and cautioned against allowing too much vehicle traffic in the inner-city area […]. The Sixteen Principles also rejected the notion of turning the modern metropolis into a "garden city". Instead, the principles prescribed reconstruction that incorporated aspects of the city's past development, its authors arguing. […] "The new Berlin will grow out of the old Berlin".[124]» (Ibid., 2014, 37-38). This aesthetic of the apartment block and the methods of its production, however, changed significantly within the SED[125]'s more aggressive embrace of prefabricated building methods beginning in the mid-1950s. It was due to the urgent need for economic in order to compete with the Federal Republic. «To achieve these goals, the party adopted policies and practices of "scientific-technological rationalisation", which meant increasing efficiency thorough standardization and industrialization of production. […] The type of prefabricated building that came to be known as the *Plattenbau* was a result of this shift to rationalized production process.» (Ibid., 2014, 118).

The separation between West and East Berlin, reflected also by the urban planning approaches and goals, produced the effect to frozen the process of suburbanization at the 1939 since the West Berlin was surrounded by the Wall while the East Berlin followed a socialist urban policy which aim was a compact city, consisting of high-rise buildings –

[121] Among American cities the reference model is Chicago, "comparable in magnitude to the Gross-Berlin", where for nearly a decade obsolete buildings are replaced with new ones at the rate of 3,550 a year, "see. Rolf Schwendler, Senator für Bau- und Wohnungswesen, untitled, in: SenBauWohn (edited by), *Stadterneuerung in Berlin (1. Bericht der Stadterneuerung),* Berlin 1964, p.3.
[122] Ivi, p.2.
[123] See, Harald Bodenschatz, *Platz frei fur das Neue Berlin*…, p.9.
[124] «Unlike modernist buildings in which, officials argued, the use of decorative elements was avoided in order to maximize profit, these buildings would feature elaborate embellishment and thereby create luxurious "dwelling places" (Wohnpalaeste) for the working class. Interiors were to be outfitted with furnishing based on earlier traditions that provided proofs of the GDR's commitment not only to native culture and domestic comfort of the working class but also to handicraft approaches that honoured the labour, as opposed to an industrialized aesthetic that symbolized the workers' subjugation to or replacement by the machine.» (Pugh, 2014, 38).
[125] SED stands for *Sozialistische Einheitpartei Deutschlands*: it was the German Socialist Party that governed East Berlin. The SED was created through the forced union of Germany's Socialist Democratic and Communist Parties.

implemented as large housing estates on the edge of the city while preserving the old city. While all the other Western metropolitan areas, in those decades, changed the urban landscape because of the boom in suburbanisation, Berlin maintained a sharp difference between the city and the countryside. (Haussermann, 2003). The peculiar spatial dimension that Berlin experienced between 1945 and 1990 is then the result of the absence of cooperation in national development or planning between West Berlin and its surrounding because of the Iron Curtain. Despite significant economic gains, however, the GDR remained economically less developed of the Federal Republic's, and, it became evident after the fall of the Wall. However, it is worth stressing how «(l)ike *Heimat*, the home in post-war divided Germany was an important venue representing and establishing East versus West German identity, a physical and symbolic space wherein each country's economic, political, cultural and social values intertwined and took visual form.» (Ibid., 2014, 118).

1.3 Kreuzberg and the evolutionary relationship between urban renewal programs and urban conflicts

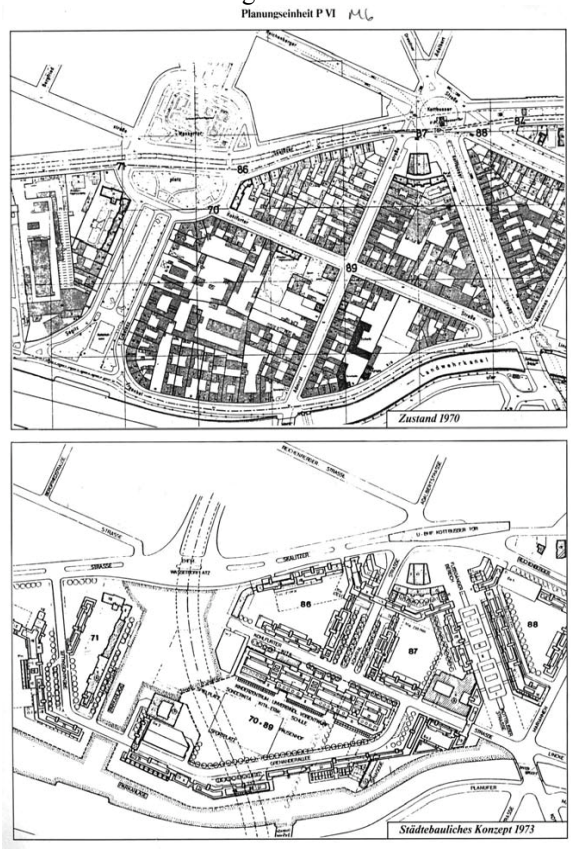
The transformation of Kreuzberg neighbourhood during 1950s-1960s urban renewal interventions: the *Neu Kreuzberg Zentrum*

Under the mayor Willy Brandt[126] city council (Social Democratic Party) started the 1963's urban renewal program that individuated six area of intervention: the area of Kottbusser Tor (in Kreuzberg East So36 area) was the largest of the ten Berlin's redevelopment areas (today considered as a "museum of planning and architectural experimentations" of the 1960s and 1970s[127]). The process of population displacement that had occurred in the first interventions experienced in this area, since the 1950s, was even accelerated by the extensive redevelopment plans of 1963. In the First phase, called "Areal renovation" (*Flächensanierung*), between 1965-1975, the Kottbusser Tor's renewal area was divided in eleven "Planning units" (*Planungseinheiten*, renamed "P"): from PI to PXI, different concepts, restructuring and developments were implemented by Berlin's large municipal housing companies (*städtische Wohnungsbaugesellschaften* [128]) commissioned as redevelopment agencies in the preparation and implementation of renewal. Initially, the area was included in *Stadterneuerungsprogram* (1963) because of the new road system plan launched in 1956 and adopted by the City Plan (*Flächennutzungsplan*) in 1965, which involved the construction of heavy traffic roads system and highways for West Berlin, including the *Südtangente,* the highway that would have provoked the gut of a consistent part of Kreuzberg SO36 (the Orianenstrasse city block), crossing the Kottbusser Tor Urban Renewal area. It served to number the areas of intervention starting from the most remote from the project. The first interventions on the first renovation "unit" (PI) was based on a top-down planning initiative providing the complete demolition of the existing building fabric, and the construction of buildings that combine economy of means and profitability. It reflected the operational method for the first Berlin's urban renovations that did not included any kind of dialogue between construction companies and inhabitants. Moreover, the actuation of such projects would have also contributed to the disarticulation of the functional admixture (*Kreuzberg Mischung*), distinctive feature of the pre-war district's urban fabric, given by the dense mix of residential and business activities replaced by complex macro areas[129].

This approach was defined the so called *Berliner Automotismus*: the aim was to purchase the land and buildings (up to 1987 about 80%), to proceed with the clearance of the apartments and the displacement ("*Umsetzung"*) of tenants and traders, to implement the demolition of almost all houses and build new constructions on the pattern of large housing estates of western cities' outskirts. The pro-development lobby preoccupied with "shifting margins of profitability and revalorisation" (Sheridan 2007, 101; Blomley 2004, 79), the *städtische Wohnungsbaugesellschaften* acted as potential leaders of the renewal projects and acted through the purchasing of the buildings of an area through mediators, transferring their management to suspicious administrative companies, filling the old property of city's poor coming from the blocks under rehabilitation, achieving the result to present these old blocks as no more suitable for modernization and listed to be torn down. «In this way, the designers, the bulldozers, the real estate economy had a lot of work to do and even the inhabitants, old and new, had a lot to do struggling with new rentals in an area of the city that had become alien to them. Even after the promulgation of the new StBauFG[130], urban renewal remains the best tool to meet the needs of all - with the exception of the inhabitants.» (Duntze, 1975, 89). Typical examples is the already mentioned planning unit I on Wassertorplatz and the construction of a new Kreuzberg centre – *Neue Kreuzberg*

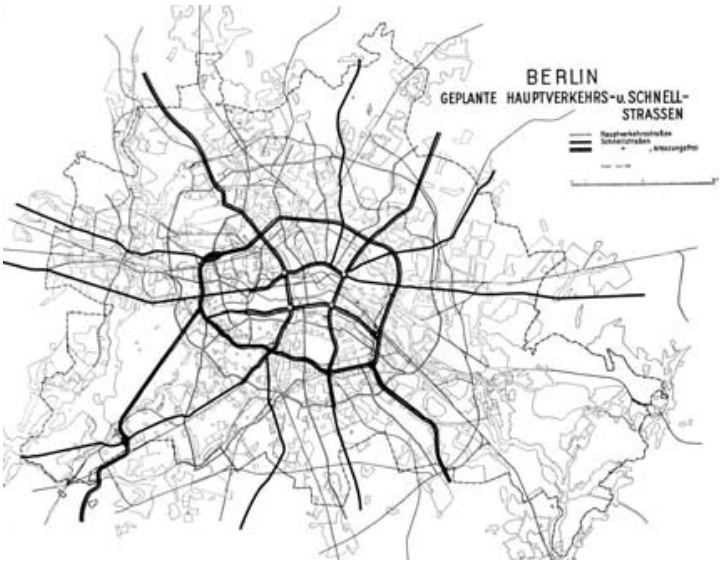
[126] Willy Brandt was Governing Mayor of West Berlin between 1957 an 1966.
[127] Bauaustellung Berlin GmbH Stadterneuerung, *Stadterneuerung Luisenstadt…*, p.16.
[128] Berlin städtische Wohnungsbaugesellschaften: BEWOGE, GEWOBAG, GSW, GSG.
[129] Ivi., p.29.
[130] StBauFG is for *Städtebauförderungsgesetz,* the national legislation to support urban regeneration, launched in 1971.

Zentrum, "NKZ" – in 1974, that has been a controversial project since the beginning: «Despite attempts by local citizens to promote alternative proposals for the renovation of existing living spaces, these were more often than not rejected by the local council. A major flashpoint developed around plans for the construction of the Neue Kreuzberger Zentrum (NKZ) at Kottbuser Tor, a large-scale housing development which was built between 1969 and 1974 and which initially included plans for the demolition of 90 per cent of the surrounding buildings. While local inhabitants forced city administrators to set up a "representative tenants' council", participatory planning models were largely ignored and much of the existing housing stock in the area was demolished according to the original plan (Heyden and Schaber, 2008, 139)» (Vasudevan, 2011, 290-291). These principles for site remediation are particularly evident in the plan for the redevelopment area of southern Kreuzberg (abbreviation SKS, *Sanierungsgebiet Kreuzberg-Süd*), the first that have been realized. After the demolition of the old buildings, the large area was completely transformed by new roads' system, residential towers and other facilities. Since implementing the major objects took a long time, the plans and goals had been transformed over the years and the projects implemented later in other blocks of the urban regeneration area of Kottbusser Tor (such as PVI, see image), testify to the fracture that was creeping into the monolithic nature of the urban renewal mechanism from the end of the 1960s. The result is a mixture of different, almost incoherent designs both in the first intervention areas and in the district as a whole.



Plan for the unit PVI (bottom) in comparison with the existing urban structure (above) [131]

The plan of urban highways at the Oranienplatz[133]



The double ring of urban highways planned for the city after the war[132] (on the bottom-right) >

Finally, in 1971 - after more than a decade discussing these matters - the launch of national legislation to support the urban renewal (*Städtebauförderungsgesetz*, called StBauFG) posed, for the first time, a greater attention over the social problem issues and slowly triggered a more intense involvement of tenants in the projects. To affect this change were two elements: the signature, in 1971, of the *Vier-Mächte-Abkommen* (Pact between the Four Powers occupying) that involves a significant change for for the city in terms of its legal and "psychological" status (as West Berlin loses its status as a "frontier town" and is once again in search of its own identity); the construction industry, since 1973, has been dramatically affected by the international economic crisis, and it constituted the second major contributing cause of the change to planning approach.

With the sign of the Pact, confirming the diplomatic isolation of the city from the surrounding countryside, West Berlin had to revise their plans in relation to its walled borders and a particularly pessimistic population forecasts: the theme of

[131] (Bauausstellung BERLIN GMBH-AG STADTERNEUERUNG, Stadterneuerung Luisenstad, p. 22).
[132] Ewald Weitz, Interbau Berlin 1957 - Internationale Bauausstellung im Berliner Hansa district, Berlin 1957, p. 21.
[133] See. IBA 1987 (eds), Leitfaden - Projekte, Daten, Geschichte, Berlin 1984, p. 100.

the loss of attractiveness of the city and the consequent reduction in revenue tax and gross domestic product has widely influenced the politics of the '70s prompting Berliners politicians and administrators to seek for solutions capable to "increase the power of attraction of Berlin on its inhabitants and visitors".[134] In connection with the crisis of the construction industry, many of the landmarks, that had driven post-war city development plans, have been made the subject of a drastic revision. In fact, between 1975 and 1976 the Senate has permanently renounced all projects of suburban settlement and has greatly reduced the road plan in force since 1956[135]. In addition, the oil crisis, along with the penetration of new cultural, such as the theory of the "end of growth" touted by the Club of Roma (Meadows et al., 1972), exploded inside the walled city, have contributed to the consumption of the myth of the car, that had governed in turn the paradigm of suburban development. Although forecasts for the drastic decrease in population were wrong, the concerns of the Berlin Senate for the growing imbalances within the social fabric were rather more well-founded.

The most central districts of the city were the places that arouse most concern both for the quality of housing and constructions steadily deteriorating, both for the strictly demographic dynamics, and finally for the social and economic fabric conditions. Within these districts are identified the "most disadvantaged areas" in which are particularly concentrated "foreign workers and their families", but also students and people of German nationality with low-income levels. By contrast, "other groups of inhabitants move in large numbers to the outer neighbourhoods."[136] Berlin politics identified these central districts - including Kreuzberg – as the "focus" for its future action, which will shift significantly "on the modernization and renovation of the existing" [137] (Cutolo, 2012, 5). "Given these changed conditions and the conclusion of the reconstruction phase (*Wiederaufbauphase*), strongly characterized by the satisfaction of housing and infrastructure demand in a quantitative sense, also the main tasks of spatial planning have changed" (Senbauwohn, 1976, 17): from these tasks emerges the need for "a comparison with the existing urban fabric according to qualitative criterions", by which to reverse the decay process involving the central districts and ensure relatively quickly verifiable solutions" (Ibid., 1976).

The transition to the development of certain "integrated planning tools" corresponded to trends that belong to a broader urban debate of those years[138], but in Berlin the reflections over the mentioned new statements seem to have been particularly significant precisely because of its peculiar spatial and temporal "provisional" conditions. In this vein, the new integrated planning tools interpreted the need to specify the planning process for the 1970s' Berlin in a reduced dimensional and temporal as well as more controllable scale (Bodenschatz, 1989, 199-209). The document presenting the "Guidelines of Urban Development" - *Leitlinien für die Stadtentwicklung*, 1977 - as well as underlining the growing importance of the central districts and the priority given to the rehabilitation of the existing fabric, alongside traditional planning levels introduced two new regulatory instruments: the *Bereichsentwicklungsplanung* (plans BEP), with the goal of "bring in agreement the different objectives at regional and local levels", drawing inspiration from the analysis of individual districts' internal areas to define limited period of time's developments (Senbauwohn, 1976, 5); the *Räumlisches Entwicklungsmodell* (REM), who intend to remedy the lack of a general guidelines framework, which became necessary to provide response to the recent issues emerged and to changes in the development of West Berlin. REM also constituted "an important prerequisite to the participation of citizens" (Ibid., 1976), which was also increasingly perceived as an element of essential legitimacy in the age of planning crisis - element that emerges strongly in the IBA-Altbau. As stated in the *"West-Berlin - Geschichte der Stadterneuerungspolitik"* ("West Berlin - History of urban renewal policy") first paragraph: «the law should help to ensure that, in every corner of the federation, the architecture is developed starting from social, economic and cultural criteria»[139].

The introduction of *Sozialplan*, which came after the reaffirmed primacy of the social aspects, imposed to the municipalities «the discussion with stakeholders throughout the whole duration of the renovation work, including the transfer of economic activities»[140]. In this framework, in 1979 - under the influence of increased citizen's participation - , the project for the *südtangente* was abandoned and the urban fabric restored at *Fraenkelufer*.

The radical change that occurred during the 1970s and culminating in the beginning of the 1980s, can be considered in many respects an extraordinary historical turning point and its connected to the events occurred, starting from the citizens/tenants groups protests, mobilizations and campaigns against *Kahlschlag-Sanierung* urban renewal strategies claiming for a more a cautious approach. In this framework, since the late 1960s, the protest and squatting action

[134] See. ABGHS, Der der Vorsitzender 1.Enquete-Kommission - 7. Wahlperiode, letter sent to President Akademie der Künste Werner Düttmann, 21.07.1976, [ADK W-2177-02].
[135] See. Among others, SENBAUWOHN, Verkehr nach Maß - Verkehrsplanung in Berlin: Reduzierung des Autobahnausbaus in "Werk und Zeit", n. 2, 1976, p. 3.
[136] Ibidem.
[137] Ibid., p.26.
[138] The books published in this decade are a testimony of the 1960s upheavals that began to shake the foundations of the post-war urban project: the first German edition of The Death and Life of Great American cities is 1963 by Jane Jacobs (1961) and the pamphlet *Die Unwirtlichkeit unserer Städte*, in 1965 by the psychoanalyst Alexander Mitscherlich. Both texts represent two of the most powerful indictments directed to the contemporary city, and both had a considerable impact on the German architectural debate, although their psychological and sociological instances, were often reinterpreted, at least until the second half of the 70s, in a mainly aesthetic way.
[139] Quotations from paragraph 8, paragraph 2 of the law, Harald Bodenschatz, "West-Berlin - Geschichte der Stadterneuerungspolitik", cit., P. 409, note 12.
[140] Ibidem.

enacted over the Bethanien Hospital, organized to oppose its demolition, have contributed to determine this turning point: it «is considered a breeding cell of the bottom-up driven city development that still marks Kreuzberg today» (Heyden, 2008, 32).

In fact, the Kreuzberg population started organizing to strongly oppose the perpetration of such non-negotiated urban renewal strategies and to propose alternatives to the "areal development" strategies; these citizen's mobilizations were capable to stop the radical transformation of the urban fabric and to foster the creation of arenas for citizen's participation in decision making processes over urban development plans. Between the communities opposing such strategies there were neighbourhood groups, the evangelical community of Kreuzberg lead by his pastor Duntze, tenants groups (such as KOTTI) and also the big community of students settled in Kreuzberg. The late 1960s, indeed, where the scene of increasing international social upheavals, strongly intertwined with the contestation of the imposed "urban ideology" (Castells, 1972) and non-negotiated forms of "space production" (Lefebvre, 1978).

In Berlin the historical context of urban conflicts was strongly characterized by the students' movement mostly based in Kreuzberg, since at the end of the 1960s, the district was a prime target for young politically engaged students: «For students moving to Berlin, the initially favourable housing situation was an additional attraction. The boom didn't even slow down when the housing market worsened, again due to demolition and neglect. The numbers of students rose steadily.» (Störve, 2012, 86). It resulted also from its political and legal special status, including the forbidden draft to military and civil service as well as the delivery of call-up orders and summons to medical examinations, created the conditions to make West Berlin the place to live for many young men (estimated around 8.500 men) who wanted to avoid the obligatory service in West Germany. Even if not all of them were politically active, still they were an expression of the critical climate in West Berlin, «which remained shaped into the 1970s and 80s by the distrustful atmosphere of the Cold War, and whose aftereffects were still after 1990» (Ibid, 2012, 86). In 1968, the opposition to the political interests/business system that lies behind the construction industry in the city - and behind the very poor quality architectural achievements that they constitute the product of such system - slowly begins to radicalise from a political perspective, when a part of the architecture's world take a net oppositional side (it had great influence in the following decades). The students of the Faculty of Architecture of the University of West Berlin - Technical University and University of the Arts (hereinafter TU and HdK) were among the most active. In this context, also part of the teaching staff engaged explicitly in a review of the urban practices and the of the hot topic of *Stadterneuerung* (urban renewal).

The broad spectrum of 'New Left' activism in West Germany promoted a popular spatial imaginary of protest that situated activism squarely within West Berlin. They started to organize counter-practices to propose many alternatives from the bottom to oppose dominant urban ideologies motivating strategies of space production and cultural production, through the counter-proposal of more cautious urban renewal tactics, contesting the displacement of the weakest part of the population, and counter-space/cultural production, as well as the value intertwined with them such as the idea of Home and Family, implying forms of capitalist social reproduction, through the experimentation of alternative forms of collective living: «As early as the 1950s, West Berlin students were considered to be particularly politically engaged – on the right as well as on the left. […] Despite all the criticism of the movement, the protests of the 68-ers did gradually lead to a society-wide acceptance of the alternative lifestyles and projects, including new forms of cohabitation. In 1967 the first politically motivated commune in Germany, *Kommune 1*, was formed. […] During the course of its existence from 1967 to 1969, […] it regularly staged spectacular events that got a lot of attention, though its political goals were lost in the subsequent boom in communes, most of which were initiated for more pragmatic reasons. This way of living was very attractive to students in West Berlin, where both money and the housing market were tight.» (Ibid., 2012, 86). After the students' riots period occurred in the 1967-1968 and the followed "red decade" (1967-1977), that was characterized by the radicalization of such movements, the born of the Red Faction Army and the Movement 2 June and the increased level of government repression, a turning point came where sections of the movement reacted by withdrawing from mainstream society and setting up specific alternative projects.

Berlin came to be the centre of this rapidly growing alternative movement. «In 1979 the alternative scene that grew around pub collectives, bicycle workshops, district newspapers and printing houses reached an estimated membership of 100,000 people (Scheer and Espert, 1982: 19) and provided many of those active in the movement with a form of economic security beyond that provided by capitalist wage labour. The issue of suitable living space quickly became of central importance for these projects, and squats seemed to be a way of appropriating such space. In addition, squatting fitted the political approach of the alternative movement: its intervention in urban restructuring, preoccupation with the problems posed by apartments standing empty, the housing shortage, property speculation and displacement – all these issues constituted an opportunity for the movement to go beyond its own needs and personal concerns, and thereby escape the potential pitfalls of a politics of representation.» (Holm, Kuhn, 2011, 163).

While the alternative movement was growing, in 1980, Berlin's urban politics came into crisis because of a corruption scandal involving real estate developer Dietrich Garski that casted doubt upon the Senate's policies and exposed the murky amalgamation of the Senate's policies with real estate developers, redevelopment agencies and housing associations. In the meanwhile West Berlin was facing a severe housing shortage - in 1980 alone some 80,000 people

were registered as seeking apartments. Even if the result of established boundaries hindering the possibility to expand in size is described as the main reason for the housing shortage, «It was more a case of the public programme of redevelopment favouring the speculative strategy of keeping apartments vacant. According to Senate statistics, 27,000 apartments were uninhabited in 1978 (Bodenschatz et al., 1983, 301). House owners and housing associations deliberately allowed houses to become derelict with the expectation that they would be able to demolish and re-build or fundamentally modernize them using government funding, and eventually charge correspondingly higher rents» (Holm, Kuhn, 2011, 163).

1.4 Kreuzberg and the experimentation of new forms of spatial protests: squatting and *Instandbesetzung*

On February 1979, the citizens' initiative "SO 36" considered "everything produced by the constitutional state" as exhausted, and organized the first phase of squatting: the 'rehab squats' (Aust, Rosenbladt, 1981, 36). Between 1980 and 1981, the resignation of the Senate a few weeks later the corruption scandal over housing policies and the relative power vacuum that lasted right up to the victory of CDU (Christian Democratic Union) candidates in the elections of May 1981 paved the way for the explosive expansion of squatter movements in the months that followed. In only two years 255 occupations were settled (this is a remarkable number - 42 % of all occupations were accomplished from 1970-2014)[141].

Demonstration, Berliner Häuserkampf (Demonstration, Berlin urban warfare; source Author: Kurt Jotter / FDGÖ)

«Especially after the street fighting and riots of December 1980, the movement experienced broad public support, tremendous publicity and politicization. Its radical and militant dimensions were responsible for focusing unprecedented public attention on the purposes and practices of the rehab-squatters, tenants and citizens initiatives (*Bürgeriniriativen*) which had been engaged in community and housing battles for years» (Meyer, 1982, 33). In fact, the implementation of these counter-practices in those years often started from the illegal occupation of abandoned properties: «By focusing on the relationship between squatting and the built form, I would like to suggest, that to squat was to make a spatial commitment to producing a new set of affective and autonomous geographies of attachment, dwelling and expression.

The implementation of such radical practices over "indeterminate territories" moreover, made possible to rely on DIY mantainance and repair of these places, so that squatters quickly adopted the motto *Instands(be)setzung* (a combination of the German words *Instandsetzung* - maintenance - and *Besetzung* - squatting), that means literally "rehab squatting", as a slogan for the movement.

While the squatting movement attracted those who wished to protest about the lack of affordable housing, rampant property speculation and the negative effects of post-war urban redevelopment, it also offered an opportunity for many to quite literally build an alternative habitus where the very practice of squatting became the basis for producing a common spatial field, a field where principles and practices of co-operative living intersected with juggled political commitments, emotional attachments, and the mundane materialisms of domesticity, occupation and renovation» (Vasudevan, 2011, 291). The emergence of the micro-practices of squatting not only started creating the basis for the experimentation of self-empowerment and radical participation in inventing its own ways of dwell on the quotidian and the everyday but to conjoin these registers with wider debates about the practice of urban politics and the emancipatory possibilities of taking back the control on the built form.
In the late 1970s, the coexistence of the first big squatting wave and neighbourhood resistance opposed the demolition policy, which had been executed by a coalition of state-owned developers, local construction and real estate industries and municipal authorities.

[141] Analysis of the Data Base (April 2014) – research survey made by Azozomox – for SQEK collective research group – the utilization of data have been authorizesd by Azozomox.

Instandbesetztes Haus Admiralstraße 15 in Kreuzberg (about 1981). Source: *Internationalen Bauausstellung 1984: Selbsthilfe im Altbau* (self-help in the old building). Berlin 1982, p 53. (SenStadt, 2010)

«At this time Berlin-Kreuzberg was one of the centres of urban resistance and rebellious subcultures in Germany (Rada 1997). […] Neighbourhood councils – independent tenant organizations – and a strong and partly militant squatter movement developed an impressive activity in Kreuzberg. From 1980 to 1981, around 169 houses, often appointed for demolition, were squatted in West Berlin, and 80 of these were in Kreuzberg: a clear expression of these councils' political struggle (Berger 1987).» (Bader, Bialluch, 95). Squatting in neighbourhoods such as Kreuzberg was, at its beginning in 1979, the last, desperate step in a 10-yearlong defensive community and tenant-organizing endeavor to stop the deterioration, forced vacancies and speculation carried on by private landlords and developers (Meyer, 1983). In fact, the policy of evictions carried on by the authorities to defend private property, produced a stronger relationship between district initiative and squatters' houses, and, sometimes, led to a massive shows of solidarity between neighbours. The squatter movement's demands for a cautious urban renewal and for more participation, were absorbed into the software of neoliberal urban policies and the socio-political (nevertheless the spatial influence that they have had is still not recognized). On the other hand, in Berlin there were «attempts to incorporate the squatter movement's multifaceted and often self-organized cultural forms of expression into the image of a vital and creative city.» (Holm, Kuhn, 2011, 655). «The squatters' practice of occupying houses and immediately starting to renovate them was meant, on the one hand, to point out the longstanding deterioration and emptiness of the apartments, and on the other hand, to create acceptance of this method of civil disobedience.

The public and political success of these first squats had further repercussions: until December 1980, squatters in Berlin had occupied 21 houses. As early as March 1980 a "squatters' council" was set up to act as the point of contact and negotiation in dealings with state authorities. The district and the Senate's initial response was a willingness to negotiate with these first rehab squatters, although the authorities were inconsistent in their political strategy.» (Holm, Kuhn, 2011, 164). In fact, since, the results of the squatters self-help labour were repeatedly destroyed by evictions and demolitions, «more and more of the squatters began to look towards establishing some kind of mediating agent to represent their interests to the local state. The most tangible outcome of this effort was the formation of an "alternative renewal agent" or community development corporation (*Träger*) in April 1982 through the alternative self-help organization, Netzwerk. Netzwerk is the oldest German alternative enterprise, which uses donations from its approximately 6000 members (many of them State workers, mostly teachers) to provide grants and subsidies to alternative projects, with the condition that these be democratically self-managed» (Meyer, 1983, 33-34).

On the other side, State authorities, in those years, dealt negotiations with Squatter movements in several different ways depending on the historical and socio-political moment, from a more permissive approach of "selective integration" to a "zero tolerance" approach. For example, in 1981, the state authorities passed from a Vogel's - leader of the Social Democratic Party-led transitional senate - approach that wanted to convert the squats "into legally ordered conditions that were also in complete harmony with civil law"[142], to the Weizsacker's – Federal President during the Christian Democratic Union-led senate – approach that reversed the relationship between selective integration and repression. In 1982, in fact, the Berlin Senate quickly rolled out a new hard-line policy, the "Berliner Linie der Vernunft" or the "Berlin Line of Reason" in order to immediately repress squatting actions. In the same year, the Structural Self-Help programme was initiated in West Berlin and offered public funds to legally registered non-profit organizations and co-operatives in order to support DIY maintenance and repair.

Until 2002, 80–85 per cent of costs were subsidised for non-profit builders. The remainder was to be obtained through 'proprietary capital' and '*Muskelhypothek*' ('muscle mortgage'). «Many "projects" that were able to guarantee long-term use of a building fell under the *Behutsame Stadterneuerung* programme later ratified by the Berlin House of Representatives in 1983. Under this programme, houses could apply for public funds to repair and modernise their properties through what became known as the *Bauliche Selbsthilfe*[143] (Structural Self- Help) initiative (Sonnewald and Raabe-Zimmerman, 1983)» (Vasudevan, 2011). The squats unable to secure legal sanction were cleared out (only seventy-seven over 160 houses had been successful in securing some form of contractual arrangement with local municipal authorities) and for many that was the sign that such a programme was «tantamount to a form of

[142] Government declaration of Berlin's governing mayor, Hans-Jochen Vogel, on 12 February 1981 (Sonnewald and Raabe-Zimmermann, 1983, 67).
[143] The programme was discontinued in 2002 (Heyden and Schaber, 2008, 142).

"pacification" and recriminations quickly circulated within the movement as up to eighty houses accepted an offer for funding even if it meant using public funds to support attempts at creating no speculative alternative spaces (Heyden and Schaber, 2008, 143) […](and) it is perhaps not surprising than that, by mid-1980s, the movement had lost critical momentum» (Vasudevan, 2011, 291). In any case, the policies of "selective integration", applied to the "negotiators" – collaborative squats -, produced in those years the born of several long term leasing contracts for alternative projects, such as "house projects" that are identifiable with alternative spaces for collective living and cultural/political activities. These contracts could be defined directly between occupants/tenants and the owner (public or private) under the condition of "sweat equity" that implied the imposition of a very low (sometimes symbolic) rent in exchange of maintenance. This permitted the permanence of counter-hegemonic practices in the city, mostly concentrated, until the fall of the Wall, in the Kreuzberg neighbourhood – like several "House Projects" and some "space for subcultural activities".

1.5 The end of the Cold War: spatial struggles over the cultural production for new unified Berlin's identity

Since after the fall of the Wall, «Berlin's urban environment was described as consisting of "faceless city fragments with isolated historical buildings» (Sheridan, 2007), far from being a city in the tradition of the great European cities[144], in the post communist era, the city's development was mostly focused on the ambition to establish a more complete and clear urban identity for Berlin symbolizing the power of Germany as its renewed capital and a future global city (Marcuse, 1998), which required that Berlin act as the gateway city between both parts of the continent (Eckardt, 2005). Despite the goal of creating a bridge between the West and East part of Europe, the actually outcome of reunification was the colonization of West system on the East one: «The creation of a single government and bureaucracy was accomplished by applying the West Berlin constitution to the entire city, while the eastern city districts adopted the structure and regulations of their western counterparts.» (Haüssermann, Strom, 1994, 340).

Despite the ambitions, during the 1990s, the city witnessed a growing indebtedness due to increasing cuts in state helps, deindustrialization and privatization of the main subsidiary companies (such as the water and electricity public companies), creating an increasing dependency on private resources, and the great investments for urban modernization and creation of great infrastructures intended for attract the re-location of international companies headquarters that never occurred. Moreover, after reunification in October 1990, because of the expected large growth of economic activities and population in the region the city witnessed a big wave of speculation in the real estate sector. In fact, to give an idea of the situation of attractiveness for investment in real estate speculation is sufficient to look at what happened after the fall of the Wall, in places located around the walled Berlin, formerly part of the GDR, since there was in fact no administrative unit for the control of municipal planning. «Immediately after it had become clear that the Eastern regions would be incorporated into the economic system of the West, private developers visited the mayors, who did not know their duties or their powers, and persuaded them to grant a lot of planning permits for retail centres and new housing estates. By this uncoordinated process of competition between the municipalities freed from the patronising centralist system and the "big neighbour" Berlin, all courses were set for the spatial development the experts had warned of. After, the fall of the Wall real estate developers and speculators from West Germany had persuaded the inexperienced new local administrations to provide them with green land on which to develop retail centres and housing estates. Until 1993 there was virtually no control aver local planning by a higher level, because the administration of the new states had still to be settled.» (Haussermann, 2003, 114).

A formal joint planning organisation of the two states was formed only in 1996. Moreover the confusion following the reunification of the two cities and of the two City administration's systems produced some gap in planning processes, the massive sell out of public properties, since the huge public assets of the East Berlin was economically unsustainable for a capitalist neoliberal system, and finally the big emphasis on urban renewal insisting on big part of the former historical centre and former east part of the city, all elements that also attracted big waves of real estate speculation from local and extra local elites. «The enormous renewal requirements of around 180,000 apartments in old buildings, the crisis in public finance and the privatization of property brought about by restitution in redevelopment areas led to a form of urban renewal "financed first and foremost by property owners" (Berlin Senate, 1993). […] Instead of using funds and transferring ownership to redevelopment agencies, the authorities attempted to implement the social and building objectives of urban renewal in East Berlin using town planning legislation.» (Holm, Kuhn, 2011, 654).

The local administration was proudly addressing the modernization at the older housing stock in the East, but it has led to rent increases of 70% and a classic gentrification-cum-displacement of the existing tenancy (Marcuse, 1998), very intense in neighbourhood such as Mitte or Prenzlauerberg where a big per centage of the population have been forced to move in other part of the city (Holm). Moreover, the average price of rents in a city that relied on State help, on both sides, for thirty years, were very low, in particular in the former east neighbourhood, such as Mitte, Prenzlauer Berg or Friedrichshain (very central districts) and in the former west working class neighbourhoods such as Kreuzberg,

[144] Senatsverwaltung fur Stadtentwicklung & Umweltschutz und Tecnologie, Planwerk Innenstadt Berlin, Erebnis, Prozess, Sektorale Planungen und Werkstatten, No. 25 (Berlin: Kulturbuch Verlag, 1999).

Neukölln, Wedding, were investors and city planners saw a rent gap between current and potential property value if the land was redeveloped, and decided to capitalize on this. Instead of focusing on rent control, the strategies connected to high-level urban regeneration, sell out of public assets and discontinuation of State subsidies for rental control and self-help strategies, contributed in the uncontrolled increase in housing prices.

Marcuse (1998) argues that in the regeneration process that interested the main central districts, during the 1990s, the arena for public participation settled by local authorities actually referred exclusively to the consultation on architectural details and not to the negotiation of actually top-down planning processes. In this framework of explosive social change and power vacuum that took place during the *Wende* period (turnaround) and reunification, and the consequent massive loss of authority on the part of the police and municipality, where many properties were left vacant and the local administration had still to take control over the huge amount of public properties to reassign to the former owner or to sell to the highest bidder, another group of actors took advantage of the situation: the squatting movement.

The vacancy rate of up to 20% in particular districts, with a total of 25,000 old vacant apartments, most of them in the inner-city districts (SenBauWohn, 1990). They were both the result of the real-socialist practice of disinvestment where inner-city areas, consisting of old housing, had been ideologically devalued as the legacy of capitalist urban development and neglected in town planning, showing finally signs of structural decay (Hoscislawski, 1991; Hannemann, 2000), and the outcome of many citizens who fled the city when the walled borders were demolished. Starting from the big availability of this housing stock in the inner-city districts of East Berlin that dated back to the *Gründerzeit*[145], a second phase of squatting occurred and hundreds of empty abandoned apartments and vacant properties were occupied between 1989 and 1991 on the East side of the former Wall. In total, squatters occupied about around 120 houses in districts such as Mitte and Prenzlauer Berg and Friedrichshain (Holm and Kuhn, 2011, 650) - the same areas targeted by the first urban regeneration programs in the reunified Berlin and the side effects of gentrification-cum-displacement. This new squatting wave can be divided in three phases.

A first one, occurred in the winter between 1989 and 1990, mostly based in Prenzlauer Berg and Mitte districts, was the result of mixed experiences: from the East German Youth occupying openly and assertively houses. They differentiated them from earlier squatted apartments[146] through the changed characterization of squatted houses by banners, secured windows and barricade-like doorways in order to make these places «sites for an anarchistic, libertarian experiment against everything that was petit bourgeois, against Nazis (who had already begun to organize themselves in very large numbers in the final years of the GDR) and against every form of rule» (Holm and Kuhn, 2011, 650). Moreover, the first West German and international "fanatics" and artists who joined the eastern movement were largely integrated in a friendly way into the new squats focused on creating spaces that would primarily help squatters achieve self-realization while their function as a place of residence was merely secondary (Galenza and Havemeister, 2005). Finally, in turn, they were sometimes joined by individual squats made up of citizens' action groups, who focused on preventing planned demolitions of old housing blocks in the districts of Prenzlauer Berg and Mitte (Holm and Kuhn, 2011, 650).

Many of these houses were legalized relatively quickly into cooperatives and "cautiously" renovated by means of financial incentives, such as the *Bauliche Selbsthilfe* programme (see the case of the squat K77: Heyden, 2008; Vasudevan, 2011). Following the Pruijt squats five typologies (2004) we can identify the result of this first phase of radical (re)appropriation as an heterogeneous mix of different strategies: form squats that focused on "squatting as an alternative housing strategy", to "entrepreneurial squats" such as the ones that quickly became established as centres for exhibitions and other events, and finally the ones that can be identified in the category of "conservational squatting", connected to citizens' action groups, that had the goal of actively preventing existing demolition plans.

A second phase that lasted between May and July 1990 involved the progressive geographical shift toward the urban district of Friedrichshain, even if the focal points were still Prenzlauer Berg and Mitte. The main actors of this new phase characterized by a qualitative and quantitative expansion of squats were for the first time West Germans from West Berlin, in particular students who had been affected by the housing shortage in West Berlin and had partly been brought together through political protests (Holm, Kuhn, 2011, 650). One of the most relevant new areas addressed by their action is the Mainzer Strasse in Friedrichshain where the houses had been left vacant since the 1987. Starting from this ascertainment, the West Berlin's "alternative" scene members from the oppositional 'church from below' drew attention to that publishing a call for squatting on their newsletter (published on *Interim* - April 1990 issue). The result of this action was the occupation of 11 vacant houses on Mainzer Strasse involving 250 occupants. «Alongside many facilities (bookshop, second-hand bookseller, public kitchen) the first Tunten (gay) house project in East Berlin and a women's/lesbian house were set up. […] The coordinating committee that operated between the occupied houses, the "squatters' council", pursued a strategy of confrontation, in particular through initial negotiations for contractual legalization of squatted houses» (Holm, Kuhn, 651).

[145] *Gründerzeit*: a time of rapid industrial expansion in Germany around 1900.
[146] The "*schwarz wohnen*" ("residing illicitly") had a long tradition in the GDR.

Starting from the fact that in this second phase of squatting, the occupied spaces were no longer considered mere free spaces for self-realization, but more markedly as sites of confrontation with the state authorities and as symbols of political self-positioning (Ibid., 2011, 651), the squats typology of this second phase can be considered "political" squatting (Prujit, 2004).

Finally, the third phase of the East Berlin squatter movement, started in July 1990, and it is characterized by the increasing reduction in the number of new squats due to the repressive approach taken by the local authorities when the municipal authorities in East Berlin started implementing the 'Berliner Line' ordinance, in terms of which, from that moment on, no new squats would be tolerated, and squats would be evacuated by police within 48 hours of occupation independently of any criminal charges or eviction notices under the precondition that the owner of a property brings criminal charges against the occupants. Following this disposition, following the evictions of squatters from 2 houses in Prenzlauer Berg and Lichtenberg, on November 12th, violent conflicts with the police took place until the early hours of November 14th, when, after an escalation of violence in Mainzer Strasse during the November 13th night, that made the negotiation less likely, all the street was cleared by a total of 3.000 police officers, many helicopters and ten water cannon, with more than 400 arrests and many casualties on both sides (Holm, Kuhn, 2011, 651). «If the eventual police crackdown on squatters living on Mainzer Strasse in November 1990 served to further radicalise a new generation of squatters, for a number of students studying at the *Hochschule der Künste* it seemed clear that new forms of practice were needed in the face of a revivified version of the "Berliner Linie". Claims for a "transformed and renewed right to urban life" (Lefebvre, 1996, 158) did not, therefore, depend on entrenched forms of militancy but would ultimately turn to less confrontational tactics and greater co-operation with local authorities.» (Vasudevan, 2011, 295).

In fact, this episode made clear that the option of militantly defending squatters' houses was unfeasible and that a negotiating table was the unique viable option. It prompted the majority of groups in squatted houses to come to district-specific negotiations and usage agreements were drawn up with the respective housing associations on the majority of houses. «However, when East Berlin properties were being reassigned to their previous owners or their respective heirs, these contractual agreements were no longer considered reliable. In the case of a number of squatted houses, reassignment led to conflict with the private owners and to more evacuations well into the 1990s. In contrast to the wave of squatting of the early 1980s, internal debates between "negotiators" and "non-negotiators" in the East Berlin squats remained confined to specific time periods.

Moreover, from the analysis of the story of squatting movement in Berlin clearly emerge how the squats experimentations at the beginning of the 1980s interestingly contributed to the implementation of a policy of "caution urban renewal" and of participative programs, while the squats of the 1990s constituted an alien element in neoliberal redevelopment policy in East Berlin, that are distinguishable from the West Berlin cautious urban renewal by criteria relating to real estate, urban planning and finance (Holm, Kuhn, 2011).

Since 2000s and the shift toward a "creative city" policies approach, squats and alternative spaces often became a commodifiable element in the new neoliberal city (Colomb, 2012).

1.6 From peripheral to inner city again: neoliberal restructuring and urban protests

Todays the students', alternatives' and squatters' movements have transformed or faded but new urban protests have emerged (mostly based in Kreuzberg) opposing new strategies of urban restructuring mostly based on privatization of public spaces, reduction of spaces for welfare and the side effects of real estate market speculation and gentrification (hardily affecting also the existence of these alternative projects). «Leftist movements today are again taking up urban restructuring as a theme, and a 'movement of free spaces' seems to be picking up the loose ends left by the squatter movements in the 1990s.» (Holm, Kuhn, 2011, 655). Among them, the opposition against the eviction of a long-standing house project, the *Yorckstrasse 59* (2004-2005), and the local community initiatives against the privatization of a big public property, the former Bethanien hospital (2005-2009); the opposition to the mega-project "Media Spree" (2007), a project to develop the waterfront of the River 'Spree' into a new location for media-related industries and services, concerning a big area along the Spree river belonging to Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg district; the opposition against the mega-project for the Tempelhofer Feld development (see file over Tempelohofer Feld issue), the field of the former central airport of the city (2009-2014); the eviction of the historical cultural project Tacheles in Mitte (between 2011 and 2012); the opposition of the workers and people involved in the cultural project of temporary use called RAW Temple, a vast vacant area of the former railway workshop of German State Railways; the political occupation of *Orianenplazt* and the *Gerhart-Hauptmann-Schule* in 2012 to claim for more rights for the refugees.

Mixing together all these factors, many elements of potential tension towards conflict and tension towards innovations emerge increasingly focused on the housing issue and large urban development projects. In fact, first, the access to affordable housing is increasingly becoming an urgent issue since in Berlin the housing prices «were around average up until the end of 2010, but have subsequently grown at a far higher rate. Since January 2007, the beginning of our

observation period, prices for flats in Berlin have increased by 73%, which corresponds to around 10% a year. In Hamburg and Munich, the annual price increase was 7.3 and 5.6%, respectively.

The sharp rise of housing market values in Berlin can be partially explained by the relatively low starting point for such a large metropolis.» (Kholodilin, Mense, 2012). Subsequently, in the last decade the word on every Berliner's lips is "gentrification". In fact, since about 2007, Berlin is living a new phase of urban neoliberal restructuring characterized by an aggressive phenomenon of gentrification concentrated in the central districts. For this reason a new wave of evictions and stigmatizations against the squatter movements is leading to the closure of many "*Hausprojekte*", "*Jugend - und Kulturzentrum*" and "large squats" (see Meyer, 2013), some of them were long-lasting projects. Secondly, «Against the background of a competition-oriented developmental rhetoric, large projects dominate urban agendas, particularly in cities pursuing ambitious internationalization strategies. Their physical, social and economic results, however, often testify to wrong choices, missed opportunities and unequal benefit shares. "Mega-projects" have thus become icons for the lack of comprehensive, integrative and persuasive planning concepts, and for the failure in shaping development choices in away which appeals to both public and private interests.» (Gualini, Majoor, 2007).

This is one of the main reasons for the spread of urban conflicts in the last years but even before since we could affirm that Berlin has always been affected by large-scale interventions of urban transformation going from periods of major reconstruction after the II World War, to those of the great transformations after the fall of the Wall, the scale of large projects that have dominated urban agenda have produced over decades the "lack of comprehensive, integrative and persuasive planning concepts, and the failure in shaping development choices in away which appeals to both public and private interests" with the double effect of maintaining an high presence of conflictive citizens and "reactive zones". This potential actually have characterized the historical development of the neighbourhood itself that, together with Friedrichshain (became part of the district since 2001) have been the target of large projects and private-lead regeneration processes that which triggered several related reasons for urban protest.

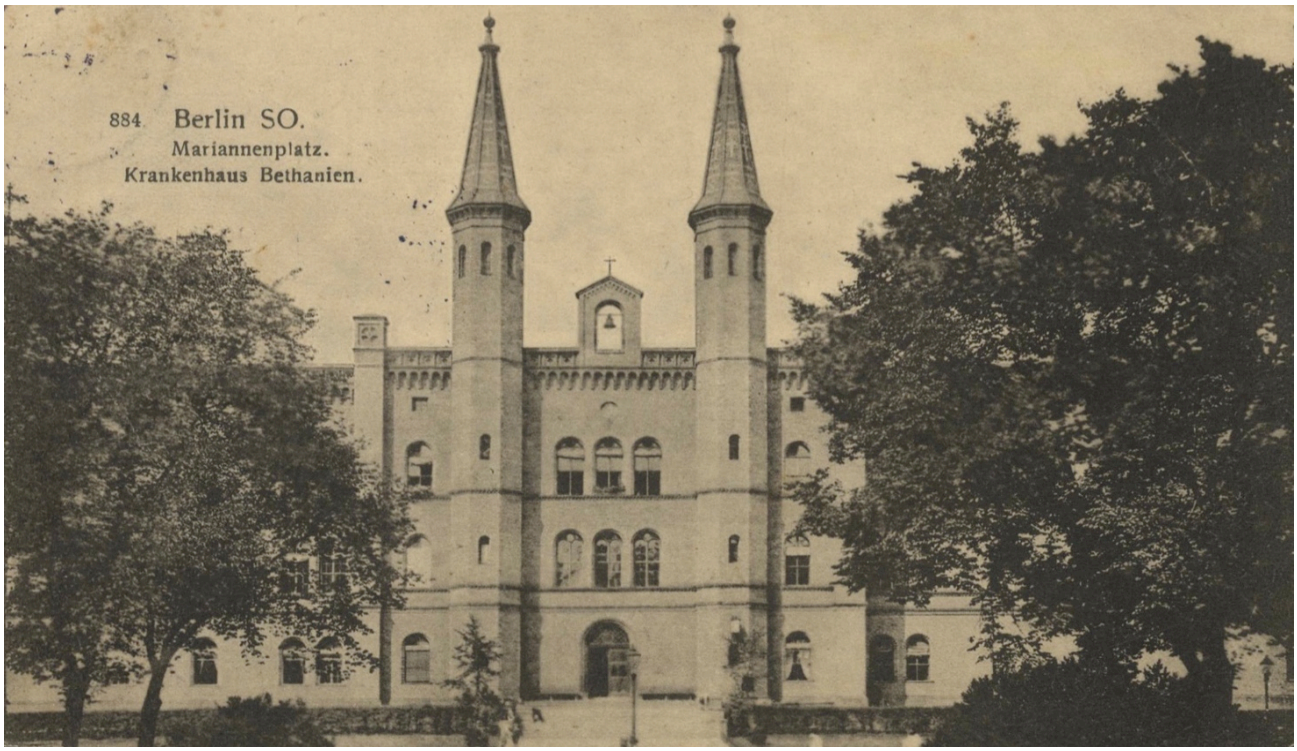
For this reason, the analysis of the conflicts occurred in the last decades/years in Kreuzeberg, looks central for the analysis of the democratic potential embedded in the negotiation of antagonistic/pluralistic positions over the actual urban agenda, interpreted on one side as the most inclusive and respectful of the needs and necessities of all the stakeholders involved, on the other side accused of favouring the interests of local and extra-local elites to the detriment of a real democratic negotiation among all stakeholders and the public itself. These urban development neoliberal strategies, based on a model of urban austerity, on the research of economic resources through the sale of building concessions and public assets/areas, on urban regeneration programs directed to attracting more middle and high classes in the inner city, generate and foster an increasingly visible "urbanization of injustice" and the reduction of the space of democracy connected both to the inefficient / not-really-democratic forms of participation and to the progressive reduction of the public city (and so of the space for "freedom of movement"). The ambiguity of the effects of such conflictive citizenship in forcing local authorities to negotiate alternative strategies to the neoliberal project, emerges from the fact that the inclusion of practices that imply self-empowerment of citizens through the appropriation of indeterminate space and the self-productions of public spaces often results in the justification for the increasing reliance on private initiatives for the production and distribution of public resources and the public disinvestment. Nevertheless, these forms of conflictive active citizenship are also able to foster the development of more democratic tools that give voice to the unheard needs (a roll-in phase) and to challenge the actual dimension of urban democracy. The issue related to recent Berlin urban conflicts will be presented in more detail in the section on "Berlin urban conflicts and the factors fostering phenomena of (re)appropriation of urban space".

> Elements of connection between the general historical spatial context and the contextual case study analysis

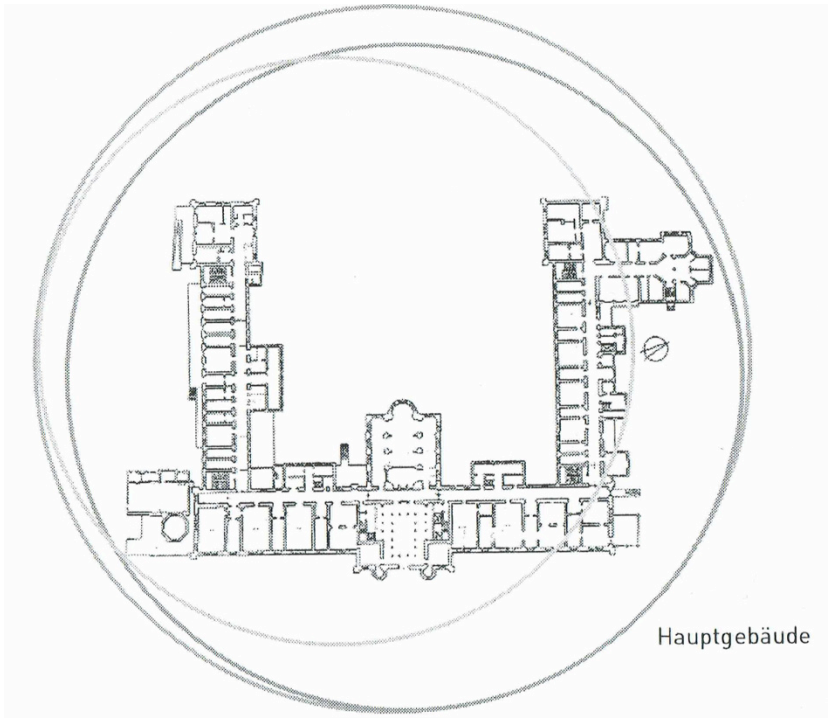
It is in this spatial and historical context that the issue over the architectural complex called Bethanien raised for the first time to the headlines in 1969 because of its planned demolition and then again in the 2005 because of its planned privatization. The story of the conflicts articulated over this symbolic public space is strongly connected with the urban renewal programs that were implemented over Kreuzberg SO36 area, mostly around the Kotbusser Tor Square. The first resistance that raised in the 1970s, followed by the physical reappropriation of the architectural complex by the neighbours and networks of active citizens, influenced deeply the understanding of what urban renewal strategies were causing: the imposition of a non-negotiated cultural production in Berlin's struggle for identity and the complete loss of Berlin historical urban and social fabric identity, that increasingly produced reasons for urban conflicts with the local inhabitants. The paradigm shift in the urban regeneration project for Mariannenplatz was perhaps inspired by the events that concerned the resistance against the demolition of Bethanien of the early 1970s.

2. BETHANIEN

2.1 Symbolic struggled public space: from hospital to socio-cultural institution



Bethanien complex – main façade (East wing) – 1884

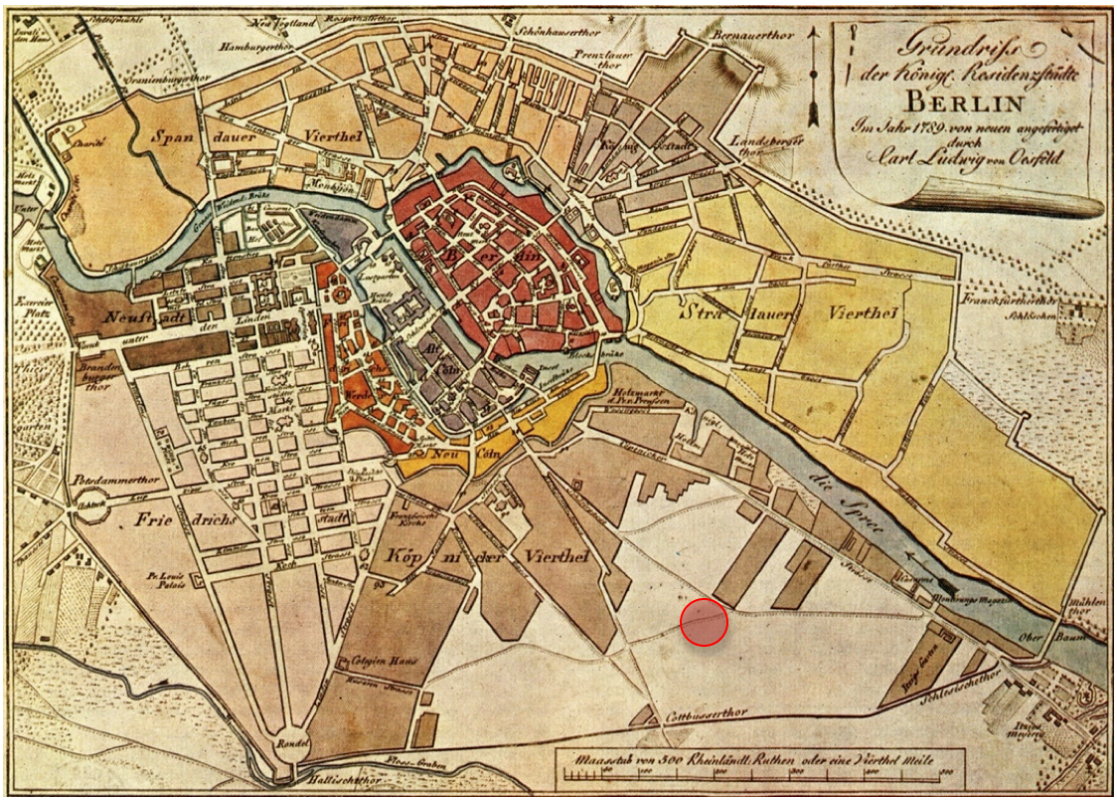


The Bethanien was founded in 1843 by King Friedrich Wilhelm IV, and established as Deaconess Hospital (*Diakonissenanstalt*) in the years 1845-47, situated on Köpenicker Feld (one of the districts of the previous organization of the city of Berlin). The *Diakonissenanstalt* was planned as a wide horseshoe-shaped plan with 500 beds, a nursing school and an orphanage, whose massive main building is surmounted by two slender 35 meter towers. The former management was a "Free order", an "association of men and women regardless of class and creed". As a hospital the Bethanien served from the beginning social purposes with a connected children's home and kindergartens. When the house was handed over in October 1847, it was situated within the city limits on the (then) undeveloped *Köpenicker* feld, surrounded by gardens and fields of rye.

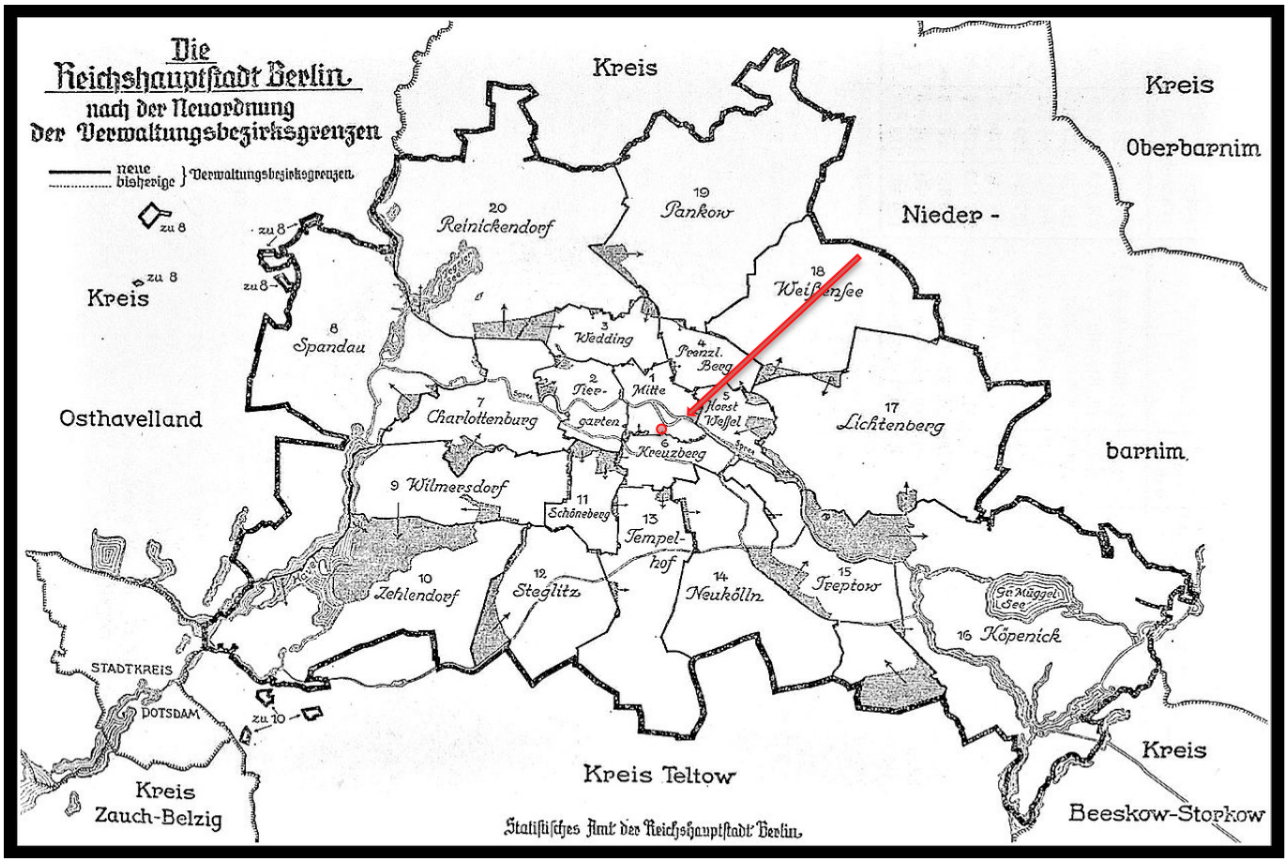
Just 50 years later, at the turn of the century, Bethanien was immersed in a dense urban structure - the inhabitants of Berlin had nearly quintupled during this period, from 365.000 to 1.700.000[147].The architectural complex was used as a hospital uninterruptedly since its construction until 1968, the year of its closure. It happened a few years after the construction of the wall, which separated for almost thirty years the city into two parts. The City planned the

[147] These informations was taken from the Kunstquartier Bethanien website under "Zur Geschichte des Bethanien" ("the history of Bethanien") - http://www.kunstquartier-bethanien.de/geschichte_bethanien.html.

redevelopment of the area because after the separation from the other half of the city, a drastic reduction of patients and the hospital nurses had occurred and the hospital had to be forcibly closed.



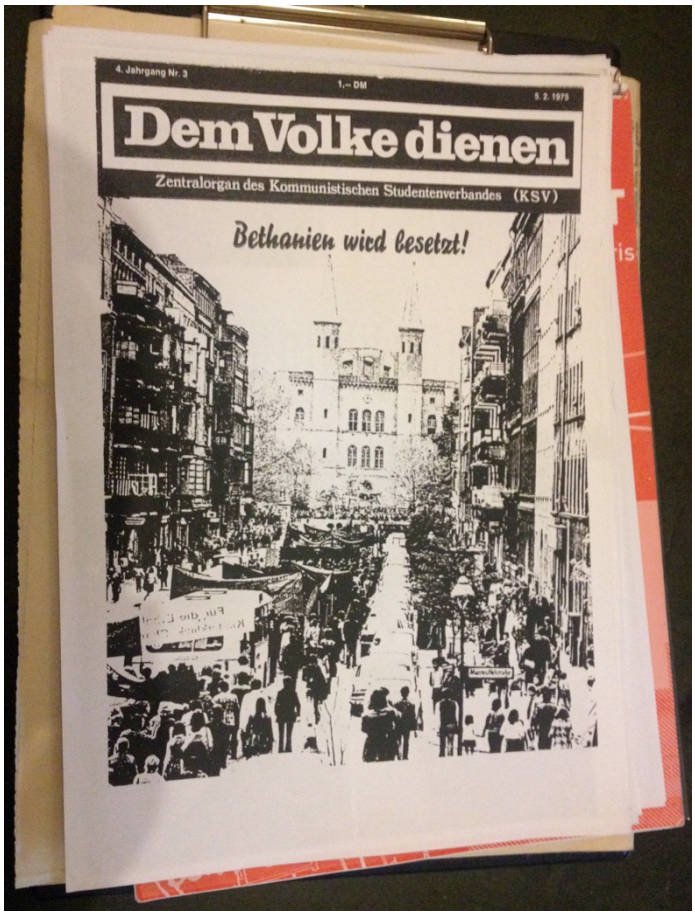
Berlin map 1789 – divided in 10 districts



Berlin map 1938 – Neuordnung – 20 districts

Due to the planned closure of the hospital and the large-scale demolition and redevelopment of the area for subsidized public housing stocks construction, in the late 1960s the Bethanien became a case for media following a vehement

"struggle for Bethanien" (*"Kampf um Bethanien"*) opposing the gutting of an historical monument.[148] In particular, the Association of German Architects ran against this speculative operation. The campaign through the opposition of community groups and preservationists (Berlin squatters, protests of dedicated artists, the "Federal German architects", the Academy of Arts and especially many parents-children initiatives and neighbours) was articulated through the use of strategic site occupation. The action achieved to prevent the demolition and oppose the plans of the city planners for new constructions in the area but cannot oppose the closure of the hospital considered an important resource for the neighbourhood (lacking in basic infrastructures). In fact, the struggle of residents to the establishment of a children's polyclinic in the early 1970s failed due to the opposition of political leaders. Instead, the space first attracted artists house and printing workshop, later the school of music, art room and various other non-art-oriented projects and institutions in the vacant buildings – not being able of developing a concept of use including all these different usages (from the document "A new concept for Bethanien" – see file 5).



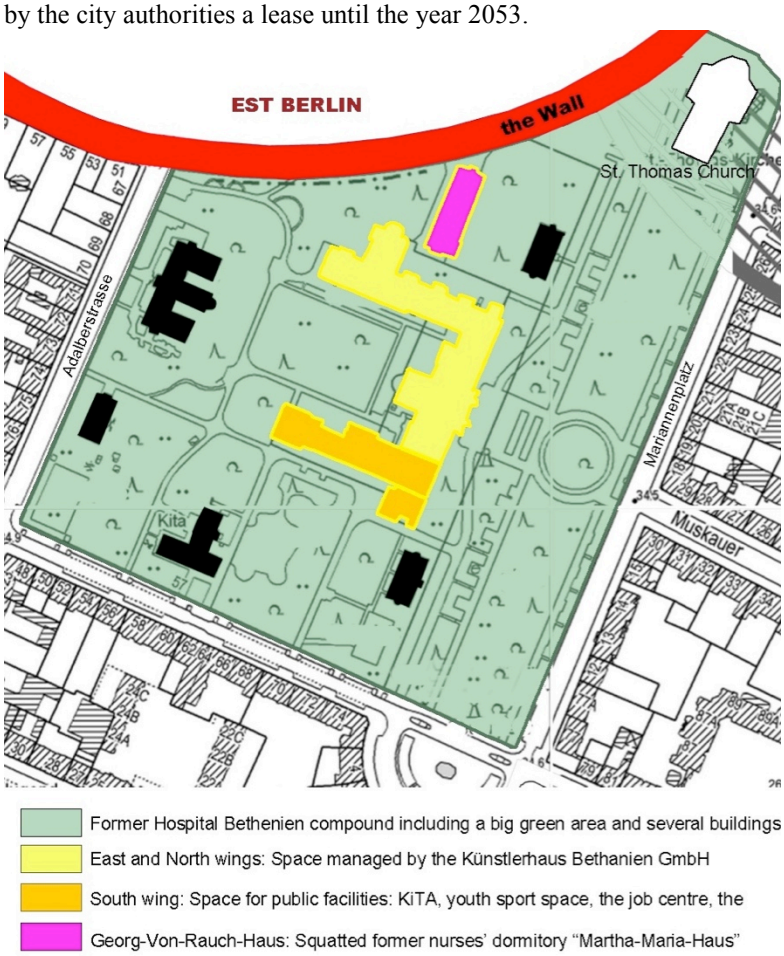
1975's newspaper cover: "Bethanien is occupied!"

As already mentioned, the neighbourhood isolated from the first post-war initiatives for high-quality urban redevelopment, was suffering a heavy lack in public spaces and infrastructures provision; in reaction to that a set of self-managed activities were settled in the building including a KiTA (Children's day-care), a library, a sport association, a house for artists, etc. «From time to time, the West Berlin government did allow an alternative use for empty buildings. This was proven in 1970 with the purchase of an abandoned hospital at Mariannenplatz in Kreuzberg, in which the Kunstlerhaus (art centre) Bethanien was founded. It still exists and is thriving today. Other alternative projects settled near "Bethanien", as it came to be called.» (Störve, 2012, 86). In response to claims made by citizens over this space, the Bethanien was first put under a monument protection fund in 1969 and in 1970 was bought by the State of Berlin for DM 10.5 million. Berlin became the owner of a 58-acre estate comprising six historical buildings. Moreover, the City let the alternative self-managed activities settled in the complex to actively participate in the management of the (now) public complex. Among the radical practices over the Marianneplatz area, other two site occupations were enacted the following year. «The first squat in Berlin began on 4 July 1971. Over 300 students, activists and youth workers occupied two floors of an abandoned factory at 13 Mariannenplatz in the district of Kreuzberg with a view to creating a centre for disadvantaged and unemployed youth.

As declared in a pamphlet (Kreuzberg Museum, Squatting File) published by the activists, "(this is) where we can determine for ourselves what we do in our spare time". Despite initial clashes with the police, municipal authorities eventually supported and legalised the initiative which included plans for a metal and wood workshop, a studio, a clinic and a theatre space (Schöne 1971; Der Tagesspiegel 1971a)» (Vasudevan, 2011, 287). This was followed by further agitations in December 1971, that produced the opportunity for another action on the abandoned former nurses' dormitory "Martha-Maria-Haus" - an outbuilding situated on the grounds of Bethanien in the north-west side of Mariannenplatz – that was illegally squatted by a group of poor young people and students, members of the Berlin student movement (Berliner Zeitung 1971; Der Tagesspiegel 1971b). The squatters named the house "Georg-von-Rauch-Haus" in memory of a member of the radical leftist militant scene in West Berlin that was killed during a shootout with police few days before the squatting action. Just one year later, the *Georg-Von-Rauch-Haus* squat enter into an agreement with the local administration (leaded by the Social Democratic Party): the City agreed in regularizing the occupation as self-managed "youth hostel and alternative cultural project ("*Jugend - und Kulturzentrum Kreuzberg e.V.*") even if the Christian Democratic Union (the conservative party) opposed strongly to this choice. The space has

[148] Information over "*Kampf um Bethanien"*story obatined from the *Bethanien geschichte* section of the *Bethanien Kustlerhaus* website and from the "Neue Konzept fur Bethanien", 2005, "A New Concept for Bethanien" – Document produced by the active citizenship involved in the (re)appropriation of the Bethanien South Wing (kindly provided by the NewYorck im Bethanien library).

never been vacated since and remained a reference in the network of alternative spaces in Berlin. The squatters obtained by the city authorities a lease until the year 2053.



Map of Mariannenplatz and the Bethanien complex space's reappropriations occurred between 1970-1975

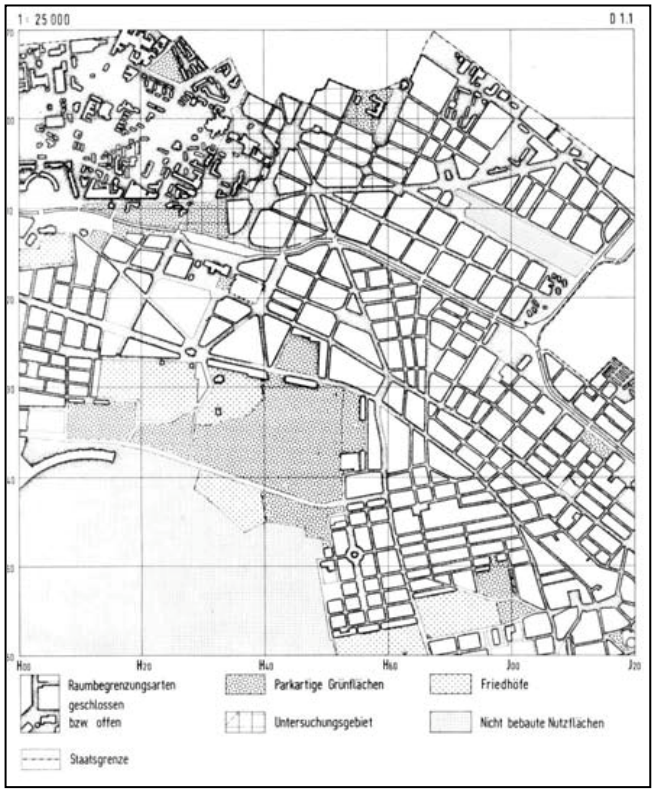
The "Georg-von-Rauch-Haus" has been one of the first experimentations of Hausproject and embodied the necessity of the big young's and students' community, settled in Kreuzberg during those years, to take over spaces for affordable collective living, activate activities missing in the district and create a space free from forms of State and dominant society control where implement forms of alternative social and cultural experimentation. In connection to that, another element, that some considered as a victory for civil activism, was the conversion of the main Bethanien building in a self-managed centre for cultural, artistic and social activities, opened in 1973, that represented an institutional attempt to include in public agenda the youth movements demands for autonomous spaces for cultural production. Since then this space, managed by the *Künstlerhaus Bethanien GmbH* ("Arthouse Bethanien Ltd"), is used by social institutions and self-organized initiatives consisting of: about 25 cultural, artistic and social institutions, the printing workshop of the Professional Association of Visual Artists Berlin, the exhibition rooms of the Cultural Office of Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg, the art space Kreuzberg / Bethanien, and the music school Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg, that are self-organized initiatives.

The Wall, on the left East Berlin, on the background the St.Thomas Church and Bethanien complex (in the West Berlin sector)

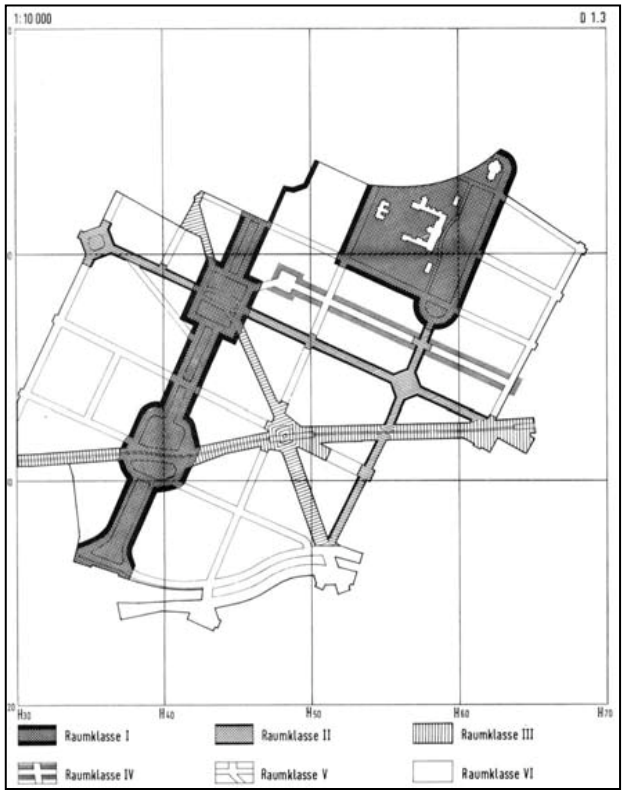
Moreover, some public facility, as mentioned before, was placed in the complex, mostly in the south wing. Among them: the meeting space for senior citizens, the Namik Kemal Turkish-German library, a social welfare office ("job centre"), a youth sport space and a kindergarten, plus a special projects to care for low-income families' children. Resuming, the Bethanien, after its 1970s' usage transformation served as: an "Artists' House" - positioned in the main building and north wing-; an "alternative housing and cultural project" - situated in the former nurses dormitory

occupied in 1971 -; a provider of social facilities mainly located in the south wing of the big complex. This campaigns and squatting practices, performed to prevent the Bethanien complex from its demolition and participate to the definition of its future destination, is one of many forms of protest that opposed, in those years, the urban regeneration strategies based on "demolition and reconstruction" and the quest for a negotiated definition of the future city identity. Moreover, it probably contributed significantly to mark an important turning point. «While early experiments in alternative forms of communal living coincided with the agitations of the late 1960s (for example the notorious Kommune I), the 'crackdown era' of the 1970s exacerbated a shift in the spatialization of activism and protest» (Vasudevan, 2011, 288). In fact, after these events, a competition "*Rund um Bethanien*" ("Around Bethanien") was organized: its results shown a change in the 1973 urban models, the shift toward a second new urban renewal paradigm (caution urban renewal and block "core removal" – *"Blockentkernung"* - 1972-1979). The buildings were now intended to be preserved not demolished and substituted. The strategy proposed to preserve the citylandscape was the decisive modernization of the front houses along the streets but, at the same time, the demolition of the wings, rear houses and commercial buildings in the blocks courtyards. It produced many generous open spaces, "waste lands", and had a social impact comparable to those of the "areal renovation" (*Flächensanierung*) or "demolition and reconstruction" (*Kahlschlag-Sanierung*). Rapidly also this model was passed but the general effect have strongly transformed the neighbourhood's social, urban and economic fabric.

2.2 Mariannenplatz: social mobilization, the IBA Altbau and the "urban caution renewal"



The urban structure of Kreuzberg. Above, from left to right, the difference between the Südliche Friedrichstadt's open urban structure and the morphology of the nineteenth century Luisenstadt and So 36[149]

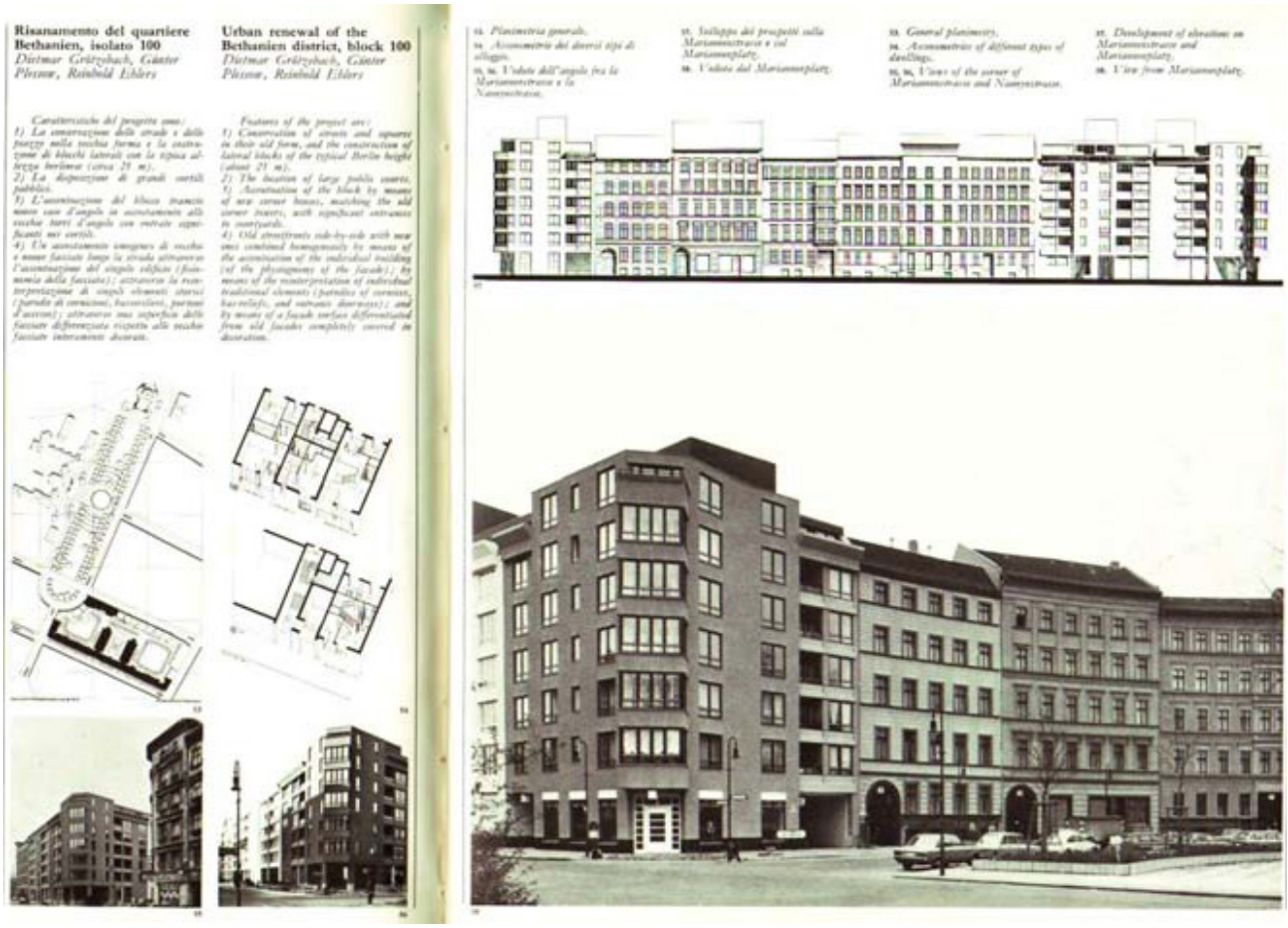


The analysis of the spatial quality of Luisenstadt.[150] The area includes the Mariannenplatz (above on the right)

After a short transition phase of the "moderate block core removal" ("*gemäßigten Blockentkernung*") the essential task of urban renewal became, the preservation and rehabilitation of existing old buildings and structures. A typical example of this phase is the block 100 Mariannenplatz, which was shown as an example at the "European Architectural Heritage Protection Year", in 1975, on how to deal with the city of 20th century. The study conducted by Kleihues on urban and architectural Luisenstadt drawn up on behalf of SenBauWohn and published in 1973 (Berlin Atlas) constituted an important basis for the preparation of the project for the Planungseinheit PIX[151] - the so-called *Bethanien-Viertel*, the area gathered around the Mariannenplatz. Introduced in 1974, the project shows the paradigm shift on the strategy of rehabilitation and revaluation of the image of the historic city. The road and the built perimeter of each block became the measure and the model for the projects to the Bethanien-Viertel, while the interior of the block are mostly almost

[149] Josef Paul Kleihues, SENBAUWOHN (ed), Berlin-Atlas und zu Stadtbild Stadtraum, Heft 2 - Versuchsgebiet Kreuzberg, Berlin in 1973, without page numbers.
[150] Josef Paul Kleihues, SENBAUWOHN (ed), Berlin-Atlas.
[151] The study Grötzebach (prof. at the TUB) / Plessow was responsible for this project since 1973.

entirely demolished (*Entkernung*). The choices for the selection of buildings to be safeguarded by demolition, and rather modernized, are taken through the evaluations of the historical/artistic value of the building and are subjected to the pronouncement of the offices of the Superintendency, the *Landeskonservator* Berlin. The figures for the demolition that are prefigured for the Bethanien-Viertel project are very different from, for instance, the project for "unity PVI": over the 3,300 total units only half was expected to be demolished (Grötzebach, Plessow, 1974, 52).



Rehabilitation of Bethanien neighbourhood block 100 (Lotus International, 1978)

The project Grötzebach & Plessow for the block number 100 was integrally realized while it has been implemented partially in blocks 77 and 97 and remained entirely unrealized in the remaining blocks 73 and 76. In addition to a hierarchy in the order of interventions connected to technical evaluations and historical/artistic assessments, the difference on the level of intervention strongly reflects also the dynamics of social exclusion that occurred in connection with the inhabitants' relocation necessary for the realization of the renovation works. In fact, the BeWoGe (public real estate company in charge of operations) relocated the tenants evicted from other blocks - mostly Turks – inside the blocks 73 and 76, basically used as "pit stop and exchange stations"(at the time, the housing units located in these areas were mostly empty because immediately bordering the wall). Once these building became extremely crowded, these fragments of nineteenth century Kreuzberg were finally excluded from any maintenance or modernization until the 80s. Other negative elements connected to the project for the block 100 were: «That formal issue have assumed a prominent role in the reflection on the historic city and it was by the lack of any attempt to safeguard the functional and typological admixture, which was one of the prominent features of the area. Block 100 was indeed "reduced exclusively to the residential function. The existing small businesses have disappeared".[152] The production and business activities that were numerous inside the blocks, and whose livelihoods depended on links with the district and by low rents, have been moved and concentrated into a single internal courtyard located to the north, where rents up to three times higher and the different spatial relations have often implied the end of the activity after a few years from the displacement.[153] The fact that the project was integrally realized just in the block number 100 is also related to the fact that this area was the privileged object of debate for the Year of Heritage. The "European Architectural Heritage Protection Year" constituted an important event for West Berlin and one of Europe's most successful campaigns in architecture and urban design thanks to the new shift toward the mix between activities "from above" and "from below" proclaimed by the Euro Council.[154] In fact, «(a)s part of this campaign, the historical city was

[152] Harald Bodenschatz, "Kottbusser Tor in Kreuzberg", cit., pp. 99-100.
[153] Ibidem.
[154] The "European Architectural Heritage Protection Year".

rediscovered and re-estimated; now was considered worthy to conserve as monuments not only churches or palaces but also residential and industrial buildings. Not the official West Berlin participated in this campaign, but rather the rebellious one. The contribution of West Berlin was the rehabilitation of the *Mietkasernenstadt*, representing the city of the late 19th century. As part of the conservation year, the redevelopment of a Mietkasernen blocks was largely based, for the first time in the West Berlin urban renewal policy, on preservation – like the block 100 of Bethanien neighbourhood. The lead architect was Mr. Hardt-Walt Hämer who could prevail with his plans - in alliance with tenants and citizens' groups - against the Senate Building and the redevelopment agency» (SendStadt, 2010, 11). At a 1976 symposium held on the occasion of the conservation campaign summed up by the Council of Europe Secretary, Georg Kahn-Ackermann summarized as follow the new way of looking at the *Mietkasernenstadt*: «The Berlin is just a creature made of stone and its social instances have to be identified as bearer of qualities that we begin today to rediscover. Its inhabitants want to preserve it because it is their home; sociologists allow to find in it the place of identification in the process; the planner can see models of the urban space of tomorrow; the economic thinking, it is the substance that made it feasible; the visitor is struck by the diversity and creativity which these homes and neighbourhoods show. The politicians must therefore consider its mandate as a mandate to work for the preservation of this architectural heritage.»[155] (Häussermann, Holm, Zunzer, 2002). In the first discussion on the modernization of old buildings, Hardt-Walt Hämer pointed out, as shown in his 1975's studies, that for financial reasons was seriously preferable the renewal to the demolition and reconstruction.[156] Moreover, dealing with the small businesses as well as with the tenants made clear that the demolition and reconstruction approach was neither economically feasible - by destroying local economic and commercial dimension - or socially - by the destruction of social structures due to the displacement, that previous model of "urbanity" was causing. The term "renovation" (*Sanierung*) was quickly substituted by the concept of "urban regeneration" (*Stadterneuerung*) (SenStadt, 2010). In this climate of transformation in space production's paradigm, in March 1977 the competition "Strategies for Kreuzberg" (*Strategien für Kreuzberg*) was launched. It was intended for the creation of a space where organize intense discussions on planning issues between organized citizens, informed groups and institutions, which wanted to retake political legitimacy and overcome the distrust in public urban policies. What emerged was the identification of strategies for differentiated modernization standards and rents prices capable to favour the tenants after the renovation

The winning "concept" in the competition provided for the major preservation of the mixed use (i.e. preservation of the block edges as well as the industrial/business spaces inside the blocks). Within a flexible frame design were planned block-referenced "Space-focus" and home-related "available zones". The Strategies für Kreuzberg competition success have fostered the decision to include part of the district SO36 in the areas concerned by the second *Internationale Bauausstellung* (IBA - International Architecture Exibition - Berlin 1984 and 1989).

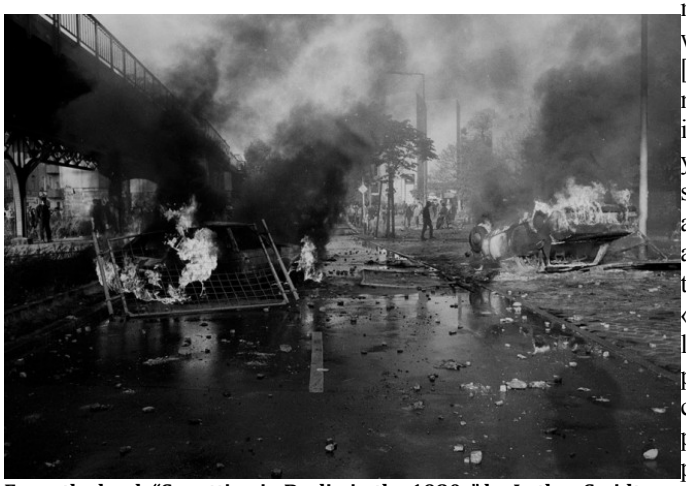
The competition and the position of the district know 36[157]

2.3 The first wave of squatting: increasing social protests against demolition and reconstruction strategies for urban renewal

In the years 1979-1982 the social protests against the demolition and reconstruction culminated in household occupations, which were concentrated in Kreuzberg, involving also other neighbourhoods. The squatters' movement that obtained at the beginning a broad public support (Holm, Kuhn, 2012) finally obtained a major role in the old rehabilitation policy. The social conflicts not only referred to the form of the city, such as the criticism of the

[155] Despite the declarations in favour of rehabilitation, at the time of the symposium (spring 1976), the overall balance resulted mostly in demolitions: about 18,000 newly built apartments were provided after clear-cutting, compared to only about 400 rehabilitated.
[156] www.stern-berlin.com/members/stern/ goto/bereiche/4.html, 11.12.2010.
[157] SENBAUWOHN-EVANGELISCHE KIRCHE BERLINBRANDENBURG, S.a., *Berlin Strategien für Kreuzberg*, in: «Bauwelt», H. 10, 1977.

"technics". The critique of the 1970s to the demolition policy was primarily a criticism of the destruction of social networks and the demolition of cheap housing, because the newly built apartments of subsidized housing were in West Berlin, at that time, about three times more expensive than simple old apartments. The actual social housing was then the not modernized Mietkasernenwohnung (SenStadt, 2010, 12).



From the book "Squatting in Berlin in the 1980s" by Lothar Smidt

«Some of these evictions resulted in clashes; […] The notion to give a new use to buildings that were standing empty in West Berlin either due to real estate speculation or disinterest gave rise to many long-lived projects.» (Vasudevan, 2011, 285). As in many other cities in Europe, in this framework, starting from 1970s, because of the shift in the economic system, many former industrial spaces were commissioned and abandoned and it created the precondition for the development of many alternative cultural project based on radical (re)appropriation and connected to the new social movements of the radical, anti-authoritarian left, or to the movement of the *Autonomen*, anarchist or anti-imperialist groups which all emerged with the beginning of the 70's. Moreover, these alternative cultural project, in Italy called "social centres", were often not related to housing issues. «In 1972 the cultural centre Ufa-Fabrik was founded in a neglected factory building in Schöneberg and later moved into the former photographic processing plant of the tradition-steeped UFA film company in Tempelhof, where it developed into one of the longest-lasting alternative cultural projects in West Berlin – it even survived the fall of the wall.

On the other hand, the many country-like idylls, sometimes including farm animals, that had sprung up on the quiet West Berlin side of the wall did not survive. From time to time, the West Berlin government did allow an alternative use for empty buildings. This was proven in 1970 with the purchase of an abandoned hospital at Mariannenplatz in Kreuzberg, in which the Kunstlerhaus (art centre) Bethanien was founded. It still exists and is thriving today.» (Ibid., 2011, 286). During the late 1970s, Kreuzberg had also turned into the "Capital of Drugs" (as David Bowie called it in the 1970s) and showed significant signs of social degradations. «In East Berlin, as one might assume, the conditions for alternatives lifestyle were not optimal. […] Thanks to the unbeatably cheap rents, the crumbling buildings were sought out by students, musicians, actors artists, and writers. The first houses were squatted in Prenzlauer Berg in the early 1980s. […] The social structure that evolved in such neighbourhoods as Prenzlauer Berg turned into an important base for the East German revolution a few years later» (Vasudevan, 2011, 287). In that age of social distress, the squatting movement achieved to attract many who wished to protest about the lack of affordable housing, rampant property speculation and the negative effects of post-war urban redevelopment. «[…] (I)t also offered an opportunity for many to quite literally build an alternative habitus where the very practice of squatting became the basis for producing a common spatial field, a field where principles and practices of co-operative living intersected with juggled political commitments, emotional attachments, and the mundane materialisms of domesticity, occupation and renovation» (Vasudevan, 2011, 285).

After the escalation of protests against the demolition and reconstruction strategies, a "fresh new start" was needed to build up urban policy extremely laborious on a completely new basis, because the trust in the city politics, but also in urban planning and in new architecture had been really thoroughly shaken (SenStadt, 2010, 12). As mentioned above, the Strategies für Kreuzberg competition success have fostered the decision to include part of the district SO36 in the areas concerned by the second *Internationale Bauausstellung* (IBA - International Architecture Exhibition - Berlin 1984 and 1989). In relation to that, in 1979, during the preparation of the IBA 1987, in Berlin was established the "IBA" company, commissioned by the Senate to rescue in Kreuzberg the "broken city": it became soon an important mediator between citizens claims and local institutions actions. «A fresh start was only possible through the establishment of an intermediate institutionalized special authority, the International Building Exhibition 1984/87, which was used in addition to the normal administration, apparently considered too cumbersome. The IBA had two big tasks: the development of a policy of "cautious urban renewal" (*behutsame Stadterneuerung*) as an alternative to the failed "destruction/reconstruction" strategy and the development of a policy for the *Neubau*, for a "critical reconstruction of the city" (*kritische Rekonstruktion der Stadt*), which offered a clear alternative to the modern urban planning and the loss of identity of the post-war period, capable to recover and repair the crumbled downtown. For these two tasks two protagonists of the protest of the 1970s were selected: Hardt-Walt Hämer and Josef Paul Kleihues. These two directors of IBA succeeded in the 1980s, not only to enforce the urban strategies turn but also to appropriate again the positive urbanism theme, making West Berlin an internationally acclaimed laboratory for urban development beyond modernity.»[158] (SenStadt, 2010, 12).

In the overall picture, the result of both sub-IBAs projects was the comprehensive urban planning model of the European city with their own respective history and form, «with public ownership of the streets, squares and parks, but private ownership of land and house ownership, clear separation of private and public spaces, a development along the road alignments with widely varying usages of individual architecture *gereihte* houses» (Häussermann, Holm, Zunzer, 2002, 223-224).

Plan of West Berlin, showing the IBA areas. (Die Senatsverwaltung fur Bau- und Wohnungswesen, Archiv Internationale Bauausstellung, 1897. The dark grey part define the "urban caution renewal" area in Kreuzberg district (Miller, 1993)

[158] Original version in German: translated by the author.

With regard to several aspects of the models of production of urban spaces, IBA produced a radical turn: «the urban models changed, but also the targets of urban design, the actor's involvement structures, the processes of planning and to a certain extent also the relations of production, i.e. the financing and support structures» (Ibid, 2010, 13). From the point of view of same IBA's group, the participated project competition "Strategies for Kreuzberg" had "created the favourable conditions" for the implementation of the *Behutsame Stadterneuerung* (Cautios Urban Renewal) even if this approach for "areas of institutional rehabilitation remained hitherto lacking" (IBA, 1984). The favour with which the Bauausstellung looks to participatory processes of the neighbourhood is largely reciprocated by local actors. The most important Kreuzberg participative organization - the "*Verein So 36*" - emphasizes how "numerous projects created as part of the process of the "Strategies" were fortunately (re)appropriated by the Bauaustellung[159], giving substance and intensifying considerably the mandate entrusted to it by parliament".[160] IBA and "Strategies" shared broadly many theoretical and operational principles, whose common denominator was "an expanded participation of residents and workers" to the urban project, which would be – from IBA's point of view – what made the "Strategies for Kreuzberg" (1977) so successful and through which the "disadvantaged neighbourhood" has quickly become the place in which "may be collected the best experiences" of innovative methods of intervention.[161] **Measures which include "measures to reduce the Leerstand[162]", including "valid forms of temporary reuse", as well as opening to legalize in certain cases *Instandbesetungen* ("rehab squatting") through "alternative forms of intervention on buildings and on housing conditions",[163] as well as the support to DIY - Do It Yourself strategies.** Many differentiated practices of modernization and regeneration were implemented/experimented in the district by insurgent practices that were spread thanks to the huge presence of vacant spaces (on about 4,612 units present in the area, 1,057 were vacant); often these experiences were introjected in the institutional procedures as alternative urban renewal and social housing strategies (such as the Self-help programs and the Combi-Hauser – see Bethanien case study's File 1 in appendix). For the IBA Altbau, taking example from the projects and demands emerged by the *Strategien für Kreuzberg* and then by the social protests and insurgent practices, developed through the involvement of the tenants and the neighbourhood's population, in those years, Mr. Hardt-Walt Hämer and its team developed the "12 principles for caution urban renewal" (*12 Grundsätzen der behutsame Stadterneuerung*).[164] They served to define the concept of careful urban renewal and summarize how it should take place, constituting the basis for the new interventions over Kreuzberg area. The area Kottbusser Tor became, then, a "protected" area within the IBA Altbau plans for the "cautious urban renewal", that established the defence of the right of the population to stay in their own neighbourhood and the importance to preserve local authenticity. These principles were adopted until the 1997 in the Kottbusser Tor Area, when the "caution urban renewal areas" were abolished. Moreover, due to the strong privatizations of public housing stocks during the 1990s, in the 2000s the side effects of evictions for rental arrears brought again the issue related to the right of the city at the centre of the local debate of the numerous local citizens' associations and groups.

2.4 Bethanien: the 1990s-2000s City's bankruptcy and the sell out of public assets

From the data provided by the *Bericht uber Stadterneuerung 2000-2001*[165] (Report about urban renewal 2000-2001 edited by the Berlin House of Representatives) in 1961 in the Kottbusser Tor redevelopment area lived about 37,000 inhabitants in 17,000 apartments and there were 2.700 companies with about 19.000 employees. Some forty years later, the number of apartments had decreased to less than 12.000 *WE* [for *Wohnungen* = Apartments], minus 30 per cent. According to the statistics of 1999, the population is now about 26.000 inhabitants (down 29 per cent). Compared to 1961, the number of companies has decreased by 1.140 today, nearly 60 per cent, which in 1999 reported 3.900 employees, by 80 per cent. «However, although the development hype and models of discourse emerging at the beginning of the 1990s in Berlin have been rendered irrelevant by urban reality, they continue to sustain current monofunctional development tendencies. Berlin now counts as one of the poorest German cities facing an increasing socio-spatial polarisation and a decline in population within the city limits.» (Groth, Corjin, 2005, 412). In 2005, a New Yorck Times article states: «For all its tolerance and cosmopolitanism, Berlin is broke. Its citizens are poor, and it has an unemployment rate of more than 20 per cent, far higher than any major city in western Germany. […] Until 1989, both halves of Berlin had been heavily state-subsidized. Successive West German governments had sought to make West Berlin into a showcase of consumerism; they inflated the city's bureaucracy and created a cosy relationship between the business community and the political class. "You have to see what kind of radical changes the city went through since 1989", Wowereit[166] said. "Hundreds of thousands of jobs were lost when the old East German factories collapsed, and West Berlin enterprises collapsed, too. It was not easy to compensate for these big job losses. The public

[159] VEREIN SO 36, informational brochure of the association's activities, 15.1.1981, p. 2, [KM, Verein SO 36, Nr.21].
[160] Cfr, ABGHS, SENBAUWOHN, *Vorlage – zur Beschlussfassung – über die Vorbereitung einer Internationale Bauausstellung Berlin 1984*, Drucksache 7/1352, 30.6.1978, paragraph "Mariannenstrasse". Cfr. also *Infra*, paragraph III-3.
[161] IBA, letter to *Regierender Bürgermeister*, quoted in VEREIN SO 36, informational brochure of the association's activities.
dell'associazione, 15.1.1981, cit., p. 2.
[162] *Leerstand* indicated the vacant spaces.
[163] Hans-Jochen VOGEL, Regierungserklärung – Abgegeben am 12. Februar 1981 vor dem Abgeordnetenhaus von Berlin, in «Berliner Forum», 2/1981, p. 24
[164] The 12 principles were confirmed by the House of Representatives (*Abgeordnetenhaus*) in 1983.
[165] "Bericht uber Stadterneuerung 2000-2001" Mitteilungen des Präsidenten des Abgeordnetenhauses von Berlin Drucksache Nr. 14/821, p. 53.
[166] Mr. Klaus Wowereit, since June 2001 to December 2014, has served as Governing Mayor (Regierender Bürgermeister) of Berlin.

sector, too, had to be restructured. It is going forward now, but slowly. It is a good place to invest". […] Berlin's debt has risen fivefold in the period 1991 to 2004, to almost €56 billion, or $72 billion, from €10.8 billion. Nearly 12 per cent of the budget for last year was earmarked for interest payments alone. The Berlin Senate, the equivalent of the regional government, says the total debt of the city amounts to €18,100 per person. (New York's, by contrast, is $6,223). Berlin's politicians have not helped matters. When the city was divided, the close relations between West Berlin's politicians and the business community led to shady property deals that were covered up.» (New York Times, 2005). In order to make clear the economic issues that Berlin's City have faced in the last decade, following this partial description of the reasons that provoked the City's bankruptcy, I would quote also the Claire Colomb's analysis of the Berlin's economic crisis: «After a short-lived period of economic and real-estate euphoria in the early 1990s, it became apparent that Berlin would not become an economic powerhouse of global importance on a par with London or New York. Because of the highly polycentric nature of the German territory and urban system, the decision made in 1991 by the German Parliament to relocate the seat of the Federal government to Berlin was not followed by a large-scale wave of company relocations to the nation's largest city. The city's economic growth rate has, since the mid-1990s, remained low and unemployment has been significantly higher than in other German *Lander*. The government of the Land of Berlin —a city-state in the German federal system— nearly faced bankruptcy in 2001 and had to make severe cuts in public expenditure to tackle its large debt, which amounted to approximately 60 billion euro in 2010.» (Ibid., 2012, 132). Another relevant element individuated by the analysis of the urban geographer Claire Colomb in relation to the complex situation of economic crisis that the City had to confront and address in the last two decades is the big presence of countless abandoned spaces, not only on the urban fringe but also in central areas. «A study commissioned by the Department for Urban Development in the mid 2000s identified five types of vacant areas: abandoned industrial sites (500 hectares), abandoned infrastructure sites such as harbours or railways (at least 100 hectares without counting the former Tempelhof airport, itself 350 hectares), disused buildings in the eastern part of the city (140 hectares)[167], disused cemeteries (143 hectares), and roughly 1.000 small building plots totalling 170 hectares (SenStadt, 2007, pp. 28–30). Some of these sites have been the object of specific plans for urban development, others not yet. Many empty sites are owned by public institutions or semi-public agencies, in particular in the eastern part of the city. The *Liegenschaftsfonds*, a private company owned by the Land of Berlin, was created in 2001 to market those publicly owned sites and properties» (Colomb, 2012, 132, 134). The adoption of neoliberal urban restructuring after the fall of the Wall; the City chronic financial crisis; the historical controversial relationship between West Berlin's politicians and the business community; the weak local economy; the increasing strategies of disposal of public assets; and the central concern over the phenomenon of *Leerstand* (big presence of vacant spaces) in the berlin's urban renewal policies are all elements connected to the emergences of numerous episodes of urban conflict in those years.

Since the end of the 1990s the issue related to the city bankruptcy and the public disinvestment became so relevant that the privatization of big public assets, such as the Bethanien complex, started to be central in city's strategy, as much as for the Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg local authorities. In fact, in Berlin the sell-out of the public estate has been an on-going process, central in the city's neoliberal strategies. «After the unification, Berlin was a city with very low rents, a lot of empty spaces and many buildings owned by the State, the Senate of Berlin or the city districts, which were not in use anymore or not needed. For example, many schools were not necessary anymore because of the decrease in birth rates. On the other hand, Berlin was - and in part still is - a very poor city, and the city administration had accumulated many debts.[168] That's why the policies in Berlin, after 1989, were designed to try to gain a better economic situation, for instance, selling public properties and trying to consolidate the local incomes. Initially, the sell out of public properties was not considered a relevant issue for many of the citizens, because there were so many left that it was not perceived as a problem. The situation changed at the end of the 1990s when the people started to understand that the sell out of public housing and estate was dramatically reducing the accessible public properties. After that, the rise of movements within the city started to open the discussion over issues like privatization of public properties, gentrification and the uncontrolled increasing of the rent rates. Berlin has actually become more and more expensive.» (semi-structured interview to Daniel Wesener a district councillor from the Green Party). Moreover, in the framework of the dismantling of subsidies programs for housing, started by Senator of finance Thilo Sarrazin in 2003, the privatization of public assets regarded also the massive sell-out of the *sozialen Wohnungsbaus* (social housing) that occurred during the 2000s. Between 1990–2005 the Senate of Berlin sold off about 209.000 public apartments and a massive sale of urban land to the highest bidder, so that at the end of 2005 Municipal housing stock Berlin counted 273.000 unites held by 6 municipal housing companies: 31.000 the WMB Gruppe; 47.00 Stadt un Land**;** 48.000 HoWoGe; 41.000 Gesobau; 56.000 DEGEWO Gruppe; 50.000 GEWOBAG.[169] Since 2005, more municipal housing units have been privatized (as the 2004 sold-off of the state-owned housing company GSW to the investment bank Goldman Sachs and speculator Cerberus, thus handing them control of over 65,000 homes). The first shares of the privatized *Sozialen Wohnungsbau* were located mostly in Mitte, Prenzlauerberg, Friedrichshain (central neighbourhoods formerly part of East-Berlin),

[167] Following German unification, the outer districts of East Berlin have experienced population decline — in the district of Marzahn-Hellersdorf, by 17% between 1995 and 2002, with rates nearing 30% in some parts of the district (SenStadt, 2007, p. 23). A federal program of urban renewal named Stadtumbau Ost was set up in 2002 to tackle this decline. The program included the demolition of "surplus housing" and disused public buildings: in 2007, 185 buildings covering a surface of 140 hectares were earmarked for demolition.

[168] «The real problems started after the Berlin Wall collapsed, on Nov. 9, 1989. The city slid into bankruptcy, taking with it the extraordinary euphoria that engulfed Berlin on that historic evening» (New York Times, 2005). In 2013 the debt reached 63 billion euros.

[169] http://www.bmgev.de/fileadmin/redaktion/downloads/privatsierung/konferenz-dokumentation/praesentationen/praesentation-andrej-holm.pdf

while the second phase of housing privatization interested more Kreuzberg, Neukölln and Wedding. It provoked – and is still provoking – many forced eviction due to the growing difficulties to pay the dramatically increased rent. Even if the tenants are protected by leasing contract that provides for the control over rent increase, often these forms of "re-evaluation" of the rent rates was justified by the "energetic modernisations" provided by the new landlords to the old municipal housing unites so that the tenants have received notification of rent increase equal to 300% of the initial value (i.e. the case of a 73-year-old pensioner: Mr. Ottmar Mayer's rent increased from 370 to 1.200 €/month)[170]. In fact, «(i)ncremental reforms of German tenancy law have enabled landlords to force through "energetic modernisations" of their properties and pass down up to 11% of their costs to the tenants. In upcoming areas such as Prenzlauer Berg, Neukölln and Kreuzberg, there have been numerous reports of landlords abusing the "energetic modernisation" rule: flushing out old tenants by announcing expensive renovations, only to then immediately put the flats on the market at a higher price without having made any significant improvements»[171]. According to the Guardian: «Rents in Berlin have risen by 28% since 2007, and are continuing to climb at almost twice the national average. In its monthly report in October, the Bundesbank said that properties in large German cities like Berlin "may currently be overvalued by between 5% and 10%". […] Berlin's social housing stock is falling just as the demand is rising. According to Hanover's Pestel Institute, the German capital needs an additional 500.000 affordable homes, but the city hasn't built new social housing since the early 2000s, and at the current rate it would continue losing around 4.500 homes a year. Currently, the City Senate claims to have found funds to support the building of around 1.000 affordable homes this year. But whether they will be in the centre or towards the Brandenburg outskirts remains unclear. "The danger for Berlin is not that it will become like London, but that it will become like Paris, with the poor and elderly carted out to the edges of the city", says Andrej Holm, a sociologist who writes a blog on Berlin gentrification»[172]. This situation started to strongly affect Kreuzberg population, threatening that social mix that was spared thanks to the "caution urban renewal" areas individuated during the 1980s and dismissed at the end of the 1990s.

In the meanwhile, due to the difficult financial and economic City's situation, in Bethanien, starting from 2002, the administration started to pursue the progressive closure or displacement of the social institutions hosted in the complex: at the end of 2002 the Namik Kemal library (with German and Turkish literature) was relocated outside of the building; in 2004, the seniors meeting space was closed; at the beginning of 2005 the social welfare office was removed from the 1st and 2nd floor of the south wing. Also the kindergarten was supposed to be moved out of the Bethanien complex, another important public service for the lower classes living in the neighbourhood, that was going to be dismissed in the framework of increasing cuts in public expenditure and relocation/reduction/privatization of social services. There was also some concern about the permanence of the music school, located in the Bethanien since the 1975. According to one of the neighbours (interview to Simone): "The preconditions for the spreading of the discontent among the neighbours, *in primis* the Turkish community, was that the German-Turkish library had been removed from the complex. Some considered it an important place for the neighbourhood because it was a place of encounter for people from different cultures". The plan of the city was considered not very obvious by the citizens and lacked in consensus. It is worth to stress that, particularly in the late 1990s, due to the city's financial crisis in 2001, the districts' began to consider unfeasible the economic management of large public properties. The management of Bethanien, a big architectural complex, became economically unsustainable following the introduction of the "*Kalkulatorische Kosten*" in 2005. To understand the more about the interpretative framework of public administrators, I refer here to the personal interview to the Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg district councillor Daniel Wesener (*Grunen* party): «I started my political experience in the parliament of the Friedrichshain-kreuzberg city district in 2001 and the issue of the Bethanien at that time was representing the symbol of this shift – from indifference to concern about the sale of public assets. I think that, for a long time this place was not really considered important. This building was used to host the social welfare offices that were moved out, in 2005. So, the city district didn't need the building anymore and it was supposed to get rid of it, and to sell it. The majority of politics and parties were rather sceptical against privatization, like: the green, the SPD party, die Linke, and the other left parties. Moreover, at that time the mayor of Friedrichshain-Freuzberg was Cornelia Reineuer, from the "*die Linke*" party (the Left party), and it is well known that this is not a party that in general supports privatization. The district parliament considered, at that time, privatization as the only possible solution. The background is a very complex financial issue: in Berlin there is a financial cost voice called "*Kalkulatorische Kosten*" that requires to the city districts to pay huge "indirect" financial costs on public property under their jurisdiction - not only the "explicit costs" (like supplies, wages or maintenance) but also the "implicit costs or imputed costs", that are considered as if the value of the building is calculated on the costs that would be caused by completely rebuilding it. It means that in case of buildings of a special value, districts have to sustain very high costs. That is a system, invented by the former financial deputy who tried to solve the financial "disaster" of Berlin, indirectly forcing the sell-out of public properties. The *Kalkulatorische Kosten*, in fact, were invented to make public properties too expensive for the city districts, particularly when they are not in use. It generated a discussion over the legitimacy to keep selling all these public properties. The Bethaien occupation and the beginning of the campaign against its privatization coincided with this institutional debate. **While, the debate emerged few years later on Media Spree was more related to urban planning, participation and on the issue of urban planning and city policies which are dictated by private**

[170] The story is described in The Guardian article "Unaffordable cities: Berlin the renters' haven hit by green fog of eco-scams" – 11/2/2014 [http://www.theguardian.com/cities/2014/feb/11/unaffordable-cities-berlin-rent-green-laws]
[171] The Guardian (2014): [http://www.theguardian.com/cities/2014/feb/11/unaffordable-cities-berlin-rent-green-laws]
[172] Ibidem.

investors, the Bethanien discussion was rather a discussion about how do we want to manage public estate». After the introduction of the Kalkulatorische Kosten, imposing enormous indirect costs on the management of old big public properties, the Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg borough said that the district had to choose between the privatization of such expensive underutilized big infrastructure or the closure of many public services (such as schools or libraries) for lack in economic resources; the borough council chose to sell the property, after the displacement of all the public facilities located in the building was completed. Due to the forecasts over the changes in the social fabric expected to take place in the neighbourhood, local authorities considered the closure of public facilities, mostly important for the lower classes living in the neighbourhood and increasingly displaced. The slow but progressive gentrification brought more high-middle classes population in the neighbourhood that could have been more interested in cultural and artistic activities. In fact, the plan was basically to move all the facilities that were not explicitly connected with art and culture out of the complex and to sell the Bethanien to a private investor from Brehmen to transform it in an "International Cultural incubator". «I always supported the claim to maintain the property public. The idea, in any case, was to sell the building and then rent from a private owner. The idea was either to have a private owner managing the space and lifting the Borough from all that unsustainable costs» (Daniel Wesener interview). It is worth mentioning that Mariannenplatz area (area 9), where the Bethanien complex is located, is part of the "*Quartiersmanagement*" project that individuates 38 areas of Berlin highly affected by social degradation and high rates of social disadvantage: "areas with special development needs" (see file 3 in appendix). In the Quartiersmanagement the focal points of the project are:

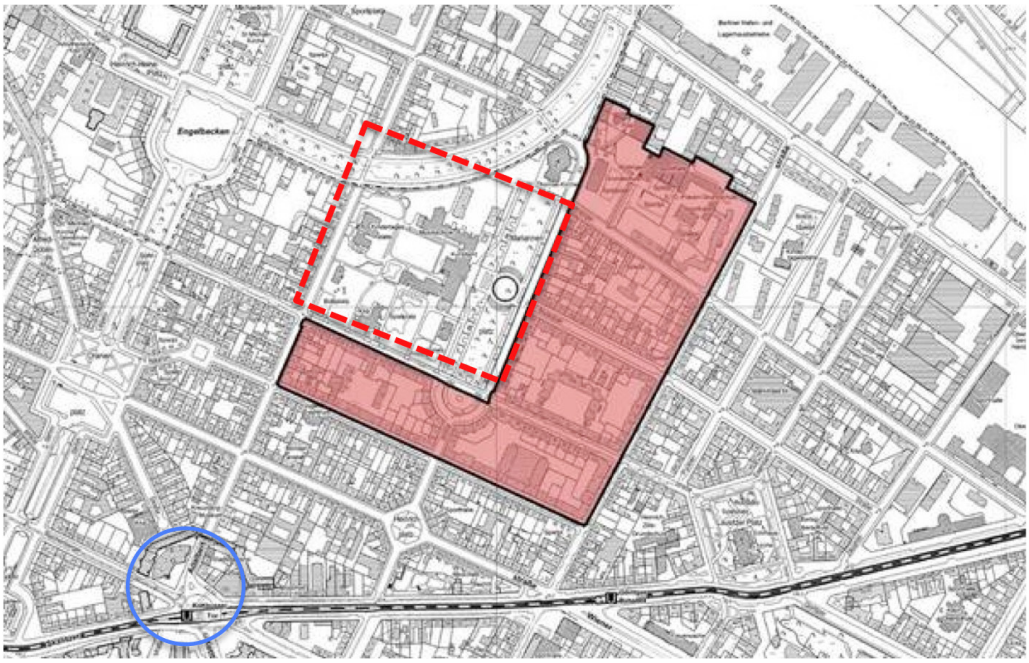
Education, Training, Youth
Assurance of successful educational projects; Opening of the educational institutions in the social area; Exchange of educational institutions; Language development; Development of leisure activities for children and young people

Employment and the Economy
Low-threshold consulting and training for young people; Improvement of information on existing services; Networking of training and employment supports and advisory services; Integration trader

Neighborhood
Tenants' board as a focal point for residents; Strengthening the residents meetings; Prevention activities and awareness-raising deals in the health sector

Public space
Improve the quality of stay; Cooperation with housing associations; Tenant gardens

Participation, networking and integration of the partners
To strengthen volunteer activities and self-organized structures, mobilize to help themselves; Support of the residents in establishing a locally owned Residents Association



The Mariannenplatz Quartiersmanagement (red area); the Bethanien complex area (red dashed line); Kotbussetor (blue circle)

The privatization of an important and central public space such as the Bethanien complex seems to undermine the goals proposed by the Quartiermanagement project. According to the Quartiermanagement description, the "area 9" is described as "as quiet, family friendly residential area despite its central location". In fact, the Kreuzberg vibrant nightlife, with thousands of people populating its bars, clubs and streets every night does not affect the Mariannenplatz area but for the nighttime activities offered by Haus Projekt Rauchhaus and Bethanien complex. This is due to the Mariannenplatz (PIX) renewal project, actuated starting from 1974, that eliminated the functional mix of commercial activities, residential and internal courtyard workshops, in order to divide residential from business activities. If it resulted in a more "family friendly" environment on one side, on the other it transformed the square in an isolated urban area, lived during the day by few people because of the Bethanien park and the public activities offered within the its

complex, while during the night, in particular the park, results quite desolate causing low perceived level of security. The Bethanien public space, thus, has an important role in making the square alive during the day. Instead, the presence of the big Bethanien Park in the middle of the square, with a very bad night lighting system that often does not work, contributes to the unsafe perception. In relation to the inclusion of Mariannenplatz in Quertiermanagement areas, the planned removal of all the public services (job office, library, Children's day-care, senior space, etc.) looks even more decontextualized. The need for more public spaces for its inhabitants, described as "colourful, social and cultural mix" and not as a compact wealthy middle class, is blindly substituted by an unspecified need for an "international cultural centre". The multiple and plural interpretations attributed to this space seen as an unnecessary and cumbersome property to reinvest, or as a symbolic public/common space for the district, needed to discuss and negotiate a solution starting from conflicting positions. Instead, the Borough decided to plan the privatization of the property without consulting citizens' opinion and creating the preconditions for the emergence of the conflict. The space for negotiation will be reclaimed by the citizens through the enacting of several levels of contestation and dissent based over radical appropriation and more conventional methods.

2.5 The emergence of the conflict over Bethanien and the reappropriation of its spaces

At the beginning of 2005, the first rumours started spreading from the people running the various activities within Bethanien concerned about the apparent eminent closure or relocation of all their activities because of the privatization of the whole area. In this context the conflict over the privatization of the Bethanien, considered a symbolic object of an historical contention between the citizenship and the local institutions, arose. At the same time, the three floors of the south wing (the first, the second and the third) were made vacant by removing the *sozialamt* ("social welfare office"). The relocation was made possible by the approval of the fourth stage of the labour market reform (called *Hartz concept*[173]) that took effect by January 1, 2005. It brought together the former unemployment benefits for long-term unemployed ('*Arbeitslosenhilfe*') and the welfare benefits ('*Sozialhilfe*') - leaving them both at approximately the lower level of the former *Sozialhilfe* (social assistance). In the meanwhile, in the framework of welfare retrenchment and public estate sell out, on the June 6th of the year 2005, another conflict connected to the umpteenth forced eviction emerged. The 67 people living in the Yorck 59, an historical Berliner Hausprojekt (alternative hosing project) lasted for 17 years and considered one of the well integrated autonomous spaces within the city, were violently evicted from their houses causing a big media and public attention. Since years, the house projects were increasingly affected by evictions since the space that they legally rented for a low price became space of contention between these low budget tenants and new owners, since after the fall of the wall the properties that they addressed for the creation of collective living project and renewal were increasingly interesting for the market. This time the people evicted decided to keep protesting for the unfair treatment and five days after, the 11th of June, some from Yorck 59 projekt and their supporters occupied the Bethanien south wing, left vacant after the removal of the Sozialhilfe offices. Few days after, other people from other Berlin's Hausprojekt and people from the neighbourhood took part in the occupation. In order to better understand the visions and claims of these new stakeholders involved in the Bethanien conflict, it is worth to briefly mention the story of the Yorck59 Hausprojekt.

2.6 The *Hausprojekt* "Yorck 59": collective living, gentrification and evictions in Kreuzberg district

Yorckstrasse 59 was a legal Hausprojekt[174] located in Yorckstrasse 59, in West-Kreuzberg. The project started when seven people who were looking for a place for common living (*gemeinschaftlichen Wohnen*) finally found a suitable 4 floors' vacant building that was a former factory (*Fabriketagen*). The location was chosen also because of the proximity to Mehringhof, another big collective living space and several sub-cultural spaces. Within a short time from the individuation of the place, the original group was supplemented by other people from the radical left political scene, so that in December 1988, a commercial lease (*Gewerbemietvertrag*) was signed, including the housing right (*Wohnrecht*) for 60 people. According to Mina, a radical left wing activist and former tenant of the Yorck 59 projekt: «In the 1970s and 1980s there was a change in the neighbourhood capitalist economic organization. Many buildings in Kreuzberg, had these spaces for production located in the internal sides of the courtyards, something like the *Mietkasernen*. In those spaces, located mostly in Kreuzberg (the Kreuzberg Mix), there where workshops and little factories that were removed both because of the regeneration programs implemented in Kreuzberg and because of the 1970s/1980s local economy

[173] The *Hartz concept*, also known as Hartz reforms or the Hartz plan, is a set of recommendations submitted by a commission on reforms to the German labour market in 2002. Named after the head of the commission, Peter Hartz, these recommendations went on to become part of the German government's *Agenda 2010* series of reforms, known as Hartz I - Hartz IV. The committee devised thirteen "innovation modules", which recommended changes to the German labour market system. These were then gradually put into practice: The measures of Hartz I - III were undertaken between January 1, 2003, and 2004, while Hartz IV was implemented on January 1, 2005.

[174] What is a Hausprojekt? According to Mina: «For the radical left wing scene it is understood as a project for collective living, could be a rented or a former squatted and legalized house, often including more than one WG (shared apartments). It includes often an "open space" organized in various rooms for meetings, solidarities parties, sometimes offices for political groups and different activities. Most of the times, the people that live in the project manage the open space, its activities and financing and sometimes are out standing groups that organize *Sub* (subversive activities)».

change. Many companies had to move outside the neighbourhood and leave these former spaces of production empty and vacant. This is why it was possible to find very convenient lease contracts for this kind of spaces. Starting from that, big groups started renting these former-commercial spaces but not with a normal lease for living but for the same contract that the previous commercial activities located in those premises had, a commercial one. The owner knew that we were living there, but the contract was for working activities. This is legal and accepted. The contract that we signed said that 60 people could live there and that there could be at least 20 guests. So it was legal for us to live there and the price was good because we had to invest on the space in order to transform it and make it suitable for living: we built all the internal partitions and the facilities. We had to build our spaces but we could ask the owner to intervene when something was broken, and even to lower the rent. There were a lot of spaces like this in the Kreuzberg where people experimented self-construction of living spaces». Since the very beginning, the Haus Projekt was formed both by living spaces for the people that joined the project, among them many families and a "bunch of kids", both by public/open spaces for social activities and projects.

According to Mina: «There is not a general way Hausprjekte start. There have been the two big squatting waves at the end of the 1970s, 1980s, when the strategy was to squat a space and sometimes get legalized, then some house projects, like in the case of Yorck 59, were just rented. Then we organized this project not only as a living space, we wanted to keep about a quarter of the space as a *Offenraum*, an "open space" for the left wing political scene activities, and for the neighbourhood. The people living in the space were mostly permanent, while a little share was moving in and out». Most of the people involved in the project were Germans but also some people from Sudan, Basque Country, Latin America and other European countries. For many of them it was intended as a permanent home (many people lived there for 17 years).

According to Paul[175] a radical left wing activist involved in the Berlin squatting movement during the late 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s and former tenant of Brunnenstrasse house project in Berlin (and participating to activities in the Yorck 59): «It worked exactly like a collective living space. Everybody basically had their own room. Then there were huge, really big communal kitchens and living rooms. Some rooms were really small and all the rooms were self-constructed, sometimes simple structure made with wood, so that, often, you could hear your neighbour talking on the other side of the wall. *It was completely self-organized on self-management principles:* general meetings of all the tenants, kitchen meetings and meetings of the projects involved in the public space. It was self-managed, non-hierarchical and based on collective consensus (at least in theory). Everybody paid a little rent like about 200 euros a month, an amount that could vary depending on the size of your room and the circumstances of your income». The initial agreement provided a rent of 11 years and then the possibility of renewal for 5 years in 5 years, said the association "Färbung e.V." that served as "contractual partner" (*Vertragspartner*)[176] for both the owner and the tenants. After signing the contract (*Vertrag*), the former factory space were transformed into collective workspace (*kollektiver Arbeit*) for about 50 people: the two 450 m² floors space were used for WGs, while 240 square meters space on two floors were left as "open space" for events and sports, as well as another floor for archives, initiatives and political projects: «The anti-racist initiative "Ari-Berlin[177]" had its headquarters in Yorck 59 for about 15 years, as well as the African women's initiative, Radio Onda, the information *news - Pool Latinamerica* and many other political groups» (Paul interview).

Since the beginning, the Yorck59 project made many attempts to achieve an anchoring in the neighbourhood and with the radical political scene. «There were also some connection with the neighbourhood at the beginning: "tenants meeting" (*MieterInnentreffen*) took place in Yorck 59 as well as some, "courtyard parties" (*MieterInnentreffen*) and "neighbourhood kitchen" (*Kiezküche*) were organized along with other collective spaces. Yorck 59 Haus Projekt was also involved in the activity of the "yellow dot": some posters with a yellow dot were put up around the neighbourhood in order to mark places where people who faced racism or racist attacks, can be safe and protected. This was a local neighbourhood-activity too. People could put this "Yellow dot" poster at their stores or living spaces[178]». The initiatives in the neighbourhood were however over time fewer and the one that lasted was the annual Hoffest in Yorck59. After the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, many far left initiatives and poorer population groups in Kreuzberg suffered of the displacement policies, since the district moved from being localized in the "outskirts" of West Berlin into being near the heart of the new centre. Following the sale of the house in 1994, this gentrification system seemed to threaten the

[175] Interview conducted for the investigation over the New Yorck in Bethanien case. The person interviewed asked to be addressed by a fake name. « I lived in Brunnenstraße 7, an ex-squatted then legalized house project, from 1991 until September 2005, when I moved to the NewYorck in Bethanien house project».

[176] According to Mina: «In the 1980s, when a lot of squats were legalized, the City made some contract with organization non-profit to negotiate between the squats and the public or private owner, in order to find some deals for legalization and lease contracts. In the 1990s, it was less advantageous the kind of deals that were proposed. These "*Vertragspartner"* organizations, worked as guarantors for the Hausprojekte in the negotiation with the owner. During the 1990s, the forms of contracts changed. It became more difficult to get a more independent contract (that means that you can do basically what you want). With these new contracts you have to say who's living in the leased property, so that every single person involved in the projects had to sign the contract. It made the situation more controlled and rigid and it was not so easy to have people moving in and out as before. It is complicated to have the same people staying for 20 years in the same project. Nevertheless, if an association of people signs the contract it is less easy to control it (like in the case of the Sudflugel in Bethanien).

[177] http://www.ari-berlin.org/ and http://www.ari-berlin.org/doku/PE_english_21.pdf

[178] This action started when in 1991, after a racist attack on a refugee home in *Saarbrücken*, a twenty-sevenyears old guy Samuel Yeboah was murdered (http://www.feuerwehr.saarlouis.de/1991asylantenheim.0.html).

existence of the Yorck59 project: according to the lease, after the sale of the house, in the forthcoming negotiations, the new owner, the "Labani GmbH", called for a revision of the rent, quadrupling the previous amount. According to Mina: «the contract was good until the fall of the wall. Since the beginning of the 1990s, Berlin became a place more attractive for real estate investments. So, the property that we rented was sold and the new owner wanted to obtain higher profits from the leasing of this space. On this point of view the kind of contract that we had was disadvantageous. In fact, with a normal leasing contract for housing space, when you are an official tenant there are many laws that prevent you from being evicted and protect you from unfair rent increasing. The *Gewerbemietvertrag* (Commercial lease) contract works in a condition of free market, it means that the owner is free to impose any rent». The proposed rent revision was rejected by the Yorck59 tenants and initiated a campaign with the aim to inform the public critically addressing the negative effect of the city restructuring, in order to strengthen the power position of Yorck59 for bargaining their opportunity to stay. An attempt was made to put pressure on Dietrich Garski and Helmuth Penz, who stood behind the owner company "Labani GmbH" and the property management "GWF". Dietrich Garski was as contractors involved in the fall of the Berlin Senate in 1981[179] and had still a debt of 93 million DM with the City. Therefore, its real estate business was over his wife Claudia Garski. Helmuth Penz leaded more than 30 companies, as a hotel chain as well as hostels for homeless and asylum seekers, and was therefore concerned for the smooth operation of the Company according to its public image. After "GWF" had withdrawn its house Administration role and Garskis involvement with "Labani GmbH" was finished, in 1995, an acceptable rent increase could be negotiated with residents and users. However, even these could be attained only by a financial contribution of users of "public space".[180] «In December 2003, the owner of the house went bankrupt. The house came into receivership and the bank decided to sell the property. The people of Yorckstrasse tried to buy the house on his own together with the *Mietshäuser Syndikat* but the Bank did not accept the offer and sold the house to a new private investor[181].» (interview to Paul). Shortly after the new change in ownership, conflicts started since the new property manager Boris Gregor Marweld wanted unload rehabilitation costs because of alleged self-indebtedness, as well as the costs for the removal of political posters in the courtyard entrance to the resident, plus the Hoffest courtyard events were banned.

The protests of the Yorck59 dwellers: the ban says "Kollektive space Vs investment space" – Yorck59 stays"

At the end of September 2004 the Yorck59 regular lease expired. Then a negotiation started for the definition of the new rent: the new owner asked a doubling of the rent, which was rejected by Yorck59 tenants. Thereupon an arbitration report Chamber of Commerce has been requested, which should determine the market rent, according to the lease if the negotiating parties cannot agree. The proposed rent increased in the advisory opinion of 55 per cent, which was considered by its residents, however, as impossible to finance so to call for a political solution. Residents and supporters then tried to strengthen public pressure in order to bring about a political solution: among other things, were carried out rallies and demonstrations, occupied the national unit of the governing parties PDS and SPD in Berlin, and created a newspaper insert, published in five national newspapers.

A purchase of the house by the dwellers or an exchange with a property of the Real Estate Fund of Berlin (*Liegenschaftsfonds des Landes Berlin*) failed because of the price asked by the new owner (2.5 million euros – the price he had paid in December 2003 was increased more than one million), was considered unsustainable by the local administration. According to Paul: «The neighbours were fine with the place. Also, the district of Kreuzberg-Friedrichshain supported the place and wanted them to stay and exist. But the property was private. The district, at that time 2005 with a mayor from the left party PDS, could not do anything». The owner's purpose was to renovate the old property and make 10 unites to sell, apparently lofts, out of the about 3000 sqm's property. On the morning of the 6th June 2005, about 500 policemen intervened to clear the Yorck59: about 250 supporters blocked with a sit-in the entrance of the Yorck59, while 150 additional people were staying in the barricaded house project.[182] The police action was criticized in some press reports: it was called "disproportionate" and the policemen were accused to have acted "in some case with massive violence" against "peaceful demonstrators".[183] Special trops on were sent for the eviction.

[179] The fall of the local government in the 1981 was connected to the emergence of a corruption scandal involving local elitès in the construction sector and local politicians. It provocked the first period of power vacuum in which the first squatting wave emerged (Holm, Kuhn, 2012).
[180] Info found on "Geschichte und Geschichten des Hausprojektes Yorck59" [www.yorck59.net].
[181] The same year, the house was bought by *Marc Walter*.
[182] Taz, June 7th 2005, *"500 Polizisten räumen 1 Haus"* [http://www.taz.de/1/archiv/?dig=2005/06/07/a0100]
[183] Taz, June 6th 2005, "Aus für die Yorckstraße 59" [http://www.taz.de/1/archiv/?dig=2005/06/07/a0216].

1. Photo yorckstraße 59 back yard

2. blockade in the morning of June 6th 2005

3. Police attack and remove people

4. Almost everyone evicted by police

5. Police enter the house Yorck59 (June 2005)

6. Big mobilisation of police force for the eviction[184]

[184] The photos have been kindly provided by an activist that participated to the sit-in and the eviction of the Yorck 59.

In December 2008 the Berlin Court of Appeal declared the eviction illegal, because the owner had obtained no valid title for eviction against the tenants and subtenants and the criminal complaints for collective trespassing were declared invalid. Five days after the eviction, on June 11th 2005, the former residents and supporters of Yorck59 occupied two floors in the vacant left wing of the highly symbolic Bethanien complex, located on Mariannenplatz in Berlin-Kreuzberg SO36. The occupied space was named "New Yorck in Bethanien", symbolizing the relocation of the Yorck59 project in another "case", and declared the will to stay until the district would offer a "reasonable compensation" for Yorckstraße 59th dwellers that suddenly had lost their houses. «District Mayor Cornelia Reinauer (PDS) has indeed made a number of proposals before the police cleared the House in the Yorckstraße on Monday. "But a serious offer has not been presented", said the spokeswoman».[185] Since the Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg had not a definitive deal with the new potential owner of the Bethanien and probably also because of the street festival, which took place on the day of the occupation on the Mariannenplatz, the police did not immediately removed the squatters on the basis of the *Allgemeines Sicherheits- und Ordnungsgesetz* - ASOG Bln (General Security and Planning Act) and the Berliner Linie that, in case of trespassing, provides evictions within 48 without necessity of obtaining a valid title for eviction. Actually many of the Yorck59 project tenants didn't stayed in the new occupation for a long time, at the beginning it was intended to be a temporary solution, in order to negotiate a permanent one with the public authorities: «The people involved in the Yorck59 project had struggled for the "*Hauskampf*" (housing struggles) and against the eviction, and after that many of them felt that they had no more energy to spend on it. Many didn't want to live anymore in precarious conditions; some of them had children, etc. From 65 people maybe 20 moved here (few with children) and then many more left; many came at the beginning just to support the protest but they had no intention to stay any longer. We needed a long time to got the contract, 4 years; in the meanwhile many of them left». According to Daniel Wesener, interviewed as councillor of the Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg district for the Green Party that participated to the negotiations during the Bethanien conflict: «It was not really surprising that they went to the Bethanien. They were looking for some new place and they knew about the Bethanien and the fact that the former mayor was planning the sell out of the property. We tried to rescue this projeckt Yorck 59 discussing with the police and the Senate of Berlin to help them to find a new shelter because we knew that they were in need». Mina: «We knew that the Bethanien south-wing was left vacant for several months because of the Hartz IV reorganization. Moreover, there was a group that was looking for a place for a social centre and they had this south wing in their mind too. We had a sort of hint over this place vacancy. When we were evicted, the Green Party politician Franz Schulz (Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg district's Mayor between 1996-2000 and 2006-2013), that was at that time *Bezirksstadtrat für Stadtentwicklung und Bauen* (district councillor for urban development and building) for Kreuzberg-Friedrichshain, during on of the thousands negotiation that we had with local politicians for individuating an alternative solution for the Yorck59 project, one time he mentioned, while we were in his office, that the south-wing of Bethanien was vacant. We never knew if it was an unofficial hint. Maybe they were just considering the possibility to address this property in the context of looking for another housing solution for us». Actually, the first squatting action was not related to the opposition against the intended privatization of the property: «I think that at the beginning we were more focused on the squatting action, on having a new place from where start a negotiation, and concerned about the police and the possibility to get evicted. Then some neighbours came the next days and told us the story and I really realized again of the issue of privatization. So we joined our forces and started the struggle for the Bethanien» (Mina).

1. Bethanien south-wing: first days of squatting action for the creation of the New Yorck project

2. "Anarchie am eingang" (Anarchy at the entrance)

[185] Der Tagesspiegel, June 12nd 2005, "Berlin Ex-Bewohner der Yorck 59 besetzen Bethanien" [http://www.tagesspiegel.de/berlin/ex-bewohner-der-yorck-59-besetzen-bethanien/615626.html]

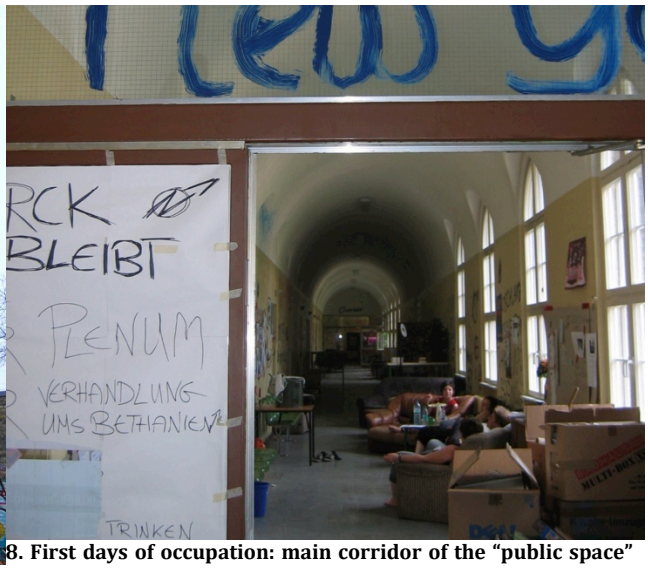
3. Bethanien squatting action: banner on the main building to get moere visibility

4. "The Bethanien is occupied – Yorck59 bleibt" ("Yorck59 stays")

5. "Yorck59 – Der Kampf geht weiter" (the struggle continues)

6. "Sozialamt" ("welfare office", from 1986 to 2005 was located in then south wing) – "Yorck59 im exil" ("Yorck59 in exile")

7. View of the Bethanien south-wing after the squatting action: "New Yorck Reloded" (symbilize the re-activation of the Yorck59 project)



8. First days of occupation: main corridor of the "public space" Program of the activities on the door: "Plenum" ("Plenary") – "Verhandlung um Bethanien" ("negotiation over Bethanien") – activation of the bar[186]

[186] Photos kindly provided by Paul that participated to the squatting action and to the definition of the new Yorck project

2.7 The squatting action and the Campaign *"Bethanien für alle!"*: intertwining of different political actions and goals for the reclaiming of public space

Franz Schulz (centre on the left) and Kristian Strobele (on his right) at the press conference organized by the squatters in the occupied Bethanien south-wing. The banner says: "today – Bethanien occupied – Yorck59 the struggle continues"

The day after the squatting action took place, the squatters organized a press conference, where newspaper and some local politicians like Franz Schulz and Kristian Strobele [187] were invited and participated. «For us it meant that they were supporting us» (Mina). The whole neighbourhood was then very quickly informed of the action: «that resulted in a big gathering of neighbours that were supporting the occupation because that meant that the doors had been open and they had finally access to these spaces. So, the two things came together, the local community campaign and the action of the squatters» (Simone interview, a neighbour and one of the main people involved in the campaign against the privatization of Bethanien).

In fact, in the meanwhile, the neighbours started to inform each other and to meet on a frequent base to prevent the sell out of the public property. The conflict with the neighbours had been fuelled by the absence of negotiation space between the local authorities and the requests of the inhabitants: after the closure and relocation the public services (the library, the seniors meeting space and the "job centre"), actually a big part of the south wing remained vacant, so that many neighbours tried to have access to these empty spaces proposing activities and projects to the district (workshop, working spaces, etc.). «All of them were refused or not taken into consideration asserting that there were no spaces available at all» (personal interview to Simone). For neighbours and citizens, the proposed privatization of the complex was connected to mismanagement and the lack of a programmatic "new concepts" for the Bethanien complex, important for the success of the public management of such a big public property. «The district administration failed for years in developing a coherent and cost-recovery concept for the use of Bethany. After years of district administration, the situation in mid-2005 was characterized by vacancy, absence of a general concept, deferred rehabilitation and unclear cost situation.» ("a new concept for Bethanien" document). Since the occupation of the vacant premise took place, thanks to the merging of interests and political actions the campaign "Bethanien fur alle" was settled: «We invented the campaign together with the neighbours after we took over the space. There were some individuals that had the intention of build up a campaign against the privatization. But at that time, it was a very small group including, mainly, people directly affected by the privatization, as the ones working in activities located in the south-wing (e.g. the kindergarten, that had to move in the case of the sell out of the property). The issue was not known by the public opinion yet, like it became after the involvement of newspapers and real protests mobilization.

Protest after the Yorck59 eviction: the banner shows the forms of alternative collective living of Hausprojekt and Wagenplatz (increasingly tratened by evictions and strategies of control over space)

Protest after the Yorck59 eviction

[187] Kristian Strobele represents the Green Party in the *Bunderstag* (Parliament of Germany) as direct candidate from Kreuzberg district (he participated to the negotiations with us during the Yrock 59 issue).

When we came here we found these neighbours, not people in the autonomous movement, but still left wing people, mostly older people or families with children that contacted us in order to have access to the south-wing spaces where meet and discuss neighbourhood's issues. So, we opened the place and started these open meetings to talk of what was going on here in the neighbourhood. They told us to be interested in building up a group working over the issue of Bethanien privatization: the group was formed by some of the people from Yorck59, some of the new people part of the project and some neighbours. That was a fix group but the meetings were open, so more and more people started joining the meetings. It was a very mixed group not only made of people coming from the autonomous scene. And then started coming also politicians, interested in the process, saying that they wanted to find a solution but that the living space wasn't something that could have been taken into consideration in a public building ("You're crazy in addressing a public building for you're specific interests" they said)» (Mina). According to Simone, a representative "Bethanien fur alle" activist and neighbour: «It was very crucial to understand how then the things worked out. This conflict obtained so much attention because it was supported by the local community, by the neighbours itself and not only from the autonomous movement». There was a big participation from the neighbourhood, very various. For instance, there was a big group of Turkish mothers who started to organize themselves in order to stop the involvement of their children in the illegal activities in the neighbourhood: they were asking for a place where they could meet safely. «These mothers didn't want to address local administration for this project: they didn't want to do anything official» (Simone interview). «Then Turkish, Greek, Arabian, German, etc. filmmakers and other people in the art and sub-cultural business started to use the squatted south-wing for their presentation, and meetings. Other neighbourhood initiatives, for instance, the tenants' movements, working against the selling out of the public housing stocks, the "stop eviction" organization and the proposals for new public policies for housing, they also needed to use the place as a meeting place. Antiracist initiatives moved in, also working with people from the neighbourhood. So it was a very interesting mix of initiatives and people meeting on the same first floor. People that wouldn't have probably meet out of here, because it is a very multicultural neighbourhood in which people simply stay within their community, they live next to each other but not mixing. Working and meeting here, people started to mix. We also offered very simple services like "you can come on Sunday" especially in the winter time it was interesting for people with children "and you can have a very cheap coffee and a cake for a donation price". And we also offered leisure time activities for the kids. There was a lot of people coming and going» (Simone interview). Since many years, except that for political or social very sensitive issues (see the case of Orianenplatz and Haupman-schule), the squatted properties - both public and private - were immediately evicted, so as established by the "*Berliner Linie*[188]*"*. Unlike what normally happened in the case of squatting action, the property wasn't immediately vacated. The reason was that at the time of the south wing occupation, the *Bürgermiesterin* (Mayor) of the *Bezirk* (neighbourhood) Kreuzberg-Friedrichshain, Cornelia Reineuer (SPD) wasn't in Berlin and because of this there was no immediate reaction in the first days (after the first days it is necessary to obtain a legal permit to evict a property and because of that the place was not evicted). Then Mayor Reineuer proposed to negotiate with the squatters, in order to enter into an agreement with the local administration and to regularize the squat by signing a one-year contract with the condition to leave the building at the end of the contract. The squatters refused and asked for a long-term contract. After the first negotiation collapsed she took into consideration the eviction, completely opposing the idea to negotiate a longer leasing contract with the squatters. «She called actually the police for the eviction but the police answered "you need the eviction order from the judge, you cannot just evict a house without that after two months; in the first days it could be possible but now too much time has passed"» (Bethanien tenant/activist interview). In the meanwhile, the one year later election of the Bezirk government (BVV) Kreuzber-Friedriechshain see the election of a new Mayor from the Green Party (historically connected and supporting the counter-cultural scene and political scene of the neighbourhood). Then the squatters, the people involved in the campaign *"Bethanien für alle!"* – as the neighbours, the space users, those who worked in the activities within the Bethanien, the citizens and activists - and the ones involved in the youth Hausprojekt *"Georg-von-Rauch-Haus"*, all together, gave born to the IZB (Iniziative Zukunft Bethanien – "Initiative for the future Bethanien") that started with the petition for a referendum on a district level (*das Bürgerbegehren* – see Templehof's File 1 in appendix).[189] In addition to the group working over the privatization issue in order to proactively individuate alternative solutions capable to keep the property under public ownership, the *Initiative Zukunft Bethanien,* IZB (Initiative Future Bethanien) to develop in parallel an institutional strategy of dissent capable of opposing the direct will of the people to the choices of top-down proposals by the administration. The high number of actors involved in the "movement", created a situation

[188] The "Berliner Linie": a repressive strategy, developed in Berlin during the early 1980s, to oppose the first waves of squatting in the city, that entails that, within the 48 hours from the illegal occupation of a space, is it permitted to evict the place without a legal order but just the request of the owner.

[189] It is worth noting that, since 2004, has been introduced in Berlin the possibility for citizens to submit petitions for referendum on a local or city base (das Bürgerbegehren - § 40 public petition, realization - BzVwG - District Administration Act - valid from 31.12.2003) in connection with decisions on the development of projects which affects/concern directly or indirectly citizenship and that fall under the jurisdiction of the district (Bezirk) – that in Berlin has almost the same powers and administrative responsibilities of a city administration in Italy. Since 2005, there have been numerous occasions where people have decided to use this tool: as the initiative against the privatization of the historic complex of Bethanien (2005-2006), the initiative against the mega project of development of the area adjacent to River Spree, called "Media Spree" (2007), two referendums over the future development of Tempelhof's field (2008/2014). Citizens have often resorted to the use of this tool in order to exercise directly their democratic right to express their opinion in favour or against the forecast of urban development, increasingly challenged/contested by citizens who saw in the great transformation of Berlin, occurring since the fall of the Wall, as radically reducing the number of public spaces and increasing exponentially property speculation. It had resulted in staggering increases in house prices and a growing phenomenon of gentrification that emphasis is mostly concentrated on the central districts. «It provoked, in some quarters as Prenzlauerberg or Mitte, the complete replacement of the inhabitants of the historic district with new inhabitants, belonging to the middle class» (interview released to me by Berlin's urban sociologist Andrey Holm).

where, for many weeks and months, the initiative against the privatization of the whole complex was well covered in the media and got a big visibility. In the 6th of July 2006, the citizens' Initiative Zukunft Bethanien resulted successfully gathering more than 14.000 signatures. However, the petition did not result in a Referendum. In fact, the District Council of Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg (BVV, "*Bezirksverordnetenversammlung*") starting from the petition proposed to start a negotiation in order to find a negotiated solution with the citizens involved in the campaign "Bethanien für alle" and the squatters, listening to their proposals: the individuation of a shared "new concept" for public use of Bethanien (see File 4 in appendix).

2.8 The negotiation process: confronting with different interpretative framework for a democratic shared solution

«The strategy was to start very quickly to collect signatures for a referendum, in order to ask to the people that were the actual "owner" of the building at that moment - because it was a public ownership - what they wanted to do with their community centre and what kind of future do they imagine for this space (Bethanien), what do they wanted in connection to this public collective space and in which way do they wanted to reach it. What would they wanted to find when would they open the doors? A huge variety of ideas emerged because everybody need and desire different things. Everybody had a different idea and point of view on the right use of the building because it was depending on what they came for or what they needed and what they had the desire to find there in future». (Simone interview). In the open process of the group working over the privatization issue people started "gathering ideas transforming those ideas into more substantial proposals". «Parallel to the Burgerbegeheren initiated the Initiative for Future Bethany a process of public workshop for the future. "Workshops for the future development of Bethenien" are considered to be very productive way of promoting volunteering participation and development of concepts. A total of four public "idea workshops" were developed and discussed with the participation of 130 residents and interested parties, meeting and gathering to propose, together, alternatives for the future of Bethanien. Issues related to future use, participation, self-management, ownership, financing and environmental remediation have been discussed. On 29.06.2006, the results and the state of the "concept" development was first presented to a larger public» (See the document "Concept for Bethanien").

Basic principles of the future Bethanien ("*Grundprinzipien des zukünftigen Bethanien*") – pp.8-9

1. The Bethanien is a place of cultural, artistic, political and social production, mediation and debate (confrontation/conflict – *"Auseinandersetzung")*
The main building of the complex Bethanien has to be developed as an open **centre** of culture, art, social and political life.
2. The Bethanien is a house of equal coexistence of users between autonomy, networking, integration and self-government
The independent and separate projects and institutions are part of a network, non-hierarchical self-management structure.
This contributes significantly to the cooperation and synergy between the different projects in supporting interdisciplinary cooperation between various sectors and allows the realization of the vision of a living Bethanien with large and small, existing and new projects, long-term and temporary uses, between continuity and spontaneity.
3. The Bethanien is "Bethanien for All": a place of participation and involvement
The Bethanien is open to all residents and stakeholders for active and passive participation. The Bethanien provides a set of residents-forum on public space to turn ideas to promote local networking initiatives and help shape the future use of Bethanien.
4. The Bethanien is a place of cross-border communication
The Bethanien is a place of exchange, different cultures and political/social contexts allowing through a platform for cross-milieu discussions, trans-cultural learning and surprising moments, to locally discuss local and global issues. The Bethanien is a place for rich and poor, between theory and practice, for young and old, for art and science, for production, documenting and sharing - beyond gender and mainstream dominant framework.
5. The Bethanien is a place of emancipatory social change
The Bethanien is a place of politics from below, the policy of freedom and self-determination for a just and ecological world economy, independence of art and non-violent conflict resolution. The Bethanien is a place against life in the social impasse, against social exclusion and cultural obliteration.
6. The Bethanien is protective and recreational space
All projects and institutions active in Bethanien are working together to offer the widest possible protection against discrimination of any kind, to create a place that allows diversity without fear. This includes here a special protected area for projects for women and women's political issues.
7. The Bethanien is a public space
Access to public, open to all, and customizable spaces are an essential component for a good quality of life, participation and social life in a democratic society. The Bethanien has to be maintained as public space and will not be privatized. Under the umbrella of a non-profit support the Bethanien can be self-managed.

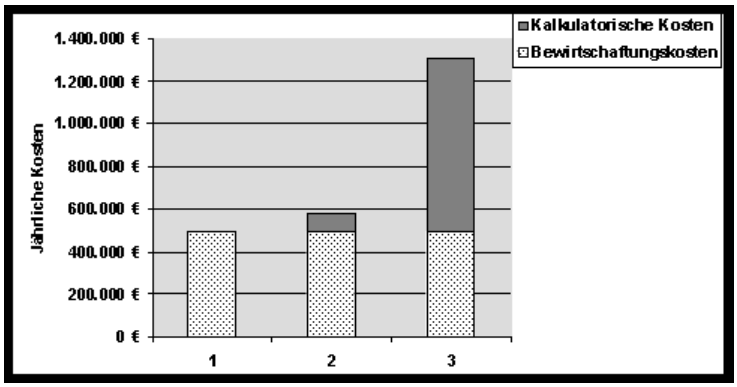
«Starting from that we wrote a "concept" out of these proposals and proposed this "new concept for the future Bethanien" to the responsible for formal planning, authorities and citizens. We also included the whole financial and economic study that we conducted over the problem of unsustainable costs for the management of the public property that looked to be the central concern for local authorities. We did actually calculate the real economic possibilities (how

to finance the costs remaining a real public space for art, culture, social and political activities). The negotiation with politicians on the feasibility of such ideas took three years: debating whether the ideas we proposed were good or not» (Simone interview). Back in November 2005, the Borough Assembly of Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg decided to establish a working group, «it has to develop the "fastest-possible" ("*schnellstmoglich*") a new concept for the Bethany main building. The IZB was invited to join and participate in the meetings» (Concept for Bethanien). «This process took from 2005 to 2009. The forms of institutional negotiation and participation accentuated however some critical issue, since it provided the participation of a limited number of people of every groups of interest while the focus of our citizens' initiative lying in the active participation of local residents. During the process it was very important to involve as many people as possible» (Simone interview).

Picture from Bethanien's St.Thomas Church where the discussion over the legalization of New Yorck and the stop of the privatization of the whole building Bethanien was held (photos provided by the NewYorck in Bethanien tenants)

In fact, initially it was planned a regular negotiating process which involved the participation of a few individuals representing the various stakeholders involved in the conflict. The people involved in the campaign said, about the first phase of the negotiation, that the impression was that the process was arranged so as «to accept a very strict number of people involved in the process and not being transparent to the others. They had not the chance to choose individual persons because they had no names to which refer, they just asked to the groups to send one or two people. Instead, we have always brought more people - not only from the groups directly involved in the initiatives based in Bethanien but also people from the neighbourhood who was interested in participating. It was a little bit painful for the politicians and technics. But we always explained that we needed people to express their personal opinion during the process and make hear their own voices. Few years later, they took our language and it ended up with them taking over our argumentation about the necessity to let the people express their voice instead to be represented by somebody else, which is actually quite nice». In the first year, the meetings were held weekly and participated by 20 to 80 citizens. «Then we got more people, from the open debates processes and information activities. We have been constantly informing people on what was going on, considering that at that time we were no legal and so constantly in danger to be evicted. But we can say that there were about 150 people involved in the process during those days» (Simone interview). This constituted a good opportunity not only for citizens associations or social movements but even for the public administration in Berlin in general: «it had cost a long discussion on how and if Berlin could keep or sell the public properties but it was, at the end, the big success of this whole process». Many politicians from many parties and many people from the district parliament wanted to keep the building public but they were not capable to individuate alternatives to avoid recurring to privatization. According to Daniel Wesener: «that's why, at the beginning, this specific problem was treated as usual. The discussion over the IZB's proposals and the legalization of the squat and so on cost a long discussions but this challenged the city government, politics, parties and individuals (people like myself) to start thinking about alternatives. It was a difficult process because it was our job to try to explain, for instance, to the people of IZB that we wanted to realize their ideas but we needed to find a solution for the financial problem. Actually, we needed them and their ideas in order to understand how to manage the financial problems. I learned a lot from this process. I learned that there could be space in whole discussion in the city for a "U-turn" on the direction of urban policies; it was a kind of pioneer discussion. This movement was quite important, not only for the Bethanien but for the politicians and politics in general to learn what was going on in the city and that the old way to treat this kind of problems was not acceptable anymore; it couldn't be the way to operate in the future». The IZB inspired the discussion over the necessary change of paradigm since it saw itself as «part of the critical movement against the dominance of a business approach in the socio-political thinking and action and advocates, in opposition to that, for a policy approach more based on principles such as justice, solidarity and cultural diversity. This initiative aim to participate to the work of other local and international initiatives that claims for social and democratic development of societies and their cultures. Thus, it contributes to the strengthening and networking of civil society forces and the civil commitment against all forms of anti-social policy.

The IZB is an open initiative and is pleased to include every group that shares our core beliefs and would like to participate!» (Initiative Zukunft Bethanien - Bethanien-Hauptgebaude, Sudflugel). In fact, thanks to the citizens' ideas and proposals presented in the "A new concept for Bethanien[190]" document, after three years of negotiation on the alternatives proposed by the active citizenship an agreement was reached. The critical issue to address was mostly the excessive costs of management and the acceptance of the squatting for housing action. In fact, on closer inspection, the system of imputed costs turned out to be an opaque system. It became particularly evident analysing the Bethanien case. Because of the Berlin Senate imposed costs on public property management, the districts are subjected to an incorrect assessment that produce the controversial effect that renting private land is cheaper than to use public owned buildings for public purposes. The result is a solid and engineered forced privatization of public estate. Since 2006, the districts had to calculate the costs for the management of public properties (in Berlin managed by the districts) including a "fictitious return on capital", the so-called "imputed costs", to remit to the Berlin Senate approval. The Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg district presented a cost estimate for the Bethanien complex management, unsustainably high. In the case of Bethanien's main building, the market value is measured on an amount of € 2.6 million, the acquisition value is, however, estimated at a value of € 32 million. The District, because of Kalkulatorische Kosten, had to pay (capital) interests on this incredible value. The Bethanien-main building caused so far a actual cost (1) of less than € 500.000 per year, for management and maintenance expenses. The private sector management (2) of Bethanien would spend annually, including a return on capital, less than € 600.000. The District (3), however, must spend for it approximately € 1.4 million per year because of Kalkulatorisch Kosten.



< Kalkulatorische Kosten = imputed costs

< Bewirtschaftungskosten = management costs

< Jährliche Kosten = annual costs

Figure: Impact of privatization bill on the basis of Bethanien's main building
Source: BA Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg cost estimate for "citizens demand" 2005 BA Friedrichshain Kreuzberg market value appraisals in 2004, own calculations (BA Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg Kostenschätzung zum BürgerInnenbegehren 2005, BA Friedrichshain Kreuzberg Verkehrswertgutachten 2004, Eigene Berechnungen)

The citizens' working on the economic issue (among them some economists) discovered that through the individuation of a way to avoid "indirect costs" in the property management, the organization of a self-financed project for the self-management of the Bethanien would have been feasible. In fact, individuating a third body running the property on the behalf of the public administration would have transformed the Bethanien in a "free of costs" property, breaking down the main reason behind the privatization of the property. In the chapter 4.3 "ownership model" (A new concept for future Bethanien), the IZB individuate the solution in the management of the south-wing by a non-profit association: «it would support on one hand, professionally handling the finance issues - management of revenues and balanced and proper expenditures - and on the other hand, the implementation of renewal, maintenance, conservation, and modernization measures». The two possible proposed approaches eligible for sponsorship: «(Option 1) The institutions operating in Bethanien, all current and future users, merge to a non-profit association and take over the administration of the complex; (Option 2) in the case in which it cannot be handled by the users, the administration will transfer to an external organization (for example is to a Ltd or a non-profit cooperative) the management of the complex. For the implementation of both options is required an administrative higher organization structure that specifies the content orientation of the house and the issues related to the management, such as is required when a lease contract is signed. This is to ensure that this new management asset can be bore both by the skills of the users working in the Bethanien south-wing, as well as the participation of the tenants/users. Therefore, it is required a "Statute" to design a kind of umbrella organization over Bethanien south-wing management groups. All the groups and institutions working in the Bethanien should contribute in the definition of the basic content of this statute and have to contribute to the success of

[190] "A new concept for Bethanien" is a document that collects all the ideas and concepts that emerged by workshops and meeting organized by the Initiative for Future Bethanien group. It shows the status of the concepts developed for the Bethanien main building, which aims to be used as basic principles for the further development of the property. It is proposed a "work in Progress" process in the development of principles and ways of implementation to principally open process. The Chapter 2 outlines the self-understanding of the future Bethany and formulates the basic principles by which the Bethanien can develop. The Chapter 3 discusses the future use, with the basic ideas for usages, the thematic priorities and the spatial organization of the house. The administration of Bethanien is the subject of Chapter 4 – where are presented models of self-government, residents' forum and sponsorship. Issues of rehabilitation and financing are the focus of Chapter 5 to 6. The appendix provides additional documents, including the current activities running the Bethanien, the politics from below and the analysed controversial issues related to the costs for the management of Bethanien.

the overall project to produce an add value to the Bethanien: as an experimentation of an innovative cultural, artistic, political and social centre» (A new concept for future Bethanien).

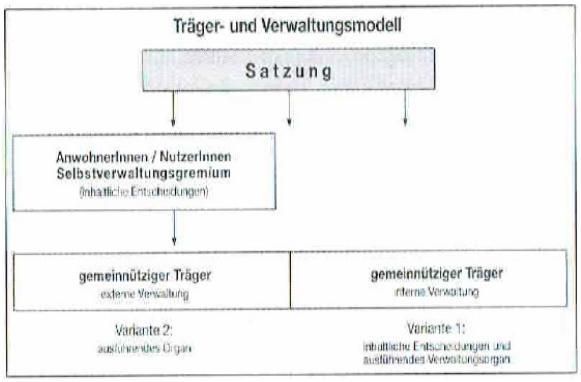


Figure: two management models
Source: "A new concept for future Bethanien" own illustration

Ownership (vehicle) model and management model
Statute

V	V
Residents / users Self-administrative-committee (substantive decisions)	
V	
non profit organizations (external administration) Option 2: (executive organ)	non profit organizations (internal administration) Option 1: (Substantive decisions and executive management body)

Thanslation of the figure on the left: two management models

Moreover, the starting point for the success of the proposal of self-management must be the neutralization of costs for the district management of Bethanien. According to the paragraph 5.2 of the document ("neutral costs management"): «In addition to running costs (*Betriebskosten*), the individual users must therefore bear also all costs for administration (*Verwaltung*), on-going maintenance (*Instandhaltung*), the provision for rents (*Mietausfälle*) and for repayment (*Tilgung*), and return on capital used to carry out restoration measures (*Sanierungsmaßnahmen*). This can only be determined in approximation initially due to the incomplete information provided by the district office (unfortunately, the district of Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg also still refuses to consent to an inspection of the space by architects and an environmental engineer organized and financed by the IZB)» ("A new concept for future Bethanien").

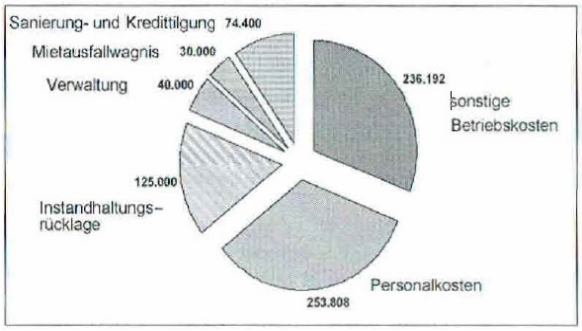


Figure: Annual running costs
Source: Cost estimate for BB 2005, own calculation

Translation:
Sanierung und Kredittilgung =
Restoration and loan repayment 74.400 euro
Mietausfallwagnis =
Loss of rental income (risk) 30.000 euro
Verwaltung =
Management 40.000 euro
Instandhaltungsrücklage =
Maintenance savings 125.000 euro
Sonstige Betriebskosten =
Other running costs 236.192 euro
Personalkosten = Staff costs 253.000 euro

The agreed solution allowed the district administration to maintain the property public slipping from the "Kalkulatorische Kosten" pitfall. The "option 1" was considered too radical and no capable to guarantee the ability of self-maintenance of the space. Instead, the "option 2" was accepted as the more feasible one. The solver idea was then to entrust the entire property to the GSE gGmbH (a no profit Society for Urban Development, Trustee of Berlin) that became the owner and managing body of the building – as to lift the administration of the "indirect" costs imposed on public properties just when managed by public bodies (File 5 in appendix). On the 1st of May of 2009, the GSEs took over the management of Bethanien. The Bethanien's main building maintained his artistic/cultural vocation and was renamed *Kunstquartier Bethanien* (Art Quarter Bethany) since the Künstlerhaus Bethanien GmbH, placed in that building since 1973, decided to move from Bethanien to a new location in Kohlfurter 41-43 the 30th of June of 2010. This relocation was caused by the impossibility to find an agreement on sharing space with squatters, following the regularization of the squatted south-wing, since the chief of the Kunstlerhaus didn't accepted their presence in the historical complex. Since the deal with GSE gGmbH was made, the squatters, the associations, the neighbors and the citizens using the south wing obtained a 15 years lease contract with the GSE gGmbH for the self-mantainance and self-management of the building. The people involved in the Bethanien south-wing created, for this purpose, the "Südflügel e.V." (South-wing association) that gathers under its umbrella the children's club Kreuzberg "North group", the healer School, the Association of Theatre Alliance "Druzhba eV" and the "NewYorck" project – that includes the Hausprojekt, the semi-public library and the Raum Emanzipatorischer Projekte (Emancipatory space projects) and the Drussbar (the group managing the social space).

The Südflügel e.V. management have been separated from the main building, because it resulted too complex to handle a common management with *Kunstquartier Bethanien*, and now they have two different house numbers (Mariannenplatz 2a and 2b). In the following box are summarized the most important points of the lease:

Selbstverwaltungsvertrag (self-management contract - kindly provided by the Südflügel e.V.)

Contractors:	The GSE gGmbH Company for Urban Development, Prinzenallee 74, 13357 Berlin, Represented by the Manager shall Herm Dieter Ruhnke,	The Sudflugel e.V., Mariannenplatz. 2, 10997 Berlin, represented by Klaus Wolfram André - Zellestrasse 3, 1-0247 Berlin, and Simone Helga Kypke - Tufano, Bethaniendamm 61,10999 Berlin,

Objectives:
The Borough Assembly of Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg of Berlin decided on 27.02.2008, to transfer in trust to the Society for Urban Development GSE gGmbH the so-called "main building" of Bethanien complex in Mariannenplatz 2, connected to the contract is an open and inclusive, self-financed project supporting the self-management and mantainance of the property and operating to develop the cultural creativity and production, education and youth welfare as well as the political and social communication.

1. contract partner / contractual item:
The contractor is a registered non-profit association (*Vorverein*); founder of the association are:

- Mr. Wolfram Andre, Zellstraße 3, 10247 Berlin,
- *Theaterbündnis Blumenstrauß eV.* (Theater alliance eV.) represented by the boards Simone Kypke, Bethaniendamm 61, 10965 Berlin and Ulrike Stockburger, Kreuzbergstrasse 29, 10965 Berlin,
- *Kindergruppe Kreuzberg Nord eV* (Children group Kreuzberg Nord eV), represented by Mrs Christine BOARDS Palm, Segitzdamm 12.10969 Berlin and Mr. Albrecht Roder, WollankstraBe 119, 13157 Berlin,
- Druzhba eV. (social centre), Represented by Mr Micheal BOARDS Gotze, Grossbeerenstrasse 60, 10065 Berlin and Martina Messerschmidt, Cuvrystrasse 23, 10007 Berlin,
- Michaela Gunther, Cheruskerstrasse 33, 10829 Berlin,
- Mrs Miriam Schliep, EisenbehnstraBe 13, 10997 Berlin,
- Association for the demand of naturopathic medicine (*Forderung der naturheilkundlichen Medizin e-V.*), Waldemarstralle 36, 10999 Berlin, represented by Mrs Alexandra BOARDS Krajzewicz, Weigandufer 4, 12045 Berlin and Karolin Ktister, Marianne Pletz 14, 10997 Berlin.

The Statute was adopted on 10.06.2009. The registration of the contractor in the register of the Local Court Charlottenburg of Berlin was notified on 02.07.2009. […] The contract giver shall provide the Contractor of the use of the ground floor and the 1st - 3rd floor, together with associated ground spaces and courtyards and outdoor areas of the south wing of the main house Bethanien for ongoing management and leasing in its own name and for its own account. The contract provide the lease from 01.01.2010 of a total surface space of approximately 2.591,26 square meters and an outer surface of about 150 square meters. […]

3. Contract
The self-government agreement is fixed for five years (until 30.06.2014). The Contractor has the right to demand a continuation of the contract until 06.30.2019 (first option) for another five years, by written declaration to the contracting donors that must be received before of the 31.12.2013. Moreover, the contractor can demand for the possibility to continue the agreement for another 5 years and 6 months to the terms of this Agreement on 31.12.2024 when the State of Berlin will conclude the agreement with the contract giver Land Trust, if is not legitimately announced in advance (least until 31.12.2024) the will to continue the conveyance contract (second option). […] After the first period option, if the term of the self-management agreement expiry, the agreement prolongs respectively until 30th June of the following year (then each Party can submit a notice whithin 3 months). […] Both parties strive to agree after the expiry of the term of the self-management contract to continue or re-establish the contractual relationship on comparable terms. […]

4. Use of the contractual agreement
Contractors are allowed to use spaces available in the contract to allocate it to groups involved in social and cultural projects. The contractor has to produce written leases with users on their own behalf. The lease term may not be longer than the duration of this contract. The amount of rent must be calculated on the price of 3,34 Euro netto per sqm. […]

5. fee
The monthly base fee for the use of the leased space is from beginning of the contract until 31/12/2009 for the total area 1.154,42 euros plus monthly legal value added tax (VAT), and from 01.01.2010 € 1.425,19 monthly plus VAT, unless the contractor is entitled to deduct VAT. This corresponds to net Euro O, 55 per square meter. […] The under these provisions, the contract have to correspond an amount of € 15.000,00 per year (plus fees).

6. Structural measures
The contractor has to accomplish all the tasks provided in the contract: payment of the rent, management and other running costs, maintenance, restoration and repair of the building.

2.9 South-wing Bethanien: the regularized self-managed socio/cultural/political public space

Today the south-wing of the Bethanien complex is a self-managed space that includes the *New Yorck im Bethanien* (Houseprojekt), a "public space" for discussions, film screenings and social dinners run by the *Drussbar* group, plus in the same building are localized workspaces, artists ateliers, the theatre school, the alternative medicine school, the kindergarten. The Sudflugel e.V. is entitled of a lease contract until the year 2024 together with the Land Trustee GSE that obtained a conveyance agreement with the Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg district for the management of the Bethanien main complex. The association represents all the groups that work and participate to the activities in the south-wing. Among them the "NewYorck" in Bethanien project. The individuated solution in addition to solve the problems connected to the excessive costs for the local administrations has enabled to regularize the squatters overcoming the incommensurability of the conflictive visions opposing the concept of legality to legitimacy (i.e. withouth actually officially accept them). In fact, even if the usage of the space for collective living is not officially included in the lease contract, the "New Yorck im Bethanien" house project is legalized as artists' studios space. The use of the space by the others activities (the social centre, the theatre school, the kindergarten and the alternative medicine school) is officially provided in the contract. Sud-flugel association is responsible for the whole Bethanien south-wing since 2009 and manage the leasing contracts with the singular groups, institutions and non-profit associations. The two activities generated by the squatting action (the house project and the social centre) together with the bigger association "south-wing Bethanien", then, have to collect moneys to pay the rent to GSE, the utilities and the maintaining of the south wing. For the organization of the payment and maintenance interventions all the groups meet on a monthly base in a general assembly. The house project and the "public space" have separated assembly that are held on a weekly base. For collecting moneys these alternative space organize the rent of some space as studios or space for meeting (when the group can afford it), different cultural or leisure events and a call for sponsorships on their website (see below). The issue of the management of costs and maintenance are the main topics at issue in the assembly of self-management.

NEWYORCK IM BETHANIEN

The anti-racist, anti-sexist, autonomous, anarchist emergency room INCOME SUPPORT NEEDS:
We are looking for sponsor members for our club "Bethanien for All" that support the NewYorck in Bethany with donations. It is about the existence of the Bethanien-South Wing as a free space for politically and socially engaged groups and individuals, as a meeting place, solidarity and action. With a fixed base amount, we see a good perspective to keep this space open and to continue the work taking place here. As the political and social work goes on here, also depends on you, the supporters, from!

Bethanien for all eV – Phone/Fax 030-617 40 101
bethanien-fuer-alle@riseup.net / http://newyorck.net. glitchstatic.com
---
GLS Bank - Bank Code - 43060967 - Account number 1103770600
Tag: "Bethanien" - Donations are tax deductible

Raum Emanzipatorischer Projekte, all the social-political movements/groups that meet weekly in the "open space":

- **Anarchist Federation Berlin**
- **Anarchist Info Cafe**
- **anti-war Cafe**
- **ARI docu-group**
- **auto trans***
- **BONE**
- **CIRCA (Rebel Clown Army)**
- **Delfina eV**
- **DruzBar**
- **Ex Plataforma**
- **Global Film Festival**
- **Initiative for Future Bethanien**
- **IWPS**
- **campaign against Forced evictions**
- **collective library**
- **Cinema Latino**
- **Media Spree sinking!**
- **Mietshäusersyndikat Regional Group Berlin**
- **Nomadic antiwar Café**
- **Reflect!**
- **Südflügelcafé**
- **Rising rents stop!**
- **Spreepirat_innen**
- **Squat Tempelhof**
- **The VOICE (the voice of refugee – German forum on refugee and asylum in Germany**

The New Yorck project includes a Hausprojekt that houses people from urban underground culture and radical political scene composed by mostly middle class Germans and few migrants (30 people, including 5 children, that come from Germnay, Italy, Spain, Cameroon). The some people stay temporary and some is permanent since the squatting action took place. The "public space" is attended by people of various nationality participating in political local groups (such us anti-gentrification or pro-refugee rights groups) and people from the Berlin radical political scene. The collective living space is organized on three floors (1st to 3rd) occupying most of the space on the left side of the south-wing. The "public space is connected to the living area through a door at the first floor. Every floor constitutes a separate WG (collective apartment) where live about 10 people, each one with his own private room; every room has a private sink. Every floor has a big kitchen that is the core of the house, one collective bathroom and several "semi-public" (is where the people that visit the house project can stay) and collective spaces (mostly the corridors furnished with sofas). In the kitchen are organized the assemblies and is the place for communal everyday living. Moreover the food is bought collectively on a weekly base, so that everybody has free access to the kitchen and its contents. On a monthly base, an assembly for the three WGs altogether is organized. At the second floor of the living space, is located a "semi-public" library (to access it is need to contact somebody in the house project), and a space where temporary host activists visiting the space or people in temporary need for a place.

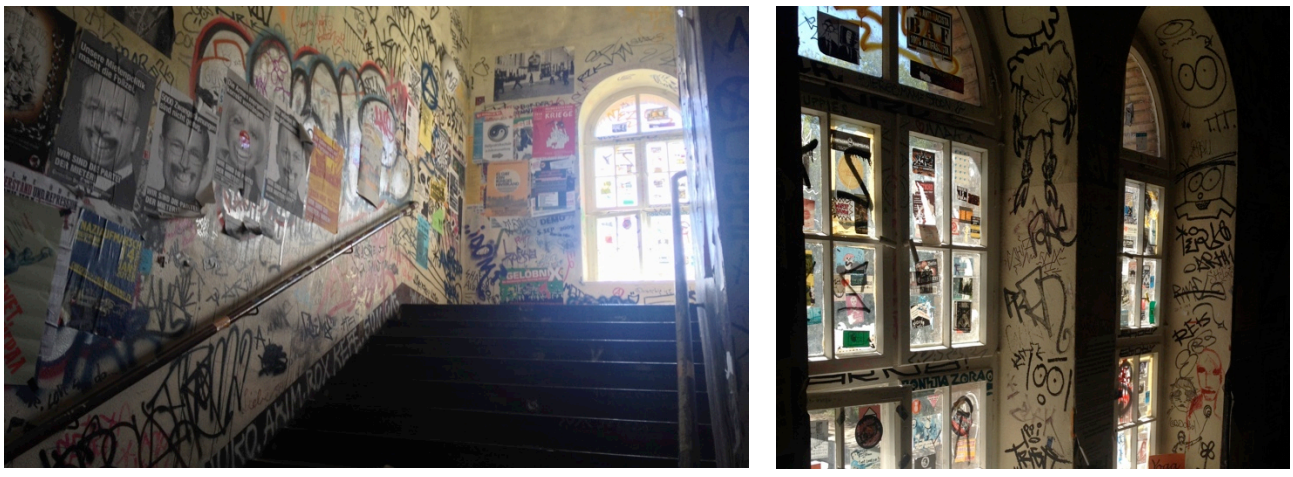
The library placed in the "semi-public" space: behind is visible the access to the rooms (photos by Luisa Rossini)

The space has been divided and organized as space for living thanks to the self-works implemented by the squatters after that the property was taken over. Below are some selected photos of the restructuring works held by the occupants:

Working progress: self-help renewal strategies (photos provided by the NewYorck in Bethanien tenants)

Some photos of the renovated and appropriated inside of the Bethanien south-wing (photo above on the left provided by the Bethanien's tenants; the rest of the photos by Luisa Rossini)

While the living space is well maintained, constantly renewed giving a high level of acceptance of all kind of different tenants, the "public space" instead, as many "social centre s" in Berlin, keep a temporary nature. The public access to this part of the project is separated from the one for the living space and instead of the other entrances, this remains (almost) always open. The staircase that leads to the public space (located on the first floor) is covered with murals and stickers. The fact that this space has more the appearance of a neglect place has provoked over the time the non participation to the activity of the place by the more conservative groups living in the neighbourhood - between them the Turkish families -, that do not feel confortable in attending spaces that evokes an autonomous/radical/anarchy imaginary (Paul interview). The space and its activities are mainly attended by people who are part of the alternative scene of Berlin or by those involved in the discussion groups. This element results slightly controversial because, despite the intentions of using this place as a public space, open to all, this results in a perception of exclusion by some groups in the district. The spaces are, in any case, furnished by furniture re-used (second hand) that are both the symbol of a renewal capability of the spaces at very low cost, both of a contraposition to the models of consumer society capitalist, opposite to the concept of re-use and instead he linked to that of disposability.



"From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs" (Marx, 1969, 962). It results clear that the use of self-built and self-made approach is a crucial element in the autonomous/anti-capitalist radical practices. In fact, within these "autonomous communities", everyone puts their technical, manuals capabilities to serve the community for the works of maintenance of the spaces, to the transformation and adaptation of interior spaces (bathrooms, implementation of the electrical system, etc.), for the construction of structures or elements useful for the individual or the collectivity (from the construction of new walls of spaces' subdivision or a bar counter, or a stage, to that of elements of furniture for a room). Technical and manual skills are greatly appreciated in the community as essential for a reduction in costs of maintenance and transformation of spaces, and (re) appropriation of the technical capabilities to intervene independently in the design (Cellamare, 2011), construction, modification or maintenance of autonomous spaces. Reuse and Construction also represent one of the biggest criticisms to the consumer society. They, in fact, come to represent in a way, how we can live with everything that capitalist society produces over and discards. The library itself, made of second-hand bookshelves, houses an interesting collection of second-hand books, taken as a gift by the various users who use the library or by guests of the debate sessions of the public space. The only case in which reference is made to external companies is for everything related to the safety regulations of space (installation of fire detection system, retrofitting of the electrical system, etc.) and maintenance of the external building (replacement of windows, maintenance of facades, etc.). In any case, the participation of all to the maintenance and care of the spaces is considered one of the cornerstones of collective coexistence.
Today, the peculiarity of this public space, which makes it an interesting case study, is to be able to accommodate a variety of cultural, social, political and recreational activities and different realities - including space for living and working. This is the result of the attempt to reflect the multiplicity of interpretations that have been given to this place by the citizens' and users' desires/interests/needs. Moreover, the collective self-management and contribute to the maintenance of the space, provided by self-organized groups, permits the preservation of public asset from privatization and to access space for many different activities – from the use of the space for political groups and associations involved in locally based protests (such as "Squat Templehof"; "Media Spree sinking!"; "Spreepirat_innen"; etc.) and initiatives (such as the *Initiative Zukunft Bethanien*). Among them, particulary relevant in the neighbourhood are the tenants' and against evictions movements (*"Steigende Mieten Stoppen!"* -"rising rents stop"-; "*Zwangsräumung Verhindern – Wir kommen"* –"eviction prevention "we come"-; "*Wir Bleiben Alle!"* – We are all stayng-; etc.) or the refugee movement ("NoBorder Camp Berlin Reloaded"; "refugee strike berlin"; "RefugeeTentAction"). Particularly connected with the neighbourhood are the kindergarten and the theatre school. The involvement of neighbours in performances of "theatre of the oppressed" who try to unveil and negotiate local conflicts, representing them by means of the theatre. Moreover the space provide the access for artists to spaces for production and for people for enjoyment of art exhibitions, and for cinema, or other leisure events. For the poor in the neighbourhood is organized every week the "Voku" the ("popular kitchen") that offers dinners for a free donation price. Moreover, in this occasion a kind of "food market for free" is offered, thanks to the distribution of leftover food from supermarkets enjoyed by the alternative projects of the city. The Mariannenplatz's and Bethanien's "users" can then not only access to a variety of services and activities, but often become producer of services and activities, as well as a simple users. Between the forms of (re)appropriation implemented in this area must also be mentioned the neighbourhood garden set up in the area since spring 2008 by a group of local residents. After they were actively engaging a discussion about the Bethanien-free surface transformation was promised to them by the district office an area of 2100 square meters of green space behind the Bethanien North Wing. Moreover, at the end of May 2010, have been thought to open a new café-restaurant "3 sisters" in Kunstquartier Bethany (East wing) as a place of encounters within the neighbourhood. The East wing is in general animated by a multiplicity of many artistic programs and events (such as concerts, readings, theatre). The East wing has preserved its strong cultural character of provider of spaces and cultural services. The 1st September of 2010, the studio office of the Senate Chancellery for Cultural Affairs has opened 16 studios based in *Kunstquartier Bethanien*. Since 1st March of 2011 international projects in the fields of theater and dance have moved into the *Kunstquartier Bethanien* (association "Performing Arts in Kunstquartier Bethanien").

The space after its institutionalization have both permited the permanency of the main projects within the space but the new determination of the uses of the space has somewhat reduced the dimension of the "**place of the invention of the possible**" which had led to high levels of inclusion and participation during the first period of the IZB meetings, workshops and debates. From the red book titles "a new concept for future Bethanien" there is a big talking about participation: what about it today? According to Mina: «I never thought that every body would have come here to participate to our activities. And the people that was participating at the beginning came here mostly because the anti-privatization campaign and also to experiment some initiatives in vacant spaces in the building. Many of these people had the idea of build up projects also in the other part of the building, like social activities. I considered this not really possible to do. It is hard to self-organize activities in a space without moneys. These kinds of projects vanished quickly. I think that the only way to really implement these projects is to have people living inside the space and managing the open space, where there are offices, or spaces for meeting or for organizing activities (as we do here). If we would have to organize more with people that are not collectives but singular individuals, with many different some time unfeasible ideas, would be very much complicated to implement all of them. Anyway a lot of people that participated to the negotiation process came when we celebrated the 10 years NewYorck im Bethanien. Some of them are involved in the anti-eviction movements, the Spree Versenknen, Kotti & co. and other local movements».

ROME CASE STUDY (a) - ANGELO MAI / ALTROVE

Via Cavour
Via dei Fori Imperiali
Via Nicola Salvi
Viale Del Monte Oppio
Via Labicana
Via Merulana
Via Leonina
Via Urbana
Via Panisperna
Via Baccina
Via degli Zingari
Via Giovanni Lanza
Via Giolitti
Via Cavour
Via Nicola Salvi
Via dei Fori Imperiali

Conflicts over Angelo Mai due to:	• The exclusion of citizens from the participation in planning the future destination of big public spaces and in decisions connected with public expenditure; • Urban regeneration strategies and the sell-out of public housing estate fostering gentrification in the inner city districts and the displacement of the "original" population (increasing in forced eviction due to rental arrears); • The rhetoric of State financial problems and the introduction of the financial tool of "Cartolarizzazioni" to privatize public estate; • Opposition to reduction/privatization and displacement of public facilities and the commodification/marketization of socio-cultural spaces;
Citizens' claims:	• Defend Monti's identity and the symbolic dimension connected with "commons", such as the neighbourhood school; • Access abandoned spaces in the economically inaccessible inner city; • Provide a solution for housing emergency and reclaim affordable housing in inner city, proposing alternative strategies for public housing polices (Self-help housing strategies); • Reclaim space for participation, and artistic cultural initiatives; • Permit citizen empowerment in self-management and co-production of public spaces and services to activate big abandoned areas and take them away from private speculation; • Self-produce cultural, artistic, social and political activities and partly self-entrepreneurial purposes; • Set round-tables to negotiate alternatives for a more economic and socially sustainable management of Angelo Mai; • The "museification" of the historical centre just for tourism
Stakeholders involved in the conflict:	• City of Rome • Municipio I (I Rome's district – historical centre) • Social Network Monti (connected with Neighbourhood Committee) • Squatters of housing movement "Comitato Popolare di Lotta per la Casa" • The "Probasis Onlus" artists' and activists collective • District residents
Strategies adopted by informal actors:	• Squatting • Temporary (re)appropriation of space for artistic/cultural purpose • (Re)claiming process adopted by the Monti Social network to reclaim the school for the neighbourhood • Creation of Monti Social Network as a participation political program • Organization of public debates together with "Municipio I" • Squatters: pushing for recognition of public utility of their practice and relocation in an other public space
Strategies adopted by formal actors:	• Regulation for citizens' participation and direct democracy • Set of round-tables for conflict resolution and negotiation of neighbours' proposals • Resolution 26/1995 – for assignation of public estate for social use • Resolution 206/2005 – for housing emergency – for relocation of squatters families • Negotiated individuation and project for the relocation of Angelo Mai Social centre

ROME CASE STUDY (b) – SCUOLA "HERTZ" and VIA DELLE ACACIE

Localization areas:	Hertz school: located in via Tuscolana 1113, in the Tuscolano neighbourhood. Tuscolano, former peripheral and working class neighbourhood have developed since the 1950s on thanks to the implementations of big public housing plans (INA casa) and some illegal allotment. The area where the Hertz school is located is on the most peripheral part of the neighbourhood; Via delle Acacie school: via delle Acacie 56 is located in the neighbourhood Centocelle. Centocelle, peripheral and working class neighbourhood is a political active areas developed since the 1930s on thanks to the localization of illegal allotments and shantytowns. The V Borough, that includes Centocelle district, hosts the highest number of squatted spaces in the city including Self-manage social centre s, autonomous spaces, self-managed public spaces and many housing occupations.
Space typology:	Former schools
Property owner:	Private property rented by the City (via delle Acacie); Public property (scuola Hertz)
Reason for vacancy:	Dismissed schools abandoned since few years
Planning destination:	Public education services
Reclaimed space as:	**Housing squats:** occupied in 2009 (via delle Acacie) and in 2011 (scuola Hertz) as housing alternative solution to homelessness and housing crisis and political protest; (re)appropriation and "liberation" of an abandoned public space located on the city outskirt. It is connected to the many housing squats located in Rome (around 60) fostering the concept of "the right to housing" fostered by autonomous housing movements.
Number of users:	Around 48 + 50 families
Tipology of users:	Housing Movement (Comitato Popolare di Lotta per la Casa) composed by Italians and migrants
Nationality:	Italian, migrants from different nationality (mostly from East Europe, South America and North Africa)
Legal status of the areas:	Evicted in 2014

Former/Actual uses:	Schools; Housing + spaces for collective activities such as the library + the courtyard; Vacant since the evictions
Conflict over the spaces:	Abandoned public service Vs collective self-help public housing strategies
"Reclaimers" issues:	1° provide a solution to: - Homelessness, housing exclusion and the growing difficulties to buy or rent a house; - Need for accessible spaces for social and collective activities; - Other evictions 2° protest against: - Inefficacy of housing policies, the disinvestment of the state in public sector and the sell out of public estate and the consequent increasing problems in access housing market (rents and real estate); - The sell out of public housing assets and the displacement of the poor population in the city outskirt; - Gentrification of the inner city and the displacement of the "original" population;
Stakeholders:	• The city of Rome • The Municipal Borough V and VII • The Comitato Popolare di Lotta per la Casa and the homeless families • The neighbours (The private owner of the property in via delle Acacie was not really involved in the conflict)
Strategies adopted by informal actors:	- Symbolic occupations of historical buildings to foster an institutional response to the housing crisis issues affecting those homeless families - Occupation of the two vacant schools - Proposition of a new collective self-help public housing strategies to the local institutions - Negotiation for the individuation of alternative solutions to homelessness for the families evicted by the occupied spaces
Strategies adopted by formal actors:	- Public authorities refuse to negotiate the change of usage of the public assets neither negotiate the grassroot's alternative proposals - Evictions - Individuation of temporary alternative solutions to housing crisis thorugh the rent of temporary allodgmente by private owners

Timeline of the conflict

1891 The Monti district's boarding school *semiconvitto* "Angelo Mai" is opened and managed by the religious Lasalliani order, (in 1902 the name is simplified in "Institute Angelo Mai")

End IIWW The institute become a State property but it remain into possession of the Lasalliani order and keep being the district school

1989 The Institute Angelo Mai is closed. The state property comes into possession of the property

1999 Introduction of the law on "Securitization" (in Italian "Cartolarizzazioni" - Dlgs 267/00) that enable a structured finance process in which public assets, receivables or financial instruments are acquired, classified into pools, and offered as collateral for third-party investment

2001 The *Rete Sociale Monti* ("RSM" – Monti Social Network) is founded: a group of local residents and people and associations working in Monti district meet to discuss the issues related to the neighborhood in order to individuate negotiated solution with the City and the I Borough administration. The University of Ingeneering-architecture of La Sapienza and the I Borough collaborate with the RSM in order to identify concrete proposals for the area.

2002 The former Institute Angelo Mai is included in the list of public properties to be disposed of for resources to the state budget ("securitization")

2002 The RSM collect over 3,000 signatures in support of a petition against the privatization of the former boarding school. A series of actions are organized in order to boost the petition, including a human chain around the area

2003 A group of professors and researcher from the university of architecture (University Roma 3) start and lead the participated design process together with the RSM (through laboratories, workshops, etc.) aiming to identify some feasible proposals for the reuse of the former Institute.

2004 The municipality of Rome acquires the property from the State and avoids the privatization of the "Angelo Mai" ex-boarding school in favor of the integrated public school-community project.
In November, the university presents the final project for the school to the RSM, a project that doesn't concern the courtyard and the garden spaces.

2004 The 17th of November the former Institute Angelo Mai is occupied by 35 homeless families with the support and direction of the housing movement *Comitato Popolare di Lotta per la Casa* (CPLC - Popular Committee for housing right struggle) together with the Probasis Onlus, an artists' collective operating in the independent contemporary cultural scene in Rome. A "Ciclofficina" offering free self-repairing bicycles workshop and promoting more sustainable mobility occupies other premises in the same complex.

2005 The Rome's I Borough administration - City centre - together with the *Laboratorio sulle scelte urbanistiche del I Municipio* (Workshop on Land Use Decisions Making for the I Borough) and the DAU, Department of Architecture and Urban Planning of the Faculty of Engineering, University "La Sapienza", promotes the competition announcement for the so called "*Sbilanciamoci*" initiative in order to create a platform for districts' participated projects

During the year, Angelo Mai's occupation, through the work of the Probasis Onlus, becomes a catalyst for independent contemporary artistic experiences and offers numerous courses and performances, becoming a well-known space for social, cultural activities and cultural/artistic events in the city (i.e. September/November, the Probasis Onlus propose an eight weeks exhibition of different artists, with a contemporary slant, in the old desecrated church, that gets a great success)

2006 On February, the City announces the tender notice for Consolidation works on the main building. On Autumn 4th, the city administration orders the forced eviction of the property

The RSM is in crisis and splits: one part in supporting the squatters and the other is against the occupation that is considered the cause for the delays in consolidation works

In response, in the two days following the eviction, the squatters enact the symbolic occupation of an historical building in the city centre (Palazzetto San Marco in Campidoglio) and of an abandoned public

property located in the I Borough. The action ended with an agreement between the occupants and the City administration

2006-2009 The Probasis Onlus signs an agreement with the Municipality for the allocation of a municipal facility to carry out their activities, the former-bowls court in the park San Sebastian (Terme di Caracalla). The facility will not be available sooner than three years. During the three years, the collective Angelo Mai organizes activities and traveling shows in the outskirts of Rome and around Italy

2007 In May, the City Council approves Resolution 206, a program allocation of 10,150 housing units, in response to the housing problem. Many of these units (1.093) are expected to accommodate people living in 33 housing occupations identified for legalization (1 is the "Casa Pound" far right squat)

2008 Financial and economic crisis: the number of people suffering housing crisis in Rome increase

2009 The Angelo Mai's Collective comes into possession of the new property located in via delle Terme di Caracalla, becoming, officially the Angelo Mai *Altrove* Self-managed Social centre

The Comitato Popolare di Lotta per la Casa (CPLC) occupies an abandoned public school in via delle Acacie 56, in the district of Centocelle (the property is private but rented by the City of Rome since 2004 with a 10-years' lease contract)

2010 The Angelo Mai Institute's consolidation works are interrupted and never resumed it since. The building is left vacant and abandoned

On Semptember, the Decree *"Roma Capitale"* is approved by the *Consiglio dei Ministri* (Council of Ministers): with the measure, the City becomes a territorial entity with a statutory, administrative and financial special autonomy.

2011 On March 21, fifty homeless families belonging to the Committee along with it occupied the private clinic of St. George to give voice to their discomfort.

On April 15th, the same families and the CPLC occupies an abandoned public property, the Hertz school, in via Tuscolana 1113, left abandoned since years. The CPLC starts implementing his "Self-construction" project in this occupation that will permit to self-produce 23 apartments for the occupants' households

2011-2015 Between 2011 and 2015, every year, is renewed the Decree "*Milleproroghe"* (a decree of the Council of Ministers intended to extend or solve urgent measures by the end of the current year) for the suspension of evictions for rental arrears, given the rampant housing crisis

2012 The public authorities ask for the seizure of the Angelo Mai Altrove's, who lacks the necessary permits for the sale of alcohol. The group decide to keep the space open and symbolically occupy the space as an act of protest. The CPLC, the Angelo Mai Altrove's artists' collective, some homeless families helped by the Committee and some supporters re-occupy symbolically the Angelo Mai Institute to protest against the abandonment of the rehabilitation works and the property vacancy.

2014 On February 28th Decree *"Salva Roma"* (conversion of Decree Law no. 16/2014) is approved: the Decree is aimed at overcoming the financial crises of local authorities, and to ensure a balance of budget and financial stability of the same. Among the guidelines enhance and dispose of shares of the real estate of the town

On March 19th occurs the forced eviction of the two abandoned schools occupied by the CPLC to host 75 homeless families (including 60 minors) and of the Angelo Mai self-managed socio-cultural centre, by the Digos (without the permission of the Mayor and the City Council). The municipality allows families to return temporarily in squats

On April 23rd, the two housing occupation are forcibly evicted and the homeless families are hosted temporary in "Residences" rented by the City to the *Arciconfraternita del S.S. Sacramento e di S. Trifone*, and the cooperatives "29 Giugno" and "La Cascina", located in peripheral areas

On April 28th, manifestation before the court in support of the members of the CPLC that are investigated with heavy accusation. In May, it is presented to the audience the Docu-film, "*Casa Nostra*" ("Our Home" by L. Parisi and L. Castellano) that narrate the experience of the two housing occupations. The documentary has been used as documentary evidence during the judicial process against CPLC members

In June, the self-managed Angelo Mai Altrove socio-cultural centre is returned to the Probasis non-profit organization for lack of evidence justifying its eviction and closure (accusation of being an illegal

accommodation facility). The tavern, however, remains under seal until the end of the judicial process (still in progress) and it is strictly prohibited administration of alcohol, beverages and foods in the absence of specific permissions

The Angelo Mai Altrove supports the *"deLiberiamo Roma"* initiative that proposes four popular initiative's resolutions to be presented to the City administration. Among them one proposes the alternative management of public and private vacant assets for social purposes (the other three concern the public water as a common good, the social finance, the defence of the public school)

In December, emerges the "Mafia capitale" scandal in which are involved cooperatives that manage homeless' and immigrants' shelters for the City of Rome. Among them, the same cooperatives where the families evicted are hosted. Inquiries indicate a real "business of the poor"

2015 January, the temporary arrangement for the accommodation of homeless families has expired and is not clarified if the families could stay or not.
The CPLC organizes numerous events before alderman for housing policy to seek immediate solutions for families

Rome Mayor Ignazio Marino tells the Italian Prime Minister Matteo Renzi that recovery Institute Angelo Mai, is a priority for the city of Rome – the works never start

August, the City of Rome is put under temporary receivership because of the scandal of "Mafia capitale" and in September Mayor Ignazio Marino is forced to demand resignation

1. INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORICAL AND SPATIAL CONTEXT: urban policies and programs that lead to the crisis of space in the city centre

The *Angelo Mai* story started in the city's I Borough, the central historical district of Rome. In fact, the radical practice initially including a squat for housing homeless families and spaces for artistic and cultural independent production, have been moving from a first place to a second place in the central Borough (Centocelle and Tuscolano) and then have been split with the housing issue shifted to spaces located in peripheral neighbourhoods, as most of the squats connected to housing movement networks are located in formal or actual peripheral areas. In order to build a descriptive picture of the reasons that have led to the emergence of this radical practice it is considered appropriate to proceed with the narration of the historical evolution of the urban and social fabric in the areas in which the spaces chosen for the implementation of this practice are located. Starting from here, it is possible to bring to the front many important elements essential for the construction of negotiated interpretative frameworks that take into account the reasons and problems with which both the formal and informal actors have been confronting in the evolution of the conflict. In addition, this brings out the reasons for the chronicity of some problems that affects the city and the difficulty of action in the field of urban planning in a city where the planning system became since the beginning very connected with the purpose of producing the "most profit through every possible parasitical revenue" (Insolera, 2001, 320) for big private investors. In addition, in order to structure the description of the case study in a form that is as much as possible adjacent to that of the case study of Berlin, the narration shall begin from the progressive description of the history of the abandoned public complex and the neighbourhood in which it is placed.

ANGELO MAI'S STORY

The *Angelo Mai* complex is a big public space, a former boarding school, placed in the heart of the ancient *Suburra*, the oldest part of *Rione*[191] *Monti* (Monti district). Rione Monti together with the other 22 Rioni it is part of I *Municipio* (Borough) of Rome. The I Municipio is identified with the historical centre, while all the Rioni but *Prati* and *Borgo*, are included in the enclosure of the Aurelian walls. The name "Monti" ("Hills") recalls the three hills enclosed within the Rione boundaries, respectively called Esquilino, Viminale and Quirinale. All three are part of the seven hills on which, according to tradition, Rome was founded. The Rione Monti borders to the west *Rione Trevi* and to the south *Rione Campitelli*: to the north and the east its borders are defined by the ancient walls of Rome[192]. The Rione «is the most rich in churches, almost 200 counting those missing» (Staccioli, 1998, 7) and it includes two core places for the catholic religion the Santa Maria Maggiore and San Giovanni in Laterano Basilicas. Moreover, a very relevant part of the archaeological park area is included in the Rione and consists of the Colle Oppio - Colosseum - Ludus Magnus – and includes three on six imperial forums: the Augusto's, Nerva's and Traiano's forums. The district is very large, and its urban fabric is very composite, ranging from areas of medieval, renaissance and baroque periods in the *Suburra* area to nineteenth century intensive urbanization (e.g. the area between the *Quirinale*, the axis of Via Nazionale, and the whole construction of Via Cavour) and more recent (as that between the Rione Esquilino and Celio, on Via Amba Aradam axis). The todays *Rione Monti* is one of the most attractive areas of Rome for people looking for both a "picturesque", historic place and an exclusive life style. Particularly appreciated from this point of view, and increasingly popular in recent years, is the area between Via Nazionale and Via Cavour (Via del Boschetto, Via dei Serpenti, via Panisperna and Via Baccina), the former *Suburra*, for the ancient urban fabric characterized by simplicity: low dwelling houses, narrow streets, craft shops, etc. Today, the Rione colloquially known as Monti, is often described as consisting of two distinctive/conflictive souls: the ancient popular/working class Suburra, and the new cool and exclusive Rione, in the middle of one of the most touristic areas in the city due to the proximity to Central Station and some of the most important archaeological attractions. The area today hosts also two Universities, is packed with restaurants, bars and many exclusive fashion boutiques and has a busy nightlife that revolves around the square of the Madonna dei Monti, close to the church "Madonna dei Monti", which still acts as a gathering place for local residents and occasional visitors. The transformations in social fabric and local economy that have interested the neighbourhood in the last decade, have been governed little or not at all by the local administration, producing numerous elements of urban conflict (Berdini, 2008). The second "Angelo Mai" Self-managed social centre is located in an other area of the historic centre, the *Rione San Saba*, that has a less relevant urban historical evolution specifically connected to the site itself or shares many of the issues emerging from the analysis of Monti district. Still, the area is notable for very significant historical sites the *Terme di Caracalla*[193] and the *Appia Antica* Park. Because of this, the area is subjected to rigid

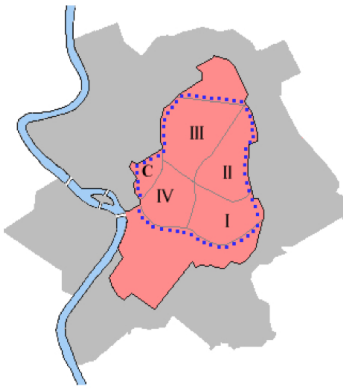
[191] The term district is a vulgarization of the term "Regio" (region) and is used since the Middle Ages to mark areas of the historic centre of Rome, in an arrangement that has been modified several times over the centuries.

[192] The area is defined by the borders with: Piazza del Colosseo, Via dei Fori Iperiali, Piazza Madonna di Loreto, Via del Quirinale, Via delle Quattro Fontane, Via Depretis, piazza Esquilino, Piazza Santa Maria Maggiore, Via Merulana, Piazza San Giovanni in Laterano, via della Navicella, via San Giovanni in Laterano.

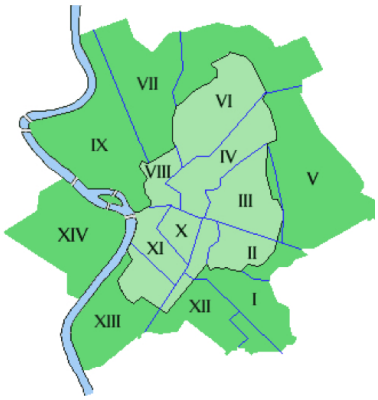
[193] The greatest example of the great imperial baths built by Emperor Caracalla between 212 and 217 AD. The large complex could accommodate more than 1,500 people: in its broadest extension, including fence, the building measured 337 x 328 m. Since 537, after the cutting of the aqueducts by Vitige, leader of the Goths, the spa ceased to function. In the following centuries the area spent periods of neglect and partial reoccupation by the cemetery to house up to agricultural area, mainly kept in vineyards. The first excavations "documented" began in 1912, others followed but research in practice are never finished.

archaeological restrictions. Moreover, it is crossed by some mayor axis of urban connections, that contribute to the evolution of a fragmented and dispersed urban fabric. We can define this area, ultimately, as a transit area of heavy traffic, people going through it, rather than staying, given the total lack of commercial or leisure places. The residential urban fabric is characterized mainly by private villas with high commercial values. The elements above mentioned, the presence of big archaeological sites, rigid archaeological restrictions, the presence of high busy roads, and the dispersed urban fabric and connected absence of a local social fabric, has all contributed to the relative isolation of the abandoned place addressed by the second relocation phase. Visitors can be seen in this area only in the case of the opening of the archaeological sites or for some temporary summer festival organized by the City in the park *San Sebastiano*. In fact, the radical practice of (re)appropriation lead by the housing movement and the artists' collective addressed another liminal space when evicted from the first one, another public asset that, despite its centrality, was left vacant for a long time. The second relocation phase doesn't involve the mixed use of housing and cultural activities and the housing occupation are shifted in peripheral districts. The areas in which the successive connected housing occupation is located are Prenestino and Tuscolano. These two working-class districts are characterized by an urban evolution mostly based on public housing (INA casa in Tuscolano and Edilizia Economica e Popolare in Prenestino) districts and illegal allotments. While the public housing has been sold to its tenants the illegal allotments have been legalized, becoming private properties too. The result, in these two areas, is the lack of public spaces, since most of the physical space is occupied by residential private properties or by commercial private spaces. Both the sectors of the city are strongly affected by the phenomenon of squatting (both for housing and social purpose). In particular the V Municipal Borough (Prenestino) and Centocelle, the neighbourhood where one of the two Squatting practices is based, are the sector of Rome with the highest number of occupied spaces per inhabitant. Today, Prenestino is a very multicultural city area and Pigneto, one of its neighbourhoods, has been recently affected by phenomena of Gentrification and its side-effects, due to the city marketing strategies for urban renewal that has burden the quality of the area for its strong alternative cultural dimension. Pigneto, together with Monti, is today the most requested area for the so-called Hipster (like Kreuzberg is for Berlin) in Rome.

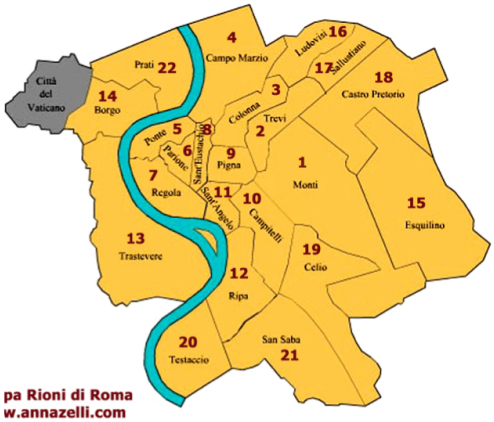
1.1 From the core of the ancient city to the outskirt of the Vatican City: Suburra district and Rione Monti, from the foundation of ancient Rome to the XIX century



The "pomerio": Servian Walls
IV century BC
King Servio Tullio's four *Regiones*
4 *Regiones*
Pink: Republican Rome



Aurelian Walls
275 AC
Emperor Ottaviano Augusto's
14 *Regiones*
Green: Imperial Rome /Light green: Republican Rome

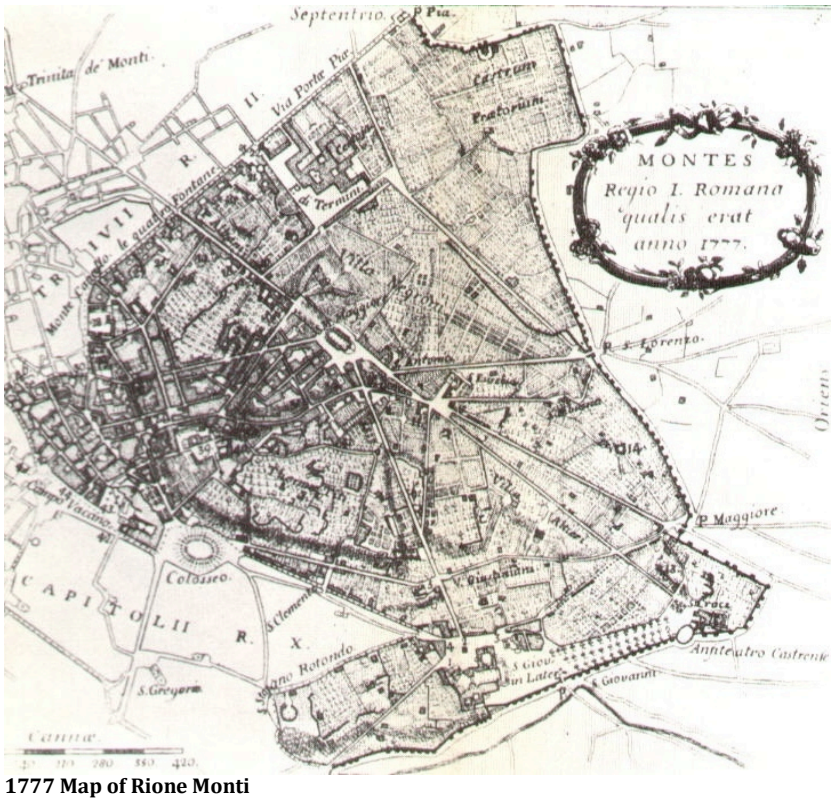


Rome historical CENTRE
Today
22 *Regiones*
Some old Regiones split in two;
2 are out of the Aurelian Walls: Prati and Borgo
Yellow: the I Municipio

The historic core of Rome is divided into 22 *Rioni* (districts), which include Rione Monti, the biggest *Rione* in Rome until 1874 (when was divided from Rione Esquilino). The name Rione is a corruption of the Latin *Regiones*, the portions in which King Servius Tullius divided the city for the first time around the sixth century BC. Originally there were only four *regiones*: *Suburana* (from *sub urbs* = "edge of the city", including the *Celio* hill and the adjacent valleys), *Esquilina* (from *ex quiliae* = "outside the town"), *Collina* (Collina = "hills" - includes two hills: the *Quirinale* and the *Viminale*) and *Palatine* (including the *Palatine* Hill and the Roman Forum). Rione Monti corresponds to the first *Region Suburana* one of the four regions (and portions of the other 3 *regiones*) included in *pomerio*, the first sacred boundary of the city. When in the Republican era, around the mid-fourth century BC, was built a real city wall (the so-called Servian walls), Rome had already extended so much beyond the sacred border that, at the beginning of the imperial age, the number of regiones was brought to fourteen. In ancient times the *Rione Monti* was densely populated, it included the so-called *Suburra* bordering on the south the Forum Romanum. *Subura* was a quarter of Ancient Rome which lay to the north of the Augustus and Nerva Forums and which was populated by urban underclass living in

miserable conditions and in the tenements of the popular Suburra fires broke out frequently; the area was full of inns, disreputable locals and brothels (Herzfeld, 2009) which gave to the term *Subura* a derogative connotation. For these fires, in Augustus age, was built the gigantic wall that still resists and borders the district, protecting the area of monumental and public services (the Forums) from the fires; separating it from the degraded area (the only emerging trace of ancient Suburra in the modern city).

Suburra was also the quarter where the Christian faith spread more rapidly and this explains the presence of several ancient large and important churches and several pilgrims' routes. Following the barbarian invasions, in medieval times the population of the district decreased both because of the destruction of water supplies and the unhealthy situation of its lower part (due to the swamping of the Forum area); this is why the people tended to move in the flat areas downstream of the hills and near the river (which fulfilled the function of the main route for transporting goods). Monti remained a rural part of the city for a long time, sparsely populated due to scarcity of water and the distance from the Vatican, the cultural centre of that period. One of the factors that spared the area from becoming totally uninhabited was the presence of the basilicas of *San Giovanni in Laterano* and *Santa Maria Maggiore*: the continuous flux of pilgrims always guaranteed a large number of people transiting in the area.

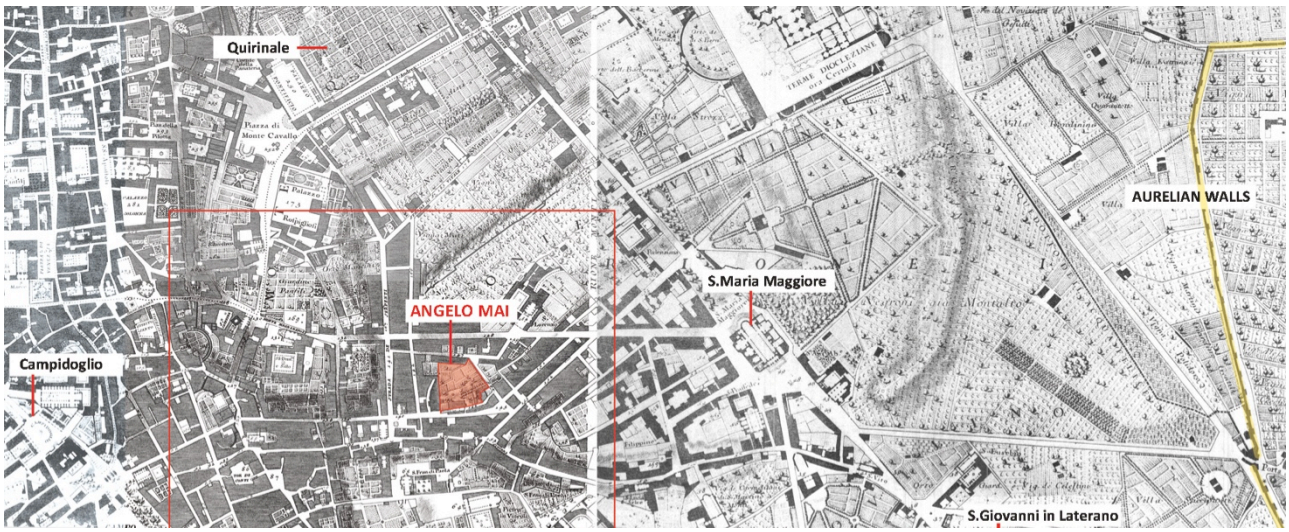


1777 Map of Rione Monti

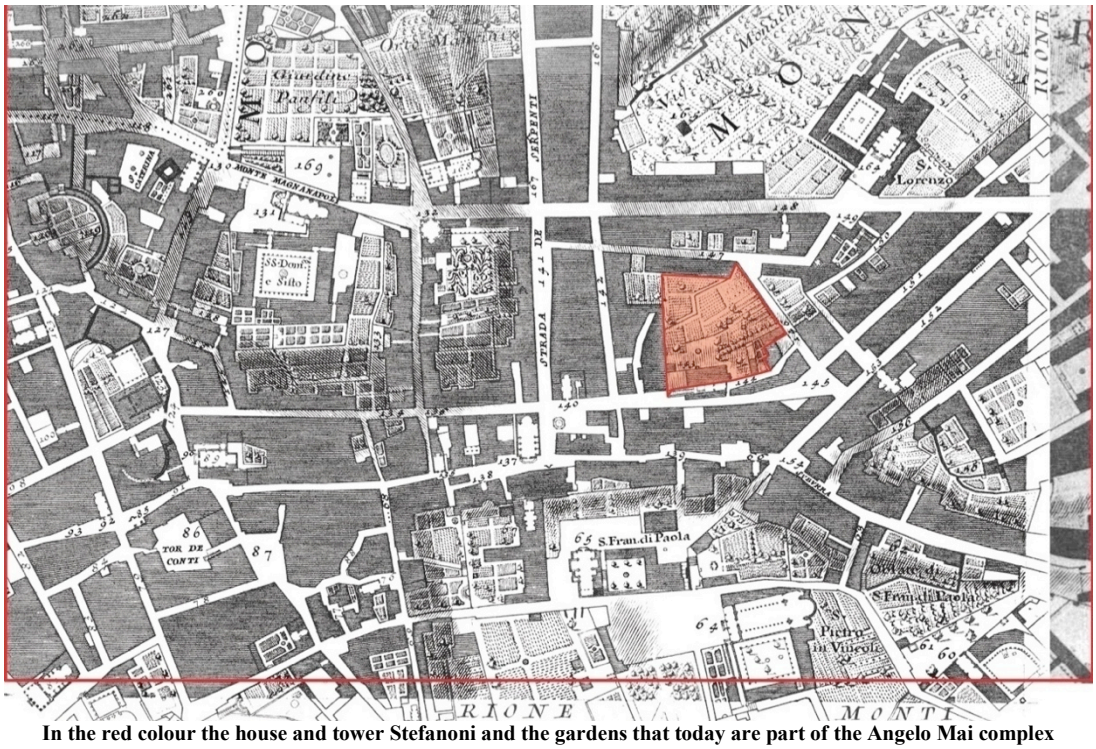
Crucial for the increasing of such flux were the important urban interventions creating new pilgrims' way between the most important city's Basilicas. It was the period of the «initiatives of the popes of the Counter Reformation": Gregory XIII (1572-85) and the following, who dealt with the transformation of this enormous area between the last houses and the ancient walls that had been abandoned for centuries and was then orchards and vineyards. Here there were the great villas of the Popes, their families and nobles [...]» (Insolera, 2011, 21)[194]. Despite the great Pope's urban interventions of counter-reform period (based on a self-celebrative town planning), far from urban revolutions that transformed the great European capitals in those years, in the aftermath of 1870, Roma had the appearance of a rural city, where the urban fabric was mostly concentrated in the neighbourhoods of the Renaissance. In Rione Monti the urban concentration were located along Via Quattro Fontane, and the area enclosed between Via Panisperna, Via di S. Maria Maggiore and Via delle Sette Sale, while the whole southern part of the district (around the Basilica of San Giovanni) was wasteland.

The *Pianta Grande di Roma*, the iconographic plan of Rome 1748, by Giambattista Nolli. The portion of plan selected shows the scarcity of the urban fabric in the east of the city included in the Aurelian walls confronted with the Renaissance neighbourhoods (on the left). In red the Angelo Mai area, while the red rectangle individuate the Suburra (today part of the Monti district)

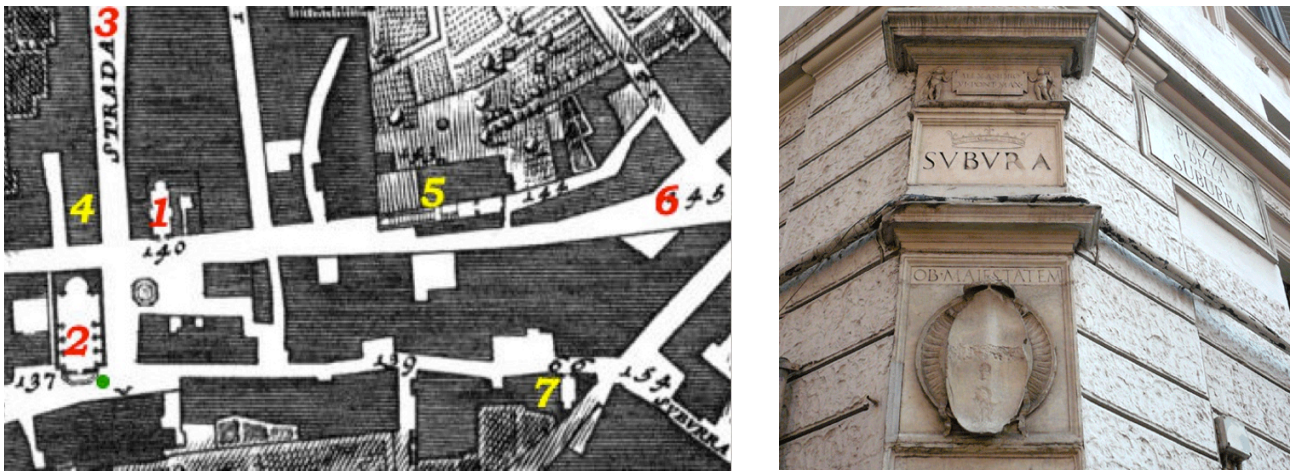
[194] Translated by the author (original versioni in Italian language).



The urban context of Rione Monti in 1748: some urban fabric in the former suburra and near the Basilica S.Maria Maggiore



In the red colour the house and tower Stefanoni and the gardens that today are part of the Angelo Mai complex

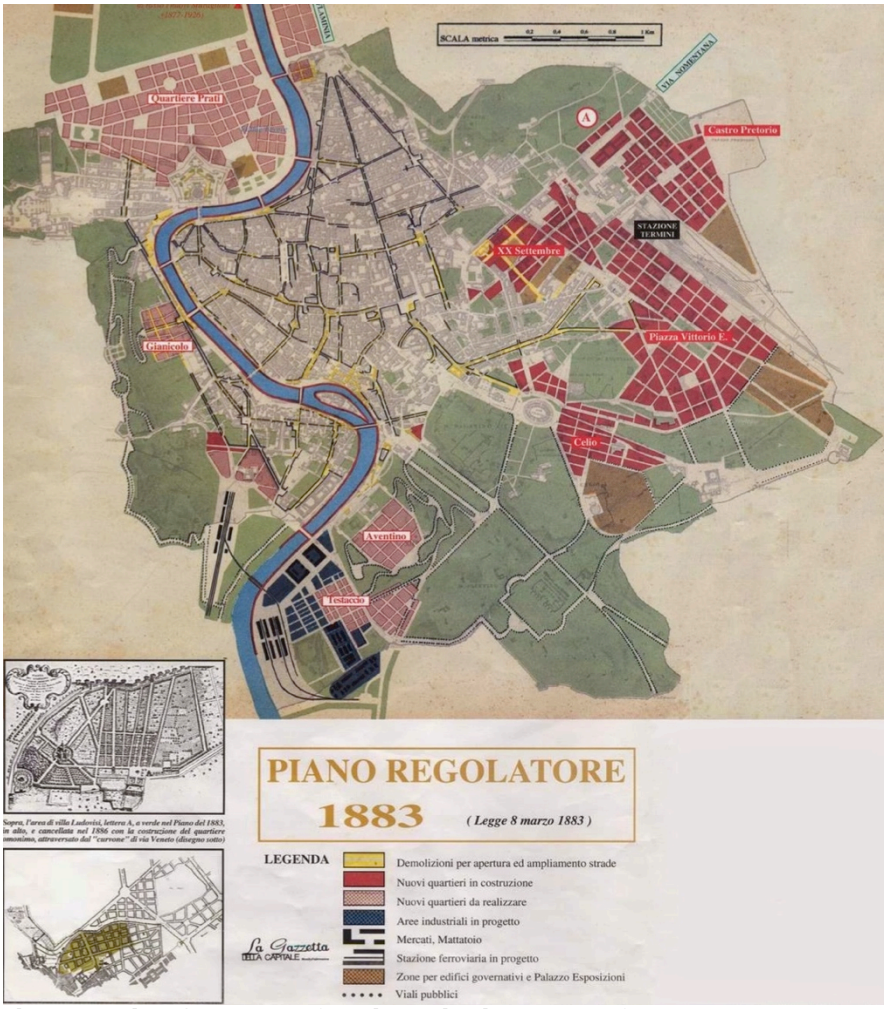


Monti's Nolli map of the 1748 made reference to: Torre and Casa Stefanoni (5) that is part of the "Angelo Mai" complex – it was already visible in the Tempesta map of 1593; the map shows that the complex is located near the main street of the neighbourhood Via dei Serpenti (3) and between two main squares Piazza madonna dei Monti (1) and Piazza degli Zingari (6); the church "Madonna dei Monti" (2) it is considered a important place of gathering within the neighbourhood

1.2 Pushing towards a modern city: de Merode's urban plans for the city's expansion

It has been mentioned, that compared to European capitals (among them Berlin), who had an urban development strongly linked with the economic, political and social aspects of the industrial capitalist city and with the turn to the positivist thought that since the eighteenth century onwards were impulse to the establishment of modern city planning, Rome in the eighteenth and nineteenth century was still the papal Rome clung to a pre-positivist conception of the world (Insolera, 2001). This immobility, which is reflected in a actually absent growth of the urban fabric, and its population, together with the absence of "marine, manufacturing or businesses" it made very clear the contrast with the other European cities, where the population was constantly increasing and the bourgeoisie and the proletariat were going to replace the categories of the aristocracy, of the sub-proletariat and peasantry.

In 1860s, Rome had a very small population of about 200,000 people, mainly aristocratic, basing its economy on the management of assets - own or others' assets- and a big part of the population composed of artisans, beggars and people who lived by their wits. When in 1870 Rome became the capital of the Italian Realm, because of the expected large growth, the city witnessed a race to land to be devoted to new constructions (started few years before the Pope's dethronement), so that, «Rome is not yet constitutionally Italian ... and is still being debated how and when it becomes the effective capital. But private initiative is already ahead the City. And it is an advantage that will rapidly increase […]» (Insolera, 2011, 13). The first Plans for the city development (*Piani Regolatori Generali)* were drawn up in Rome[195], then, in an attempt to oppose a public direction to great speculative phenomena and the race for the purchase and construction of hundreds of thousands of lands around Rome, as investments of private enterprise and the various real estate companies.



The master plan of Rome, 1883 (in red: new development areas)

Among them is the figure of the Cardinal de Merode, who in the years before the annexation of Rome to the Kingdom of Italy, and immediately in the years to follow, by providing for the growth of the city in the direction of the new central station *Termini* - which he founded and located in an area owned by the Jesuits -, took the initiative to buy all the lands in the area (for the most part characterized by orchards and convents owned by religious orders).

Then, he did assert its interests and political influence in the process of the definition of the new plans, so that development of the city addressed mostly lands he had previously purchased, generating huge profits for the landowner. It results visible in the first general plan of development of the city (Piano Regolatore 1883) that provided the city expansion toward east, developing all the areas between the historic centre and Termini Station, in large part owned by Cardinal de Merode (Insolera, 2001): only a few casinos of the former villas were spared. In this period the interests and strategies of the great land speculation begin to take shape, immediately influencing the drafting of the new master

[195] Lands of Rome at that time can be divided into: lands constituting the great villas; lands already acquired for building purposes from real estate companies; lands owned by religious corporations. The Jesuits - owners of lands around the Terme di Diocleziano and the Castro Pretorio - lest Rome was extended to the abolition of the *Asse Scolastico* (Laws of July 7th 1866 - August 15th 1867), immediately sold or mortgaged their possessions. So «private initiative, various real estate companies established through foreign capital, founded their own business on the sale of church property, taking away from the state and the City the first easy chance to set up a public estate of areas» (Insolera, 1991, 14).

plans for the city[196]. As expected, the process of explosive growth of the city and relocation of Ministries' offices produces the effect of attracting a large number of new residents in the city. Thus began a strong migration toward the cities from rural areas and poorer regions of Italy, mostly people looking for unskilled labour in the construction industry, creating a growing demand for housing, both for the emerging Bourgeois class, both for the new proletarian and sub proletarian classes in the city.

1.3 Mussolini's Urbanism: the historical centre "cleansing" and creation of the *Borgate*

2,000,000 inhabitants is the expected population for the new city master plan drawn up during Fascism, due to the incessant flow of population from the countryside to the city. Despite the relentless construction activities, the city of *"Palazzine"* (apartment blocks) and *"case intensive"* (intensive housing) and its construction market were unable to respond to the huge demand for affordable housing by the growing ranks of sub-proletarian and proletarian masses, and by the poor historical population of urban underclass living in miserable conditions - who for centuries had lived in the low quality but cheap old houses in the city centre.

In order to understand, in this historical context, how Mussolini approached the city's development issue, and how this approach deeply transformed the city both with regards to its historical centre, both with regard to the quality of the expansion of the city's new peripheries, it is useful to quote an article by Antonio Cederna: «What was the urbanism for Mussolini? A clear idea of the word's meaning, perhaps the *Duce* (Mussolini) never had one: he considered it quite synonymous with *urbanesimo*, *inurbamento* and alike, i.e. the increase in the populations of the cities as a result of immigration from the countryside. From socialist to dictator, he always showed (as in the famous speech of the Ascension, May 26th, 1927) his aversion to the "sprawling city", and his propensity for the countryside and for agriculture: an attitude in which stood some reasonableness, just that the means to put it into practice were wrong and counterproductive. Instead of promoting an economic policy that was able to redistribute and re-balance the population and production, he preferred to resort to repressive measures to "evacuate", "dissipate", "deflate" compulsorily cities and prevent people from moving in urban areas (laws against urbanization: 1928 and 1930) [...]» (Ibid., 1981, 68)[197]. On the other hand, however, the demographic campaign, shouting "the number is power" swelled the peasant masses who, to survive poured out into the city looking for a job (Rome in the thirties, despite repressive laws, received over half a million immigrants): «The policy of public and the regime works ... did nothing but increase the immigration phenomenon that wanted to fight; aversion to the industrial proletariat, made vain every effort for a better distribution of manufacturing activity and bumped against the equally rooted delusions of grandeur who wanted to make Rome an imperial metropolis; the constant practice of intensive demolitions and reconstructions, attracted immigrants looking for work in the construction sector, while contributing to a more depressed conditions of the countryside where manpower was overabundant» (Ibid, 1981, 71).

The construction of via dei Fori Imperiali and the demolition of a significant portion of Rione Monti (on the left)

The "constant practice of intensive demolitions and reconstructions" strongly affected the city centre, radically transforming some of its parts irreversibly. The gut of the historical city led to the demolition of a large number of homes and the displacement of its population, mostly underclass population. In this framework, the construction of the *Borgate* (working class suburbs) was officially conceived to allow decent living conditions to those who still lived in the old dilapidated downtown's housing, but unofficially were intended as an act of "cleansing" of the central districts, to "evacuate", "dissipate", "deflate" it coercively from the poorest sector of the population who was "deported" in the new anonymous pour peripheries: «Borgate constructed hastily with shoddy materials, where people, torn off from its habits and its activities, were condemned to live in worse hygienic conditions than those of the old and even degraded neighbourhoods that were destroyed.» (Ibid, 1981, 71). This imposed strategy, a fundamental element of fascist urbanism, did not serve to guarantee a better quality of life for the inhabitants "removed" from the city centre, nor the regeneration of the central areas, neither it solved the issues related to the growing number of cars circulating in the city, because, with the increase

[196] I.e. the expansion unidirectional to Termini station in favor of the speculations of De Merode and the expansion in the new *Prati* neigbourhood in favor of the interests of "financial groups, composed of an international banking consortium, which have speculated in an even more "selfish" way on such lands (Ibid., 23).

[197] Translated by the author (original version in Italian lenguage).

of roads designed for car traffic the "obvious" result was to "worsening congestion in and around the city centre". «It is therefore evident that the real reason for the implementation of demolitions was speculation: the same miserable settlements built for those evicted from the city centre later served admirably to raise the prices of the surrounding and intermediate land, and then for the indiscriminate, stifling like "wildfire expansion" of the city, to the benefit of landowners» (Cederna, 1981, 72). Among the various implemented demolition emerges, the construction of *via dei Fori Imperiali* (see photo) occurred during the fascist period that resulted as the more dramatic intervention on the Rione Monti for its population. In fact, it provoked the demolition of a significant portion of the old neighbourhood and the "deportation" of its population in the *Borgate*. This big displacement of local poor population produced in the next decades many problems of social and spatial degradation, since these Borgate were created in the outskirt of the city and produced with public moneys by private developers exploiting the dire needs of the poor. The diffusion of overcrowded row homes created to house the workers and their families were the evident consequence of such unjust policies. Even after the big urban, political, social and economic transformation of the post-IIWW economic boom, the population of Rome haven't witnessed a real industrial revolution and its economy was always mostly based on construction sector and third sector. This economic undeveloped situation has on one side justified the constant wild estate speculation in the city, fuelled by the necessity to create new jobs, but on the other side has resulted, over decades, both on issues related to precarious employments and housing crisis, both to the unplanned growing of the city with all the negative side effects. This story will show how these problems were never really addressed or solved but only shifted in space and time in the city management, and for this reason radical actions have kept emerging in other places and other forms, reclaiming the possibility of self-producing alternative autonomous solutions.

1.4 Marginalization of peripheries in metropolitan areas: social conflicts and radical practices

The wider phenomenon of "social centre" and squatting (housing occupation connected to housing movements) in Italy is situated in Rome mostly concentrate in the peripheral areas. The case of Rome shows that the biggest wave of occupations, pursued by social movements, came, even in this case (like in many other cities included Berlin), after decades of low quality urbanization and non-negotiated urban renewal strategies in the city. In fact, «(t)he booming housing demand associated with the demographic increase proved to be a challenge for a deeply unbalanced local urban planning and housing provision system that, since national reunification, had been characterized by the relevance of private land interests, the lack of a consistent public inventory of developable land and the over-production of middle and upper-class housing and the under-production of working class housing (Violante, 2008)» (Coppola, 2013, 3). The city's peripheries grew very fast from the post-war period on, either as a settlement for informal housing (like Centocelle, il Quadraro, etc.) or as planned neighbourhood for public social housing (like Spinaceto, Tor Bella Monaca, Corviale, Laurentino 38, etc.), due to the strong migration toward the city. Many of them, were born with severe shortages of services and no real spaces for social activities, which were planned, sometimes even realized but never "activated" due to lack in public investments. Besides, the physical exclusion of the new planned settlements positioned far away from the city centre, with no good connection with the rest of the urban area, made accessing the services that the city centre was providing difficult. In the early '70s, in conjunction with the divestment of space production linked to the old economic system, the physical presence of several abandoned buildings (mainly industrial, military) and vacant or underutilized urban assets (like schools, and other public facilities and infrastructures) allowed the urban insurgent practices of occupation to increase and diversify.

Unlike organized collective housing occupation, started during the 1960s and then evolved socially and politically over the last decades, social centres are emerged since the mid 1970s in Italy - with the end of the "red decade" and the beginning of a new counter-cultural autonomous scene (Dazieri, 1996) - and mid 1980s in Rome, where became a relevant social practice since the yearly 1990s (Mudu, 2014a). Since then on, many abandoned buildings have been transformed in self-managed social centres (CSOA or CSA)[198] "by leftist activists and other diverse groups". «A social centre is a space which originates through squatting an abandoned place, within which people experiment with forms of non-institutional action and association through self-management (*autogestione*). Self-management means opting for a form of decision making which keeps out racism, sexism, social hierarchies, and all forms of oppression.» (Ibid., 2014, 246). Analysing the map and the survey over the occupied/self-managed spaces in Rome (see the appendix), emerge two interesting data: first the majority of these places are located on the east-south peripheries of Rome[199], secondly many of them took place in abandoned public facilities in formerly subsidized housing districts (that were in fact localized in great majority on the south and east parts of the city). The big presence of self-managed or illegally occupied places in the city (about 30 social centres and 50 housing occupations)[200] is due to a general tolerant approach that the local authorities have had confronting with these radical practices. In fact, in Rome the city authority, in those

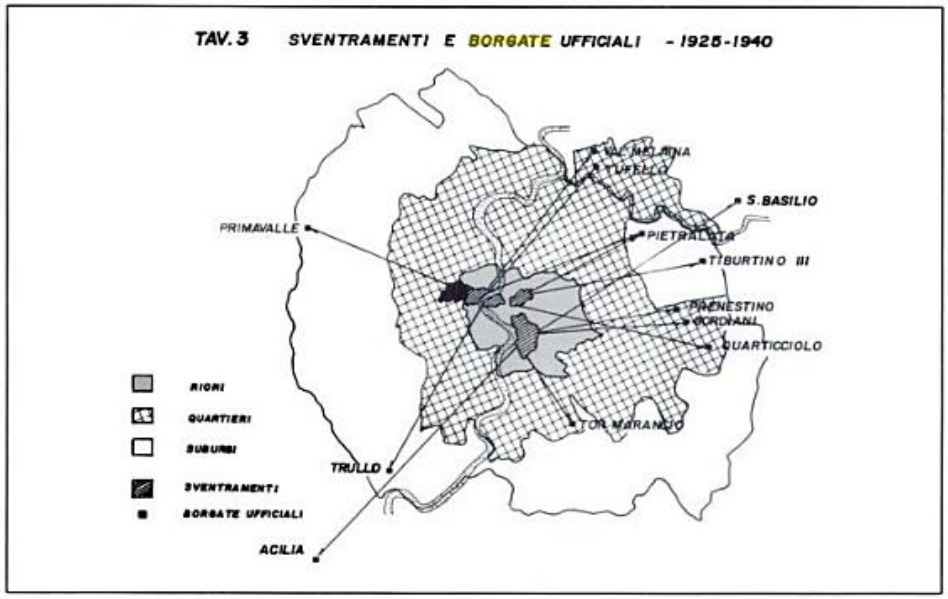
[198] Most social centres were created through squatting or, in a few cases, by occupying sites assigned to them by the local municipal government at no cost. A social centre originating from a squat is termed *Centro Sociale Occupato Autogestito* (Self-Managed Squatted Social centre), while a social centre that has some kind of legal recognition uses the acronym CSA (Self-Managed Social centre).» (Mudu, 2014a, 249-250).

[199] The Self-Managed Social centres are located mostly in the peripheries – among them they are mostly located in *Prenestino-Centocelle*, *Collatino*, *Tufello*, *Spinaceto*, *Tuscolano*, *Tor Bella Monaca*, *Casal Bruciato*, *Casal de' Pazzi*, *Laurentino 38*, *Portonaccio*, *Ostiense*, etc. neighborhoods while just few are located in the city centre: Angelo Mai (case study), Rialto Sant'ambrogio, Teatro Valle Occupato (evicted in 2014), Cinema America Occupato (evicted in 2014).

[200] Data from Pierpaolo Mudu quantitative survey over the squatting scene in Rome (Mudu, Rossini, 2016).

decades, neither has developed successful tools to legitimate this "reclaimed" spaces (only the Resolution 26/1995 for social centres and the Law for Self-help housing in 1998) and to actually fix the situation nor has actuate a "zero tolerance" approach (excluding few cases of eviction concentrated in repression waves, mostly private properties). Probably they assume this behaviour because these places have provided over the time for several social and local services and for immigrants and weaker sector of the population support, that the city authorities never created or activated. The housing occupation provided both a shelter for homeless, a place where obtain residency and so the recognition of basic rights, collective places where to struggle social exclusion and a political tool to claim housing rights. The "social centres", instead, provided a base for initiatives such as cafes, free or cheap language courses (mostly for immigrants), affordable sport activities and taverns, free shops, public computer, theatre or music labs, graffiti murals, collectives for legal support (to help immigrants or women), help desks for immigrants and homeless, free housing for travellers, self-managed green areas and gardens. The services are determined by both the needs of the community in which the social centre is based and the skills which the participants have to offer. The Italian director Paolo Virzì in 1994 made a documentary film about the Roman "social centres" describing these spaces as "little happy beating oasis in the desolation of the metropolis" (*"CSOA massimo rispetto – viaggio nei centri sociali autogestiti di Roma - 1994"*).

The V Municipal Borough of Rome is the one that presents the highest number of occupied and self-managed spaces both for housing, social-housing and social purposes (about 20 in total)[201], but why? The area of the V Borough has a long history: from the settlements of the Palaeolithic, through the Roman period and the construction of the important aqueduct that cross it (the aqueduct *Alessandrino*), it carries traces of the medieval age with the presence of some medieval towers left along the road major axis (Prenestina and Casilina) and continues to this day, when the traditional agricultural activities have been replaced by an intense process of urbanization, with neighbourhoods heavily populated alternating with green or not yet built areas (big abandoned portions of former countryside). The first significant and definitive change in the whole area takes place in 1921 with the creation of the first *Nucleo Edilizio* (group of housing units) "Centocelle", the only Borgata in Rome before fascism period.



City centre demolitions and displacement in official *Borgate* – 1925-1940 (Clementi, Perego, 1983, 353)

Further urban expansion occurred as a result of the implementation of the fascist strategy for the renewal of the city centre providing demolitions and displacement in the Borgate of the inhabitants of the old town (occurred between 1924- 1940). Another element that influenced the expansion was, in particular, the issuance of building permits in 1935 for buildings outside of the General Regulator Plan (were included 19 *Nuclei Edilizi* in Rome) in Borgate and in suburbs' and *Agro Romano*'s fractions (Roma's countryside).

From this initiative emerged, among others, the District Alessandrino originally devoid of services (water, sewer, electricity) and of links with the city. Moreover, in the large plateau area outside *Porta Maggiore* (today V Municipal Borough), in the early thirties, it had been located the Borgata *Gordiani*, away from the city and also isolated from the surrounding settlements. This was a group of so-called "rapid" houses (i.e. brick shacks) which was built about at the same time with the Borgata *Prenestina* (see the "lake" ex-Snia Viscosa case), which was located a little further north (Rossi, 2012, 7). These settlements were the most miserable among all the legal Borgate and were a disgrace to the city, as emerges in survey conducted by the "Commission of Inquiry on the Italian poverty", established in 1953 (Ibid., 2012, 7). Parts of the report were published in a book called "le Borgate di Roma" ("the Borgate of Rome"), which later

[201] Housing occupations: 1) Hotel Congress (Blocchi Precari Metropolitani – BPM – housing movement); 2) Ex Asl in via Tempesta (Action housing movement); 3) former school in via delle Acacie (Comitato Popolare di Lotta per la casa housing movement - evicted in 2014); 4) houses in via Unguento (Action); 5) Ex scuola Vespucci (BPM); 6) Villa Lauricella in via Grattamelata (Action); 7) housing occupation in via dei Castani; 8) Casale Falchetti; Housing-social: 9) Metropoliz (BPM); 10) CSOA Forte Prenestino; 11) CSA La Talpa; Social centres: 12) CSA ex-Snia; 13) CSOA Ex Cinema Teatro Preneste (evicted in 2015); 14) CIP; 15) Point Break; 16) Biblioteca abusiva metropolitana; 17) OZ-Officine zero; 18) Strike; Self-managed public spaces: 19) 100celle Aperte; 20) Parco delle Energie; 21) parco del "lago" of ex-Snia Viscosa.

became a masterpiece of Roman historiography. It is worth to quote the book in order to understand the situation of degradation of the urban and social fabric in those areas (it will constitute the starting point for the emergence of an active and insurgent citizenship in the following decades, struggling initially for the right to dwell in decent conditions and then against the concentration of resources in the inner city and the bad quality urbanization of the peripheries): «The houses do not have water and toilets: toilets and fountains (which must also serve as washtubs) are scattered in the area, and must serve a certain number of dwellings. Except for the two-storey houses, the doors of individual houses face directly on the road [...]. The buildings, made with the utmost haste and economy, have been deteriorated by use and time; roofs can not prevent water filtering in the rooms, creating a deadly humidity, worsened by the water that rises from the floor, given the lack of crawl spaces, which oozes from the walls and makes everything drenched: the house's objects, the beds sheets [...]. You cannot find a tree nor a bit of grass in the area […]. Only the main street is paved […]. Every so often, in the side streets are concrete houses with a square base of a few meters from the side: these are the 25 cabinets available to a population of more than 5,000 people, on each side, the entrances do not have doors or are closed by shelters of sheet metal; the dirt of these places is indescribable, for the fact that these cabinets belong to everyone and no one, and are therefore rarely cleaned. Just behind these cabinets are fountains that provide water to the population» (Berlinguer, Della Seta, 1960, 95-96). In the context of the population boom, when between 1945 and 1975, Rome's population grew by almost 800.000 inhabitants (mostly under the push of internal migrations coming from southern and central rural regions), «much of the housing demand expressed by migrants employed – both formally and informally – in the low-skilled service sector and more in general by the lower classes will be left unanswered: the lack of affordable housing on the private market will be coupled with a persistent under-production of public housing units that was functional to the hegemony of private interests over the planning process (Insolera, 1981). A consistent part of this demand will be therefore oriented towards solutions provided by a growing system of informal and illegal housing provision.» (Coppola, 2013).

In this framework, the district of Centocelle kept undergoing urban expansion and it was mainly subjected to strong expansion of unofficial Borgate and areas of shacks (especially leaning against the train lines but mostly along the Roman aqueducts - then dismantled in the 70s to provide for an extensive restoration by the Superintendence of Cultural Heritage Hall).[202] After World War II, moreover, the roads Prenestina and Casilina constituted the main axes for the city's working-class expansion eastward until the Master Plan of 1962, which legalized both 1935's Nuclei Edilizi and the others settlements arisen subsequently, wholly or partially formed by consolidated illegal housing. In the post-war period, the Borgate were still affected by lack of resources such as water, that was collected in the municipal wells, electricity, which was distributed from 2 to 6 hours a day and gas, not enough to bring heating and cooking fire. Soon, *borgate* will become the scene for the political activism of the left and especially of the Italian Communist Party (Pci). «Through a complex and innovative set of newly founded urban actors – among which the most important will be the "Unione borgate" - Pci will be able to establish its political and electoral hegemony over the informal settlements. By the years, a "red belt" of informal neighbourhoods will take shape around the middle-upper class and conservative centre of the city: the informal metropolis will become "alternative" to the formal metropolis also in terms of their respective political and ideological references (Coppola, 2008).» (Coppola, 2013). The *"Unione Borgate"* ("Borgate Union"), an association in defence of the inhabitants of the Borgate, allowed, through long protest activities conducted together with the citizens of the Borgate, to reach many achievements, snatching to the City Council, improvement in land planning and social services in those areas. After years of disputes, for example, the Borgate were able to achieve an organic program that served to provide them with the essential service of general supplies such as water and drinking water supply in all the houses. This was one of the greatest victories that people from the Borgate gained (Unione Borgate[203], 1976).

In fact, a first major redevelopment of the area dates back to 1975 with the emergency plan for the construction of infrastructure and the demolition of several *Borgetthi* whose inhabitants were assigned to public affordable housing in the new Rome's *Piani di Zona*.[204] Since 1976, during the PCI's leading city council period, the inclusion of the former illegal allotments and Borgate into the planned city started. «The delimitations of 1976 and 1977, and the 1978 variant (of the city's Master Plan), fulfil, as we read in all official documents and policy statements of representatives of the administration, the work for social justice that attempts to retrieve the delay in (performing) improvement measures on the periphery. Starting from the interventions in infrastructure and social services is in addition provided the recognition of 350000 rooms built after 1962 and their integration into the design of the plan. The perimeter, or rather the criteria by which it was conducted, however, have caused debate and also considerable misgivings on the part of those who, observing the phenomena from a technical-cultural perspective, regretted the "destruction of the territory" (produced) without going into the structural analysis (of this process), nor taking into account that the phenomenon show no sign to stop»[205] (Clementi, Perego, 1983, 562). In fact, in the variant of the City Master Plan on July 1978, were included the Zone "O", i.e. the "Nucleus of illegal housing", still numerous in the eastern sector of the city. Moreover, according to

[202] https://www.comune.roma.it/wps/portal/pcr?jppagecode=dip_pol_riq_per_pae_acq_qu.wp
[203] The "Unione Borgate" is a working-class movement born after the war as an association at the side of the immigrants present in the Agro Romano. It has fought for recognition of their civil rights, including the right to vote. It is a network of committees and consortiums of people who promote struggles and projects for the development of the peripheries in Rome. [http://www.borgate.it/]
[204] https://www.comune.roma.it/wps/portal/pcr?jppagecode=dip_pol_riq_per_pae_acq_qu.wp
[205] Translated by the author (original version in Italian).

the law 167 of 1962 for *Edilizia Economica e Popolare* (individuating areas for subsidized housing districts), in the mid seventies, in a territory illegally occupied by shacks, car demolitions and old farmhouses, the *Casilino 23*, a public housing district in the Centocelle neighbourhood, was realized. This new generation of subsidized housing districts, whose projects were inspired by the garden city and modern metropolis, produced the radical transformation of the landscape and created no connection with the existing surrounding further contributing to the discontinuous development of the urban fabric.

Fig. 25 - IGM del 1937 relativa al settore Centocelle Pietralata

Fig. 26 - IGM del 1949 relativa al settore Centocelle Pietralata

Fig. 27 - IGM del 1977 relativa al settore Centocelle Pietralata

Fig. 28 - Ortofoto colore, 2008 Google map

(Source: Clementi, Perego, 1983, 42)

«The generous intervention of Casilino 23, while constituting one of the most interesting experiments of housing from the 60s, has demonstrated the limits of the project "territorially informal" containing within itself the explanation of its form having failed, over time, to metabolize a significant urban role, nor to establish integrations with the district of Centocelle, or with west areas [...].» (Rossi, 2012, 24). This varied accumulation of settlements, however, welcomed the influx of Lazio, Central and South Italy immigration during the population and urban post-war boom (and since the 1980s of migrants from foreign countries). After the institutional interventions of the late 1970s, based on the strategic objective of the new city government "to heal the urban fracture" between the CENTRE and the peripheries, still largely illegal (Perego, 1981), the quality of the life of the population localized in these areas improved thanks to the increase in public basic services and infrastructures.

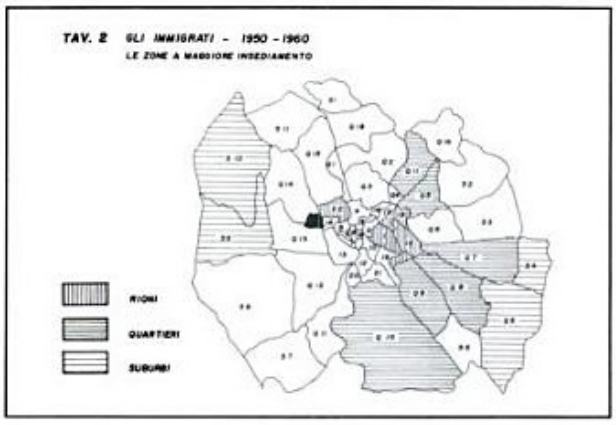
The population of Centocelle, formed thanks to the waves of immigration, that was experiencing in those years conditions of collective deprivation, gathered in a political insurgent social fabric, that became a feature of this working-class area due to a the set of circumstances above mentioned, plus a concentration of industries. «The city - the "metropolis" evoked in the activist's imaginary of the time - and the neighbourhood: the experiences and memories of one of the possible Roma's transitions from the 70s to 80s are rooted in this double dimension of the urban experience. The most recent historiography has focused on the tumultuous building of the universe of working-class's *borgate* and neighbourhoods, underlining the complex relationship between cultural and class heterogeneous traits (Portelli, 2002; Portelli et al., 2006; Viccaro, 2007) and larger incidents of collective movements of post-war period. Immigration's histories and cultures, politicization of the social working-class fabric during the resistance to fascism and the German occupation, the spread of radical militancy of young people are some of the original character of this story. Aspects always adhering to those atypical *"memorie di classe"* ("working-class memories") and that *"idioma sociale"* ("social language") (Gribaudi 1987) that made the Roman movement an original case.»[206] (Dazieri, 1996, 24).

Centocelle that is then defined as a working-class neighbourhood, it never belonged to the tradition of the working class neighbourhoods as were, in the early twentieth century, the Bovisa and Bicocca neighbourhoods in Milan or those of the "new working class" in Turin and Milan, the so called *"quartieri dormitorio"* ("dormitory districts") emerged during the 60s and 70s southern immigration. «The workers groups from large factories never made Centocelle a real

[206] Translated by the author (original version in Italian).

working-class neighbourhood, although in the south-east of the city there were some medium and large industrial sites, especially located on the Casilina and Prenestina roads: Fatme, Autovox, Apollon, Lanerossi, in particular mechanical, electronics and textiles productions. There has always been a strong presence of workers in the transport and building sectors, next to a large component of small artisans, shopkeepers, unemployed and small crime groups, however well integrated into the social fabric of the neighbourhood»[207] (Dazieri, 1996, 24). Actually Centocelle from the beginning was characterized by a strong proletarian pride; this didn't prevent from the perception of the post-war Centocelle in the collective imaginary as a place "at the edge" of the city socially disadvantaged. A neighbourhood still in transformation in which emerges this disconnect between the people who came from the countryside and the city, between fathers and sons, between a rural culture and urban culture. I was exclusively staying in the neighbourhood and when rarely happened to go to *Piazza dei Mirti* to take the tram, we used to say, "I go to Rome."

Immigration in Rome (1930-49): mostly concentrated in the central and south-east periphery and suburbs (Clementi, Perego, 1983, 353)



Immigration in Rome (1950-60): mostly concentrated in t south-east and east periphery (Clementi, Perego, 1983, 353)

This generational mismatch then created humus for the birth of a rebellion culture, the imagery was that connected to the *Communes*, against the traditional family. This social context was very common in the whole area (called) south of Rome; the belt included between Tuscolano and Tiburtino[208] was a "hot area" (politically speaking) and it is not a case if radical groups and situations that were in Centocelle are often linked with this South Rome area". [209] In fact, Centocelle since the late 1960s is characterized by a strong politicization of the neighbourhood's youth and its main squares showed over the time a sign of continuity in the extraordinary youth and political aggregation. «Starting from the late 1960s, in these places and their surrounding areas many headquarters of different political parties - including neo-fascists – were located as well as those of the extra-parliamentary left. The south-eastern outskirts of Rome was in the collective imaginary as one of the areas with the stronger presence of radical political groups [210] and headquarters.»[211] (De Sario, 2009, 25). Between 1973 and 1976 the Communist Committee Centocelle (CoCoCe) - then largely merged into the Communist Armed Formations or *Brigate Rosse* - is one of the most influential in Rome. «Roman autonomy scene was composed by a multiplicity of organizations concerned with solving social problems in the working class districts of the city, with targets related to the development of people needs (the most significant actions was the occupation of the houses in the neighbourhoods of San Lorenzo, Centocelle and Magliana)» (StoriaXXIsecolo.it). In fact, the intense and uneven urban development that took place in the Roman peripheries starting from the post-war period, as mentioned above, in the case of Centocelle was produced most of the times outside the rules of the City Plan, that could have protected from speculation and the necessity of homeless families, portions of the city for community and public activities. Moreover, in the few areas identified for public functions, the projects or the uses provided for these areas were never implemented (see the case of the Eastern Administrative System S.D.O. described in the "lake" ex-Snia Viscosa case) or never activated (as in the case of the Forte Prenestino, fort passed from state property to municipal in 1976 for the creation of green areas and services for the densely populated neighbourhood, never activated).

[207] Translated by the author.
[208] Two big areas located in the south of Rome: both of them have been named after the main road axe that crosses their territory.
[209] Interview to Gianfranco Giombini, young inhabitant of the neighbourhood in 1977, militant in the Coordinamento anarchico Centocelle (the Coordination Anarchist Centocelle) adhering to the Italian Anarchist Federation and squatter in the first attempt of squatting of the Forte Prenestino in Centocelle in May '77. See "mappa di Roma.it" [http://www.mappadiroma.it/pages/centocelle4.html].
[210] *Lotta Continua* (Continuous struggle), *Potere Operaio* (Workers' Power) and *Autonomia Operaia* (Workers' Autonomy) are just some of the movements from the extra-parliamentary Left emerged in the years 1970s. «The collective needs of young proletarians and women, the marginalization of entire neighbourhoods in metropolitan areas, and the diffusion of heavy drugs were some of the issues tackled by the Italian antagonistic movement.» (Mudu, 2014a, 248). Most of the occupied spaces, since the 1970s, were linked to these political groups. Social centres were mainly related to Autonomia Operaia (Mudu, 2014b). «One of its major groups was Autonomia, a patchy federation of spontaneously formed collectives which mobilized thousands of people from 1976 onward and had its major hubs in Rome, Padua, Milan, and Bologna. Workplaces, factories, universities, and schools were the scene of protests against the Italian establishment as well as the Communist party and the major leftist trade union (CGIL, or Confederazione Generale Italiana del Lavoro).» (Ibid., 2014a, 248).
[211] Translated by the author (original version in Italian).

Besides the big presence of abandoned public spaces, starting from the 1970s on, in the framework of the economic shift toward a post-Fordist system, and due to the expansion of the city, many industrial sites were decommissioned. In these peripheries, born with severe shortages of services and no real central or leisure activities, the presence of these large urban spaces foreclosed to the citizens' use, made it clear all the weaknesses of the planned modern city. In that same period, not only in Italy and Rome, but throughout Europe, in conjunction with the disposal of spaces of industrial production linked to the old economic system, in the early 70s, began to emerge in Europe, the first self-managed centres (including among the others the "Melkweg" in Amsterdam, the "UFA" in Berlin, the "Albany Empire" in London, the "Leoncavallo" in Milan, the "Rote Fabrik" in Zurich).

Those first spaces, called in Italian "social centres", departed from the idea that reusing obsolete buildings could be created places that provide services and meeting places for the community and contribute to the objective of giving space to an alternative culture independent from the dominant one and new forms of political struggle focusing mainly on urban peripherals areas. Thus these (re)appropriated places would constitute the engine of an urban regeneration from below that would give a new understanding to the "nothingness" of the peripheries. It happened in Rome and in Centocelle in the framework of the new political movements, The Christian Democrat Party, which held power uninterruptedly from 1948 until the early 1990S, steered the country's transition to the post-Fordist economy against great odds, not least of which was the emergence in the mid-1960s of a strong antagonistic movement which advocated an alternative approach to modernity by stoutly opposing capitalism, consumerism, and a hierarchical organization of society (Balestrini and Moroni 1997). […] At the same, in 1976, the Italian Communist Party chose to form an alliance with the Christian Democrats, the so-called "historic compromise", which resulted in three years of national coalition governments.

The first generation of social centres arose within this context in the latter half of the 1970s, when part of the antagonistic movement dropped practices of institutionalized conflict and adopted more radical forms of struggle, including armed protest (Virno and Hardt 1996)» (Mudu, 2014a, 248). By the mid-1980s began the formation of a kind of informal coordination that united several collectives related to *Autonomia Operaia*, along with autonomous territorial collectives of south and east Roman districts (including Centocelle) and punk-anarchist youth groups highly organized, which until then had animated the first productions of the independent Roman cultural scene (De Sario, 2009). Between March and May of 1986, began the first wave of occupations of various social centres in Rome by dozens of people (the "Blitz" in *Colli Aniene*, "Hai Visto Quinto?" in *Montesacro*). «After a first phase of consolidation, the acceleration that followed would bring during the 1990s to the occupation of about twenty spaces, involving a thousand activists and several thousand regular users. During the first occupations in the city of Rome, the coordination of collective political groups discussed the measures to be implemented in the various districts and also the practical contribution of the militants of the different areas to support the other occupations that took place elsewhere. […] It fostered a common goal: the occupation and re-appropriation of social spaces, in the framework of a political analysis that put the urban and social renewal of the metropolis at the heart of contemporary conflicts.» (De Sario, 2009, 51). While, between 1986 and 1990 the number of social centres increases and the "movement of the social centres" arise, in those years also the Coordinamento Nazionale di Lotta per la Casa (coordination of national struggle for housing) born (1988), the first self-organized movement on housing rights of Roma.

«The first generation of Italian social centres dates back to the mid-1970s. They were founded in Milan, an industrial city which at the time was experiencing a brutal transition to post-Fordism through the dismantling of many of its factories (Cecchi et al., 1978; Balestrini and Moroni, 1997). In Milan, as well as in Turin later on, the growth of social centres was prompted by the need for alternative political meeting places in a period when the economic role of factories was declining. The peculiarity of the Roman movement was instead its strong presence in "traditional" public spaces, neighbourhoods, *piazzas,* and schools» (Mudu, 2014a, 249).In 1989, with the eviction of the Leoncavallo (the first Italian Social centre localized in Milan) the initial situation of tolerance of these practices began to change radically. The shift from a tolerant approach to a repressive one, that included evictions and demolition of the occupied premises, was considered by the institutions as a strategy of containment and spatial control, since the number of occupied places was rapidly increasing. For the "movement of the social centres" this shift was intended as a favour to the local elites that in those years where involved in big speculation based on city development due to the forthcoming Football Worldcup "Italia '90". Following that, the National Conference of the self-managed social centres held in Milan in 1989 entitled "Against the masters of the city" - manifesto that evokes an explicit reference to the "Autonomen" German squatter movement of the time.

Manifesto of the National Conference of Social CENTREs - Milan 1989

«This manifesto expresses very well the double tension, cultural and political, as contained in the new movement of the social centres. The actual and mediated relationship with North European radical movements was crucial to the first

social centres phase: it was a complex pattern of social relations and political action that intercepted - in different forms - the fascination emerging among young radical activists in Italy during the 1980s.» (De Sario, 2009, 52). During the 1990s, the emergence of the *Pantera* movement will focus its action on the occupation of schools and universities. "We begin to mobilize against the World Cup "Italia 90" which has caused the death of dozens of construction workers killed by the rush of the owners to develop this billionaire business. Useless infrastructures built then are still unused and abandoned".[212] Squatting is considered as a crucial event in the story of a social centre, not only because this action entails breaking the law, but also because it is a way of appropriating what has been withheld and denied by urban policies (Solaro 1992; Adinolfi et al. 1994; Maggio 1998). The multiplicity of activities that have been developed in the constellation of social centres emerged in Rome, are funded with moneys collected during events (as in the case of Berlin with "Solidarity parties"), such as concerts or movie projections, as well as by selling food and drinks at very affordable prices. The people involved in social centres are mostly unpaid volunteer workers. «As activities are self-managed, the general rule is that there cannot be any regular paid jobs (Lombardi and Mazzonis, 1998), although, in the last fifteen years, various social CENTREs have decided to pay people who can keep their activities going within a logic of social enterprise (Membretti, 2007). It must be recognized that social centres make an efficient use of the funds they col1ect, especially considering the difficulty of restoring large buildings or organizing big events unless one has significant funds and the work is done for profit» (Mudu, 2014a, 250).

During the 1990s and 2000s, the developmental character of these experiences are confronted with needs and tensions evolving, both in terms of active citizenship involved in the production of these practices, both in constant confrontation with the district, its population and institutions. In fact, Centocelle was changing rapidly in those years: «From a strong proletarian and working class connotation began to emerge the current social mix, which has its roots in the early 1980s. This condition was leading to a misalignment of the social fabric of the district compared to the socio-cultural references of the militants. [...] The relationship with the district was no longer taken for granted but it was necessary to be negotiated and reinvented from time to time.» (Ibid., 2009, 57). The experience of many occupations both that for housing that with social purposes that took place in this sector of the city, tells how many enclosed public spaces, abandoned and foreclosed to the community for decades have been re-appropriated over the years by its inhabitants in different ways either as political action and as practice to give start to processes of "urban and social renewal" in the spatially and socially uneven outskirts of the city. On the other side, the progressive inclusion of the illegal allotments in the plans of the city, as for what concern the delimitation of the zones "O" in the P.R.G. of Rome, has been an institutional attempt to solve the social question that was strongly emerging in Rome during the 1970s and that sustained the elections of the Communist Party as leader of the City Council between 1976-1985. From an initial observation of this city sector emerges, todays, a serious shortage in the localization of public services, spaces and parks. On the map this city zone seems to be characterized by many green areas, in actual facts these are abandoned parts of the country, which are kept locked in anticipation of future development or waiting to find the necessary economic resources for the creation of public parks.

1.5 City centre urban regeneration programs of the 1970s and the unsolved issue of residency

Following the Second World War, given the steady stream of people who poured into the city seeking employment, the growth forecasts of the city were fixed on residential units for 4 million people. This gave rise to one of the greatest periods of expansion of the city, which made the city a prey to speculation and unregulated urban development of the post-war (Cederna, 1965). Since the early 1960s, the large production of residential buildings, both by private and public intervention, with the big programs of *Edilizia Economica e Popolare*, (E.R.P., Law 167/1962) and the inclusion of illegally developed areas within the city peripheries in the official plans, was not sufficient, however, to meet the real demand for affordable housing. During all the XX century, in order to find a solution to housing crisis, forms of illegal, informal and illegal occupation started emerged – such as the informal dwellings that characterized the city's outskirt development. Numerous attempts to delete or hide this aspect of the city have been made through the century: the creation of the "official" Borgate[213], the public housing programs, the *condoni edilizi* (building amnesties) of illegal allotments, all of which have contributed defining the new directions and expansion modes of the city. Despite the flurry expansion of the city and its population, the city centre, where the poor population had been strongly reduced by the fascist "deportations" toward the city's outskirt, witnessed after the II World War a dramatic decrease of the local population.

While in 1951 the historical centre counted a population of about 370,000 inhabitants, today the population is only about 100.000 people (Berdini, 2008). Since the transformation of Rome in a modern city, the central areas and his old houses were mostly populated by low income inhabitants who could not afford modern apartments, equipped with all comforts, in the new middle-class neighbourhoods built around the historic city. «During two decades of massive post–World War II expansion (1951–1971), while the overall population of Rome increased by more than half, that of Monti

[212] http://www.tmcrew.org/l38squat/index.php/it/

[213] "Un-official" Borgate where considered the informal settlements created by the grassroots initiative of the homeless population - an element found in the city until the mid-1970s.

dropped by a comparable amount[214]. The centre was largely considered unsuitable for those aspiring to new wealth and power, and so there was little either to interest the ecclesiastical and bourgeois landlords or to attract the interest of entrepreneurs with larger ambitions» (Herzfeld, 2009, 266). Starting from that, in the late 1970s, during the about 10 years period of the Italian Communist Party (PCI) City leading, were developed some programs for the rehabilitation of the city centre connected with the conservation of the historical urban and social fabric and the attraction of new population and economic activities in the central districts. This goal marked a strong U-turn on city planning approach that passed from the imperative of the after II World War period and the economic boom to foster urban expansion and build thousands of new housing units (not considering any urban programs for the rehabilitation of existing parts of the city and its integration with the new one), into a more urban renewal approach focused on rehabilitating the existing city. In fact, starting from the early 1970s, in most of the European countries spread a new urban paradigm aim to enhance the attractive dimension of the historical districts.

In Italy this slow change started with the introduction of the Gubbio's Charter, in 1960, the document that elaborated the cultural principles for the definition and protection of historic centres. Moreover, the Pier Luigi Cervellati's initiatives for the housing recovery in the historical centre of Bologna, showing a more sustainable and participated approach to urban renewal capable to both stop the depopulation of historic centre and the displacement of the weakest social classes, constituted a major example and contribution towards this change and towards the experimentation of new strategies of cautious urban renewal of historic city centres in Italy and Europe (see the Berlin "*Stadterneuerungprogramme*" - "Caution urban renewal programs" 1974). Cederna, co-founder of the Association Italia Nostra in 1955 and representative in the Italian urbanism debates since the 1950s, strongly supported the Cervellati's experience and the new policies for the regeneration of the historical part of the city of Rome. In Italy Nostra Cederna interpreted, well ahead of everyone else, instances more politically aware in defence of city centres and the need for urban planning driven by the public sector. The Charter of Gubbio owes much to its contribution (Treccani). He argued that the city had to be seen as an "organism" for the preservation of nature and the territory as a whole as a "not recoverable good" (Cederna, 1956). In *Mussolini urbanista. Lo sventramento di Roma negli anni del consenso* (Mussolini planner. The demolition of Roma in the years of consensus - Cederna, 1979) Cederna use the bad experience emerged by the urban renewal programs of "demolition and displacement" implemented by the fascist regime to rehabilitate the old and crumbling town. This functioned as an example to show how dramatic was the issue of inhabitant's displacement that occurred with the implementation of such programs connected, again, to a self-celebrative approach to city planning aiming to recreate the magnificence of the Ancient Rome.

In opposition to that Cederna formulated the need for integrated conservation of historic centres, fundamental premise to protect them, and especially the relationship of complementarity between ancient and modern: to save ancient was important to define how to build according to the criteria of new strategies of modern urbanism, still absent in Italy for responsibility of a political and academic class backward and unaware of the acquisitions carried out in those years, especially in Northern Europe (Cederna,1965). According to Cederna, the historical centres are therefore to be interpreted not as a list of "excellent monuments", but throughout their connective urban fabric, such as the complex context of roads and buildings, and so the cultural heritage not as isolated emerging elements, but constituent elements included in the system *"città-paesaggio"* ("city-landscape"). This theoretical approach inspired, suggested and supported the work of the new City centre Department (*Assessorato al Centro Storico*), with the intention of programming the renaissance of the historical centre through some basic projects. The most significant were the "Progetto Fori" and the "caution" urban renewal pivotal plans that were implemented on few small areas of the historical centre. The "Progetto Fori" (Forums Project) envisaged the creation of a large archaeological park. «It is only after the second half of the seventies that the historical centre of Rome becomes the heart of a debate at the height of its values. These are the years of the "Progetto Fori".

The first idea dates back to Benevolo and is then taken up in alarm launched by the archaeological superintendent Adriano La Regina and the Mayor Argan. […] The project took into consideration the problem connected to an excessive pollution due to cars load in the area between the Forum and the Colosseum and aims to dismantle the Via dei Fori Imperiali to rebuild the central archaeological area from Piazza Venezia to Via Appia Antica. Cederna also proposes to understand the project with the aim of setting up a space of culture and leisure of unprecedented proportions able to create a connection between the city centre and some peripheries where there were so many buildings choking the citizens coexistence. For the mayor Petroselli, which will support the project as one of the best proposals made during its candidacy, this project would have served the city as a whole because it is produce factor of unification as much as the rehabilitation of the peripheries» (Erbani, 2011, 142).

This project was never implemented. For what concern the few episodes of public interventions for the renovation of the historical centre, emerged, in that period, the reorganization of the district of Tor di Nona. «It is an initiative proposed by Vittoria Calzolari, City centre department Assessor, first with the mayor Argan, and then with Petroselli. In

[214] The total city population rose by 65 per cent, from 1, 695,477 to 2, 799,836, while that of Monti dropped by 51.3 per cent, from 46,630 to 22,690. The overall population of the historic centre dropped by 53 per cent during that period (Italia Nostra 1976, 19–20).

the wake of what Pier Luigi Cervellati realized in Bologna and Benevolo in Brescia, the Municipality proceeded with the renovation of houses owned or acquired by the City, which return to the residents.

The intention is to stop the depopulation of the old town, especially the displacement of the poor, and to restore buildings that are a heritage, avoiding to commission this process to private actors with speculative intentions. In the mid-seventies both phenomena, depopulation and speculation, were strongly evident. The City Council does not act only by imposing restrictions or preventing changes of intended use. It proposes a workaround, leading the public to compete with the private showing to be able to intervene in better condition both economic and qualitative» (Erbani, 2011, 143). The experiment at Tor di Nona affected 300 rooms, 40 shops, a senior centre, a space for the local district. The investment was about 4 billion *Lire.*[215] Vittoria Calzolari also worked on other initiatives, such as the *"Piani di Recupero"* ("renewal plans") of San Paolo alla Regola, Borgo Pio, via Corrado Ricci, that were working class central districts as Tor di Nona, a total of 310 units, 1,230 rooms, 70 shops, 24 shelters for the elderly. At that time, public moneys and national laws were supporting the process. It is worth stressing that meanwhile, in those years, the streets of the capital were raged by terrorism and left divisions were getting stronger (Insolera, 1991).

Many of the political radical groups formed, as we mentioned above, in the degraded and poor city's peripheries. The age of the "cautious urban renewal" that have started from the Cervellati's plan for Bologna, passing through other good Italian's and European's practices, such as the transformations of Berlin Kreuzberg East areas, in Rome ended soon. In fact those first examples were not followed. They ended together with the removal of the Councillor Calzolari, probably due to her strong opposition against the invasion of tertiary activities in the historical centre and the death of the Mayor Petroselli in 1981 (Erbani, 2011).

From that moment on, the public policy began a change of direction mostly due to the progressive disinvestment in public sector and the increasing relying on private interventions. The road that has been taken by the public actors from that point on is the one of bargaining downward with the real estate developers, land owners and investors and leaving the market to drive the historical centre's transformations. Despite the intentions that fostered the first urban renewal intervention in the city centre, since the 1970s on, the city centre became increasingly attractive, especially for the localization of tertiary and prestigious offices.

Soon the prices increased so much to provoke (again) the displacement of the population and the beginning of a increasing phenomenon of gentrification. According to Cederna, the failure to identify strategies for the cautious regeneration of city centres, which do not care about the issue of residency, would have the sole effect of thus impoverishing the historic centre of the social and economic vitality that has characterized it for centuries. Rione Monti was never targeted by public interventions for urban renewal. It could have been strongly affected by the "progetto Fori" if it was realized, but it wasn't. The district remained for a long while out of the city centre's transformations and the market interests. Starting from the 1990s, due to several events, including the progressive privatization of public real estate, the status of the Rione Monti has been dramatically changed.

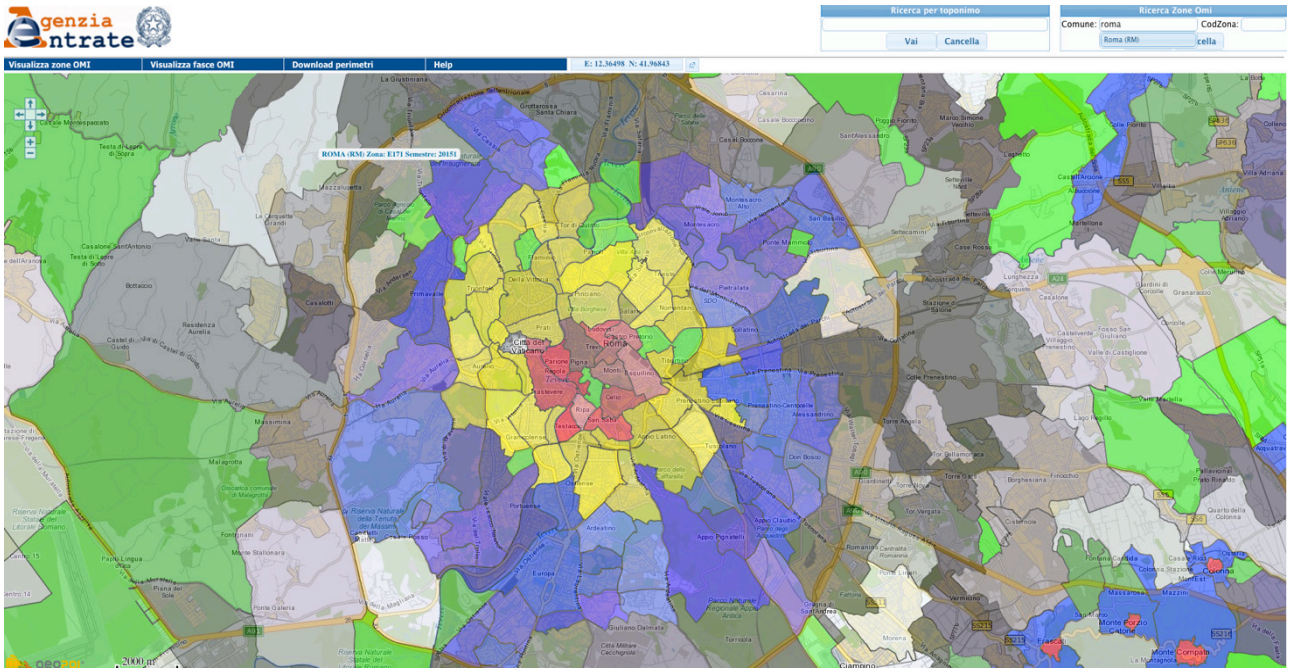
1.6 Monti become inner city: Monti's re-valorisation, gentrification and evictions

The today's *Rione Monti*, colloquially known as Monti, is often described as consisting of two distinctive souls: the old poor and popular Suburra, and the new cool and exclusive Monti. Despite the profound changes made to the District, the area of Suburra have been spared but isolated from the historic centre; partially because of this separation the Suburra, part of the Rione, remained an island untouched by the processes of promotion and exploitation of the city centre that took place starting from the 1970s and 1980s in the whole country. This "isolation" contributed in the conservation of the social and urban fabric and its local identity until the more recent transformations. The transformation of the neighbourhood started with the inclusion of the area in the urban promotion and regeneration strategies: it was finally re-evaluated, starting from the value of its remained popular and authentic soul (disappeared in most of the other gentrified and "touristified" central districts); from the late 1990s, together with the regeneration processes, an heavy processes of gentrification and displacement of the population and small businesses and traditional craft's activities took place. At the same time, progressive processes of "museification" and intense place consumption due to the tourist load transformed the everyday practices and lifestyle of its inhabitants and the citizens.

Today Monti is one of the most attractive areas of Rome for tourism or for people looking for both a "picturesque", historic place and an exclusive life style. «The socio-economic changes that have occurred in recent times in this area have produced a socio-cultural mix characterized by enormous diversity, from different interests and habits. The lawlessness - generated by the lack of controls and poor management, careless of public goods - makes daily life unbearable for certain social categories and twists slowly from the depths the old town.»[216] (Goni Mazzitelli, 2011, 63). Have been these transformations governed by formal actors? How the numerous elements of conflict between the "old" and "new" population of the district and between citizenship and the local administration have been produced? The city

[215] The national currency before the introduction of Euro currency.
[216] Translation made by the author.

centre of Rome, since late 1970s, started to be interested by urban renewal programs and volorization of historical buildings and urban fabric focused on the more prestigious central areas such as the *Rinascimento* neighbourhood, the river shores, the *Tridente* (namely the area between piazza del Popolo, Villa Borghese, the river Tevere and piazza Venezia) «where property values have begun to rise since the seventies and today have reached inconceivable values» (Cellamare, 2008, 44). [217]



Cadastral values updated by the Inland Revenue (Agenzia delle Entrate) in 2013. Since the Land Registry was not updated since 1939, many houses in the centre have undergone a significant increase of their cadastral value (local property taxation). The red areas are the one with highest cadastral values (Source: Agenzia delle Entrate)

Offices, hotels and BnB, trendy bars, boutiques, restaurants and expensive apartments increasingly characterized the centre. Monti, remaining for a long time a place marginal and outside of the city renewal programs, was not influenced by compulsive real estates investments and the side effects of gentrification. The "popular" character of the district had generally favoured the lease rentals. «Rents had long remained low in Monti because old houses were not considered desirable habitations» (Herzfeld, 2009).

In Monti, since the late 1980s, the situation changed due to several reasons. In that period «who could began to buy, bought its own house, and these are the ones that today are mostly considered safe» by the growing phenomenon of evictions, one of the most dramatic urban wounds, especially in the historic centre (Ibid., 2008, 44). Evictions for rental arrears, since 1990s became a problem increasingly affecting Monti population: «Major changes came to Monti and its residents in the 1980s and especially after the "liberalization" of real estate laws in 1998. The sudden infusion of big money in the local real estate market opened up new fields of action for the techniques of intimidation that had hitherto protected local people from true outsiders. […] Moreover, the principal moral authority of the Right — the church — was soon deeply implicated, along with the developers and the city administration, in the same processes of reorganizing the historic centre as a source of profit. Few residents owned their homes; now, often after generations of residence, even fewer could remain in them» (Ibid, 2009, 253). In fact, starting from the de Merode's plans for expansions of the city that involved the acquisition of most of the properties in the district on behalf of religious entities, the Church owns many properties in the district. Many others have been sold to banks or large real estate companies so that today, the small public estate present in the district have been further reduced. The city owned some small retails, while the State companies owned some residential buildings.

Until 1990s, thanks to the presence of these public properties and the law for *Equo Canone* (rent control, that was rewarding the owners of properties rented for cheaper prices) it was possible to apply some strategies for rentals control. After the turn in privatization of public estate and the abolition of the public policy for rental control on private property rentals, the control of the public over the private initiatives and the market became inexistent. Moreover, the end of the rental control policies and the sell out of public residential building[218] to private investors contributed to the

[217] Translation from Italian made by the author.
[218] I.e. the sell out of the IPAB's estate (IPAB: *Istituto Pubblico di Assistenza e Beneficenza* – Public Institution of Welfare and Charity) located in via Panisperna, the Regional property building that housed the "Rione's Association" in Piazza Madonna dei Monti, the S.Alessio Institute for blind people in via Urbana and the property of the *Banca di Roma* via the Ibernesi that were sold to some banking institutions or real estate companies.

uncontrolled rental increase that provoked numerous evictions and more in general forced many people to abandoned the neighbourhood were they lived.

Another phenomenon that fostered the increasing in evictions in the district was the one connected to the renovation of entire building blocks (for their resale) that produced the effect of dramatic increasing in prices, sometimes increased ten times their initial value. This places where forced evictions were enacted, as a result of this rents increments, became "places of pain" (Cellamare, 2009, 44) in the memory of the district's population and as an imaginary of pain connected to physical spaces of the district itself – e.g. the case of the eviction of the real estate in *via degli Ibernesi*[219], owned by the ex-Banca di Roma and then transferred to some of its derived companies.

Seemingly to other parts of the city centre, in Monti this process resulted in the progressive expulsion of the historical population and the transformation of social geography. In an interview to Athos De Luca, a Green Party senator, conducted by Herzfeld (2009) for his investigation over the transformation of the Monti neighbourhood, he asserts: «Rome provokes concern for two reasons: first, because such radical demographic change "creates a cultural but also a social rupture"; and second, because the 1960s building boom that led to the creation of huge new suburbs on the outskirts of Rome created "the death of a [social] style (*stillicidio*), which got worse again during the last few years and which has struck the residential quarters but also the commercial activities and especially the artisanal trades, which are the weakest link. And the historic centre has become more of a shop-window for big firms, like the banks, which have all these outlets, to hoard big real estate properties and so on, the very point of which is ultimately not understandable. [It's] more of a shop-window for them. A symbol of power.» (Ibid., 2009, 279).

The policies of the City on the other hand seem to reinforce this trend, rather than oppose it, and this leads to a further sense of powerlessness and abandonment. «If it is true that real estate transactions are prey of the free market on which the public administration often can not affect (or can do so only through national policies), and if it is also true that some phenomena such as the enhancement of the central areas are global phenomena hardly controllable, it is also true, that the City has effectively encouraged this trend: both because it did not address the housing emergency which also affects all the city, but in particular the historic centre (Caudo, 2007); and because with the infamous sale of public real estate often has just triggered this phenomenon; and because it did actuate policies based on the use of its properties but for the adjustment of national and local budgetary frameworks; or, finally, because it is investing more and more on the enhancement of the historic centre (understood, as mentioned above, as Tourism and Trade District). A policy that has the automatic effect on the related increase on the value of the area, whether they are residential property, commercial space or public land […], it is going in the opposite direction to the one proclaimed by the defence of "residency".»[220] (Cellamare, 2008, 45).

According to Cellamare (2008) and Berdini (2008), the role that have acted the public actor on Monti and the historic centre, in the last 20 years, has obtained to increase the complexity of the problem instead of addressing it, due to the absence of organized and programmed appropriate responses. For instance, the pedestrianization of the district's central square, piazza Madonna dei Monti, despite have been a response to a neighbourhood committee claim, haven't been controlled and generated increasing problems of liveability in the district because of the night life it attracted and the public space "appropriation" (made by bar's and restaurant tables) for commercial activities. Even in the case of the inclusion in the neighbourhood of the Faculty of Architecture, University of Rome Three, and engineering-architecture, University La Sapienza, it has not been determined and governed the new load of students and people who would have benefited from services and spaces in the neighbourhood without taking into account neither the needs of the actual population but even to those of the students (Berdini, 2008). The phenomenon has further contributed to the increase in prices and the proliferation of commercial activities related to the catering service and services at the university, while the existing productive fabric, made of craftsmen, started being less and less functional to the needs of a neighbourhood crisscrossed daily mostly by students, tourists, temporary residents and wealthy people.

The issue of the depopulation or displacement of the local population substituted by temporal "district users" have deep effects also on the provision of services for the neighbourhood. «If the population falls below certain thresholds» explains Berdini, «schools, the neighbourhood's economic activities and a long list of services disappear. Their disappearance in turn decreased the population. In Rome there are too many areas that do not present the complexity of an historical city centre. And the impoverishment of the number of residents is even stronger in some district located right out of the proper centre» (Erbani, 2011, 150).

It is worth stressing that the phenomenon is also involving the emptying of the first peripheral ring, built in the late nineteenth and early thirties of the twentieth century. Here, the number of residents has decreased progressively and professional studies and offices have taken their place. Giving a look to the data, even more peripheral neighbourhoods, those former informal and those built after the war until the 1980s, it turns out that even here the number of residents is descendent. «The prices increasing pushes all out beyond the boundaries of the municipality.» (Ibid., 2011, 150).

[219] See Cellamare 2009 pg.
[220] Translated by the author.

> Elements of connection between the general historical spatial context and the case study

From the introduction to the historical and spatial context, describing the evolution of urban policies and programs that lead to the crisis of space in the city centre and the city's peripheries, we are able to identify many elements connected to the embeddedness of contextual conditions that are behind the emergence of the case study's specific conflicts and radical strategies. It is in this spatial and historical context that the issue over the architectural complex called Angelo Mai raised for the first time to the headlines in 2002 because of its planned privatization and then again in the 2004 because of its occupation. The story of the conflicts articulated over this symbolic public space is strongly connected with the urban strategies and practices that were implemented over the city centre and Monti district, and the peripheries (such as Centocelle where the conflict is displaced) mostly on the South-east sector of the city over the last decades of urban expansion. The first resistance that raised in the 2000s, followed by the physical reappropriation of the Monti former boarding school Angelo Mai by the neighbours and networks of active citizens, influenced deeply the understanding of what the absence of urban renewal strategies based on public initiative and the budgetary reform pushing for public estate privatization were causing: the imposition of a non-negotiated urban ideology based on private property producing the undisputed power of local elites and the mechanism of city enhancement undermining the eco-social well-being of the population and the development of positive values of ethical citizenship.

The story starts therefore in one of the most ancient neighbourhood of the city that since about twenty years, is experiencing a process of strong gentrification and displacement of its inhabitants: «eviction of the oldest and weakest inhabitants, the capitalists' preference for leaving usable apartments empty over accepting lower rents, the inexorable power of the market to define the course of events» (Herzfeld, 2009, 266) and the increasing presence of "places of pain" (Cellamare, 2009, 44) produced by the violent evictions, come to symbolize the "very cruelty" of gentrification. Moreover the old part of the district, in which the story takes place, presents a dense urban fabric where green and public spaces are lacking as well as affordable places for non-utilitarian collective activities. In Monti this lack is perceived as increasingly urgent due to the sell out of that public estate and the predominance of private ownership.

Therefore, to analyse the conflict that has been generated regarding the use of this large abandoned space, must be taken into consideration all the above mentioned topics, which can be summarized as: the issue connected to the inaccessibility to affordable space for living, work and collective activities in city centres; the resistance against the sell out of public spaces and the fight to subtract them to speculation; the reappropriation of underutilized spatial resources by the neighbours and the citizenry; the problem of the depopulation in city centres (mostly addressing low income classes) and the connected issue of the search for its contemporary identity (necessary to recreate a condition of liveability opposing the unidirectional process of "touristification" and "museification" that affects these areas); the uneven distribution of public resources in the city territory, lack in participative arena and the superpower of land and real estate interests at orienting planning policies towards choices ensuring very high returns for private land and real-estate holdings and investments (due to the establishment of clientelistic and corruptive ties and agreements with local political powers); the ineffective redistributive strategies addressing urgent urban issues, such as the housing crisis. We could resume them in: "residency", "identity", "liveability", "democracy" and "right to the city". This is necessary in order to understand the visions, expectations and desires that have been projected onto the vacant space, become the target of (re)appropriation actions.

The formation of a combative neighbourhood committee opposing the privatization of the public space and the illegal occupation are explicable by observing the bigger framework of the city as a whole and the institutional inertia in addressing urgent issues. The squatting action in this case, proposing autonomous empowerment in self-producing solutions, is used both to solve an urgent problem, such as access to housing for 35 homeless families, and both to give voice to the unheard demands and claims that comes from an (often invisible) part of the citizenry. This radical strategy, moreover, (used by radical movements since 1960s in the Rome) we will see has been chosen in order to obtain a radical confrontation with the institutions and rearranged the positions of power according to which negotiation takes place. At the same time it radicalizes the dimension of conflict with the neighbourhood, between local population and the institutions and the articulated claims that came from the bottom.

Occupying an abandoned building in the city centre, where "property values have reached inconceivable values", rather than on the outskirts of the city - as usually happens in Rome -, raised the stakes of the confrontation on claims related to the exercise of the right to the city in a city centre increasingly controlled and shaped by the capital. It made the conflict more evident. The strategies implemented during the 1970s, were not able "to heal the urban fracture" between the centre and the peripheries that increased over the decades and today is visible in the strong spatial exclusion that affects many city's inhabitants. Starting from this, the different needs, claims, conflicts and interpretative framework affecting the case study emerge. The analysis of the case Angelo Mai wants to achieve the comprehension of what value have had the autonomous practice of (re)appropriation related to two public spaces located in the city centre within the spatial and social conflicts that characterize the district in recent times (as the capacity or not of repositioning the conflicts in the public debate and transform their understanding).

2. ANGELO MAI

2.1 The Monti Social Network and the neighbours' resistance against privatization

The first complex addressed by this story is the Angelo Mai ex-boarding school complex. The architectural complex, present in the district since centuries (see Nolli plans above), was named "Angelo Mai" when, in 1829, the Apostolic Camera acquired the building and gave it to the religious order of the *Lasallian* in use as the venue for the activities of their school. This boarding school, named after Cardinal Angelo Mai - an Italian theologian and philologist -, became a State property after the IIWW keeping the school function, run by the *Lasallian* order until the late 1980s. In the 1980s the National government reclaimed the property and came into its possession. After that, the school was closed and the place was left vacant for about fifteen years. The historical traces of this complex can be traced up from the medieval history of the district. If we analyse its architectural evolution we can observe that it is characterized by: a medieval tower (the tower-house of the family Stefanoni, the first nucleus of the building, which is seen in the Tempesta Map of 1593, isolated in large green areas, and still remembered in the Nolli map of 1748, this time part of a larger complex of buildings in a well-urbanized context); a main masonry building with an "L" shape (located on the side of Via degli Zingari and between Via Sambuco and via Clementina), that serves to "mend" the complex (the II the level was raised in 1887); other two buildings in succession complement the corner facing Piazza Madonna dei Monti, the first has wooden beams and hosts the original Chapel (frescoed), then transformed (in the early twentieth century) in gym and later in the school's Great Hall, and the second, masonry building, that completes the continuity with the tower; the chapel, characterized by a lowered vault, isolated in the left wing (which derives from the transformation of the school's party and theatre performances room realized in 1908); the porch overlooking the internal courtyard, built in 1940 (Cellamare, 2009).

The Angelo Mai seen from google map places in the heart of Monti district: in red the "C" shape of the buildings that constitute the complex; the property includes the only green area visible in the photo characterized by an internal garden that results in a big open space area

This place became a symbolic space in the everyday life of Monti population, because it was considered the school of the neighbourhood: a place where everyone could get an education even the children of artisans and workers who were in precarious economic conditions (Mortola, Giangrande, 2011). What is the social context in which the resistance against the privatization of the former neighbourhood school took place? To understand what was the social context in which it developed the Rione during the twentieth century, it is necessary to take account of certain elements. The first is the strong dimension of the district lived by its inhabitants, the "life of the parish", mainly due to their isolation, given both the physical characteristic of the sunken area in a valley between three hills, both from the physical divisions due to demolitions that have surrounded the slums (both in the Twenties and Thirties of the XX century, and in the demolitions carried out for the creation of the Via dei Fori Imperiali). In fact, the oldest part of Monti has experienced a physical separation from the proper city centre and an isolation from the modern spatial as well as economic transformation that had characterized the localization of Ministerial buildings, offices and hotels in the city centre and on the new axes that connect it with the Termini Central Station. Local economy was based, until 1990s, on small workshops and local enterprises and services such as groceries, butchers, etc. For this reason, many "Mutual Aid

Societies" (*Associazioni di Mutuo Soccorso*) were located in Monti[221]. These associations were helping their members in times of unfavourable economic situation (unemployment, illness and injury) and represented a core aggregation where workers could develop an "associative, trade union and ultimately political consciousness.[222]

The associations dimension that emerged since the end of the nineteenth century in defence and representation of the trades in the Rione Monti, gives us an idea to understand why one of the popular element that characterize the population of Monti,[223] the so-called "Monticiani", is their radical nature and their combativeness, which, as we will see in the next paragraphs, has produced in the last twenty years, an element of strong resistance in the area, against gentrification and displacement. In summary, according to Prof. Carlo Cellamare, by the Department of Architecture and Urban Planning for Engineering of the University "La Sapienza" of Rome: "The *Monticiani* have a strong sense of territoriality, strong ability of self-organization and category association, which is and historical feature of the district. It become evident from the tradition of "mutual aid associations" (*Associazioni di Mutuo Soccorso*), reference especially for the most widespread categories of trades in the district that historically have been the high quality craftsmanship (carpenters, goldsmiths, ceramics, glassware, etc.), but also many publishing houses and print shops. Even the profession of prostitution has historically been very important in the area, almost characterizing Rione a very integrated service in the district".[224]

What's the today's central and Monti district social fabric? «The I *Municipio*, which coincides with the historic centre of Rome, cover nearly 1,500 acres. Includes the Esquilino hill and has just over 120,000 residents, nearly half of those who lived there in 1961, less than a third compared to 1951: the decline was strong at least until the early nineties […]». Immigrants in the historic centre are 23 per cent of the population (in the whole city of Rome are 9 per cent), the elderly continues to grow and the families of one person mostly characterize the community of residents in the historic centre of Rome. Immigrants are mainly concentrated in the Esquilino, adjacent to Rione Monti and once part of it. «In the centre, together with immigrants, live middle and middle-high classes, middle-class professionals, upper middle class and aristocracy. Depopulation occurred after the fifties and sixties and it mixed and changed the city centre's social fabric. The most popular classes have left the central districts and have been replaced by those who could afford the growing cost of the apartments. […] A kind of gentrification without government, regulated by the annuity» (Erbani, 2013, 134).

According to the findings contained in the city centre's Regulatory Social Plan 2008-2010, at the peak growth rates, that is, around 2006, an apartment in the area of the trident (Via del Babbuino, Via del Corso, Via di Ripetta) cost on average by 8 to 9,000 euro per square meter, a price that reached much higher levels in many prestigious buildings, doubling the average value and even beyond. According to Centre,[225] between 2001 and 2006 there was an average increase in value of 95 per cent. «Since 2008, with the crisis, prices have stopped growing or declined only slightly (but the luxury apartments that almost don't decreased). And the real estate market has been freezed, mortgages that sustained purchases have declined and trades decreased significantly. Tensions have slowed perhaps waiting that prices will fall again.»[226] (Ibid., 2013, 135).

Starting from the deep transformations in the real estate market, the "new" population the lives the new more exclusive Rione Monti is partially composed by tourists, that means persons moving temporarily to a territory without really living it (and supporting it), and a population who starts to move in the neighbourhood since the late 1990s. This population «is characterized by a high mobility caused by their jobs or other activities, to a large concentration of professionals, artists, journalists, filmmakers and those who work in international agencies. What these people have in common is the sensibility to the cultural richness, memory and history situated in the district and in its vicinity. Most young people are creating networks in the neighbourhood, not necessarily with their neighbours but for specific interests that have to do with the new lifestyles; they sustain purchasing groups of organic agricultural products, and stimulated the growth of new art galleries, alternative designers' boutiques. The meeting places changed in the district: new residents revolve around wine bars, which become the true *"salotti"* (social and cultural gatherings) of the district, being able to integrate the semi-public and private space.» (Goni Mazzitelli, 2011, 64). This new population promotes a new way to socialize but also promotes the growth of certain economic dynamics. «Cultural practices are also reflected

[221] Many "Mutual Aid Societies" (*Associazioni di Mutuo Soccorso*) were located in Monti, especially via del Priorato and in via dei Quattro Cantoni. "Roman Corporations that had been already dissolved by Pope Pius VII in 1801, had been partially reconstructed with the *motu proprio* by Pope Pius IX, in 1852, (A. Martini, *Arti mestieri e fede nella Roma dei Papi*, Bologna, Cappelli, 1965, pp. 248-250 e 253), but the workers now no longer considered these as appropriate to promote their social and economic conditions (D. Scacchi, *Il movimento operaio a Roma*..., cit., pp. 63-64). Only after 1870, with the new political, social and cultural atmosphere (due to new ideas and new people arrived in the capital) many *Associazioni di Mutuo Soccorso* were born.

[222] From the master thesis by Mario Lerardi, Il rione monti dal 1870 al 1900, a.a. 1989-1990. Translation made by the author.

[223] For centuries it has been said of "Monticiani", that they have a radical and belligerent nature, which historically manifested itself in rivalry with the Trastevere district. It is important to note that, like Trastevere, Monti has remained for centuries the wider District in terms of size but also the most representative of the "Romanity".

[224] Interview I conducted to prof. Cellamare who was involved in the recent participation experiments conducted in the District by the Monti Social Network (Rete Social Monti) born in 2001. Since 2002 he has been the coordinator of the workshop on land use decisions in the area of the I Municipal Borough, introduced by Giuseppe Lobefaro the then president of the I Borough. Translation made by the author.

[225] Centre of Economic, Social and Market Research for the Building and the Territory.

[226] Translation made by the author.

in the way of living: the size of spaces of the apartments purchased or rented by this new category of population decreased by promoting the division of the old properties in studios made also on the ground floor and built on the balconies of the buildings, despite prohibitions and provisions that are binding upon the intended use for commercial craft shops and more.»[227] (Ibid., 2011, 64).

This general context of transition, started from the 1970s and 1980s, when the neighbourhood Committee "Protection Monti" (*Comitato Tutela Monti*) emerged and became very active in proposing strategies for the enhancement of the common spaces, with some important achievements (as the pedestrianization of the central square of the neighbourhood). These initiatives of local grassroots participation, at that time, were strongly supported and led by Maria Zevi, the then communist councillor of the I Borough. Quoting the interview conducted for this investigation to Luigi Ravara[228], the district joiner: «In various stages of the recent history of the district we have organized into various groups that have been born and died (simultaneously) to the initiatives carried out. The neighbourhood committee Comitato Tutela Monti lasted until the late 1980s and then disappeared because the spaces where to meet up beginning to cost too much. Then, where do you meet up with the others if you cannot access any space? The alternatives were to temporarily occupy a space or be hosted in some private place». During the 1990s, the process of marketization of the urban space started to deeply transform the Monti social fabric and its daily practices, in a space increasingly controlled and shaped by market interests.

In order to take back a participative dimension over the neighbourhood, at least on what concern public strategies of urban development, at the beginning of 2000s, a neighbourhood committee, the *Rete Sociale Monti* ("RSM" – Monti Social Network), was founded. «The idea was to network all the actors in the area. In addition to the residents and to people who worked in the neighbourhood there were some associations based in the territory including Amnesty International, Banca Etica, and others. The idea, roughly, was to address the local issues with the supply of all points of view, even for the evaluation of intervention such as the reconstruction of a sidewalk in the neighbourhood. Obviously these are the slow modes of confrontation, the ones that need time. The ideas look exciting when you write them down for the first time, but then people have to find time and ways to meet and participate on their development and implementation. The Network also organized some good initiatives and Maria Zevi was hosting the meetings in its own gallery in the district. At that time, it was no longer possible to access public spaces where we could gather. Before, we used to meet in a spaces in Via dei Serpenti, the Communist Party headquarters, that housed various associations; but since the party left there were no others» (Luigi Ravara, RSM).

When in 2002, thanks to the diffusion of the news on the local newspaper, the RSM found out that the former Institute Angelo Mai had been included in the list of public properties to be disposed of for resources to the state budget ("securitization")[229]. Since then, it started opposing this process and claiming for the (re)appropriation of the space by the citizenship. For the local and national institutions, the State property had to be privatized and the City, through the figure of assessor Minelli, had granted the change of prevision for intended use from school to residential and commercial in order to increase the public estate value. For the neighbours, in their collective imaginary, the Angelo Mai was still the district school and it constituted an important public spatial resource in a neighbourhood lacking in public spaces and services (in particular green areas, schools and spaces for social activities).

According to Luigi Ravara: «the school Angelo Mai was a lively place in the neighbourhood. I know many people who attended it. The Angelo Mai has never stopped being the school of the district. After its closure it continued to be run by this Lasallian religious order doing other activities such as hidden support to immigrants. Officially, it remained virtually uninhabited since the end of 1980s. We must consider that the complex is quite big, should be about 5000 square meters and in addition there is the large courtyard and a garden». When the RSM discovered the plan for the disposal of this public space started organizing public debates over the issue. «The battle began when we read the news that Tremonti (Finance Minister at that time for the Berlusconi government) had securitized some of the state property, including the Angelo Mai and following this news, there was an activation opposing the proposal of the city administration to transform the space in luxury homes and commercial spaces. So, this social mobilization was born from a hardship, as aggregations typically arise. From there, it began a process of discussions to find an alternative future for this space. The hardest work was to figure out if we really were all oriented in the same direction and what our objectives were, otherwise there was a risk to start together but get lost along the process. Because of that the RSM begun to "study" the situation. The problem was that in these cases somebody wanted to see results as quickly as possible, and this was a process that made sense on the long term» (Luigi Ravara, RSM).

The inhabitants, politicians and administrators participating to the debates agree that the alienation of the property would have been accepted only on the precondition that the building would maintain public functions. To enforce their

[227] Translation made by the author.
[228] Interview to Luigi Ravara, leading to forty a carpenter's shop in the neighbourhood, that have been actively participating to the Rete Sociale Monti (Monti Social Network) between 2001 and 2009.
[229] "Securitization" (in Italian "Cartolarizzazioni" - Dlgs 267/00) is a structured finance process in which public assets, receivables or financial instruments are acquired, classified into pools, and offered as collateral for third-party investment. The law on "Cartolarizzazioni" was introduced in Italy in 1999.

claim the RSM collected over 3,000 signatures in support of this petition and presented them to the City council (Mortola, Giangrande, 2011).

In the same year, the RSM organized a series of actions to boost their position, including a human chain around the area. In this context the two universities localized in the Rione Monti, the Department of Architecture and Urban Planning for Engineering of the University "La Sapienza" of Rome and the University of Architecture of the University Roma 3, have been included in the process of negotiation with the City, the construction and management of the participation process and the participated project for the future Angelo Mai.

Relevant for the emergence of this bottom-up process have been the "Workshop on urban planning choices in the area of the I Borough" (*Laboratorio sulle scelte urbanistiche nel I Municipio*), proposed by the President of I Borough Luigi Lobefaro in 2002; it was considered an experimental experience considering the low level of citizens inclusion in urban decision making processes in Rome. The role of coordinator and "advocacy planner" for representing and helping defining the interests and needs of the local community (Davidoff, 1965), has been fulfilled by the professor Carlo Cellamare by the Department of Architecture and Urban Planning for Engineering of the University "La Sapienza" of Rome. The process should be viewed within the context of a debate born after the introduction of the new *Piano Regolatore Generale*, PRG (city's general master plan) of Rome in 2002.

«Around the themes of the city and its liveability and its future is born then, in the whole Rome, a heated argument, which was also, indirectly, the opportunity to "free" positive and constructive energies, expression of how much this city is still important for many of its inhabitants. […] In this atmosphere, in the context of the historical centre of Rome, have emerged an interesting and fortuitous convergence of a broad associations and agencies fabric (which is rich in the historic centre, thanks to its local *rionale* tradition), who wanted to think about the content of the new PRG, together with a part of the 1° Borough government which was starting to open to forms of consultation and citizens' involvement. Thanks to the availability of a group of professors and researchers from the local university, who assumed the role of guarantor of organizational and technical support, we generated the workshop on urban planning choices in the 1° Borough» (Cellamare, 2008).[230]

In 2005, the Rome I Borough administration together with the *Laboratorio sulle scelte urbanistiche del I Municipio* and the DAU, Department of Architecture and Urban Planning of the Faculty of Engineering (University "La Sapienza"), has promoted the competition announcement for the so called "*Sbilanciamoci*" Project. The project was meant to discuss proposals for the district as issues related to the pedestrianization of some streets in the Rione. The RSM decided, in that occasion to create a working group with the task of developing autonomously his draft project for the renewal and reuse of the open and green areas belonging to the complex - that the municipality had promised to allocate to the Rione - and to confront with the controversial issue of the *dehors* and their uncontrolled "appropriation" of public space.

Starting from 2003, the department of architecture of University Roma Tre, through the commitment of the professors Elena Mortola and Alessandro Giangrande organized/replaced the spontaneous management of the RSM in order to start and lead the participated design process aiming to identify some proposals for the reuse of the former Institute with the direct participation of the inhabitants of the district. When the working group started the members were a dozen inhabitants coordinated by the University's professors and assistants/collaborators, practicing the role of facilitators. Workshops were organized to test innovative approaches to participatory planning and design a negotiated project. In fact, in addition to the local citizens' participation support, the University Roma 3 articulated numerous workshops (and an international master called PISM), over the Angelo Mai renewal issue.[231]

The RSM with the help of the Universities then started both a series of meetings and negotiations with the public administration, both to stop the privatization and to plan the future of the Angelo Mai individuating different possible usages referring to the different ideas, desires, needs and visions expressed by the different actors involved in the process. Among the first proposals emerged: a public square and a green area (using the big open and space included in the Angelo Mai complex, result of the remained orchards that once were a characteristic feature of the District); spaces for social activities and gathering, for craft workshops, for affordable living, for the district school to locate in the indoor spaces (Mortola, Giangrande, 2011).

[230] Translated by the author.

[231] Years after, the students from the PISM architecture's master program of the University of Rome 3 produced a final draft project, defined on the base of the opinions of the City and its inhabitants. In June 2005, the project was presented to the *Assessore alle Politiche Abitative e al Patrimonio* (Housing Policy and Heritage assessor) of the City of Rome. Other Workshop and Masters program projects developed over the Angelo Mai case: (May to February 2007) Home Workshop-competition "recovery and reuse of the garden of the Angelo Mai" organized by the University of Roma Tre and the University of Weimar. Students develop alternative vision of the future of the Angelo Mai. (December) The Laboratory TIPUS Roma Tre participate in the pilot project funded QEC-ERAN: Quartiers en Crise - European Regeneration Area Network, in which it proposes collaboration with the Local Forum Monti (which will least until summer of 2007) to define the inhabitants urban policies more necessary and appropriate to recover the district in terms of territorial and socio-economic.

Photos of the Angelo Mai courtyard and internal facades (Mortola, Giangrande, 2011)

According to Luigi Ravara: «In the struggle against the Angelo Mai's privatization many organizations were involved, including even environmental ones because the idea was that to propose something different from a residence/luxury houses and a mall, believing that this could have protected the functional and social mix in the area».

The negotiation process ended when the consensus was reached over the collective individuation of the proposal for the relocation of the local school ("Viscontino") in the complex. In fact, the school of the District suffered the condition to be fragmented and distributed in several different locations in the district, due to a lack in public spaces suitable to host school activities. «At the beginning we run into the difficulty of merging together the different expectations of the people. For example, the people who had just bought a house here for the price of 9/10 thousand euro per square meter, people who lived here, maybe were agree with the idea of having a library in the complex but against the idea, that someone mentioned, to allocate part of the Angelo Mai to housing. This gives an idea of how things change in the District. The former inhabitants of the district would have not opposed the idea of having social housing in the district. At the end of many discussions the common interest on transferring the school district in the Angelo Mai complex was individuated. The school became the strong argument, on which all agreed. The new and old inhabitants were all interested in the school relocation within this space. The municipality also showed an interest in moving the school to a new location from the prestigious one located above the markets of Trajan (where to locate the Municipal tourism office)».

The idea to locate a school for artisans also reached a broad consensus. The problem of the survival of the craft businesses in the district, more and more replaced by luxury boutiques or businesses related to tourism, was and still is a very sensitive topic in the district.

«Until the end of the 1970s and the beginning of 1980s, we could say that two out of three shops in the district were intended for craft activities. The change happened very quickly. Starting from 1982[232], when the neighbourhood restructuring began, we have witnessed the closure or displacement of about half of the craft business localized in the district. In those years the extensions of the law on *Equo Canone* (rent control) expired, and you saw every day some craft activity or family displaced from the neighbourhood since the owners had finally obtained evictions. Since then, the real estate speculation on houses began. An apartment of 100 square meters, in the 1980s, it cost about 40 million of Lire (20,000 euro + inflation); the same apartment, before the recent housing crisis, had come to cost about one million euro (and even more). An incredible increase in value, which is very suspect. I would like to ask a question to the new and old residents who look so happy to see the value of their properties so increased: do you think that, if you live in those apartments, when the value of your property had been increased from 1 to 100, would this involve an improvement in quality of life in the district? It would not have changed the quality of their life for the better. Today, the increase in value of the property (and of the increase in taxes connected to these properties) is causing the expulsion of the last people who historically lived or worked in the neighbourhood. This increase in the taxation of property depends on the re-appreciation of asset values (*rivalutazione catastale*): what today is taxed is the possibility of speculation on a property that is applied even to unused cellars. The first result is that the only businesses that are opening are the ones who work with tourism and that often operate illegally in order to survive. Tourism is killing crafts. The second result is that this is causing the disappearance of the so-called "neighbourhood stores" and also services. This to me means a drop in the quality of life within the area. The third result is that the people who have a "normal" income (1,200 euro / month) and who own their house in this neighbourhood, sometimes for generations, can not meet all the expenses that are made not only from taxes on properties but also on many other expenses connected to

[232] In 1982, many municipalities adopted Italian art. 15bis of the law 25 March 1982 n. 94 (Standards for residential buildings and allowances regarding evictions), promoted in Rome by the Pretore, by orders issued November 2, 1982 and on 10, 21 and 23 December 1982, in order to extend the expiration dates of the lease included in rental control programs.

the living or working dimension in the historical centre: i.e. on the permissions for access, transit and stay with the car in the old town. They are forced or to sell their properties and move somewhere else, or to rent rooms in their homes and submit to the humiliating task of preparing breakfast and beds, transforming their houses in BnB in short. These are just some of the terrible aspects of gentrification that are affecting the neighbourhood» (semi-structured interview to Luigi Ravara).

In the negotiation with the City, despite all the unsolved issues creating conflicts and deeply transforming the local daily life, the only idea considered the acceptable for the activation of a public intervention on a public estate was the relocation of the school, so that many other claims remained unheard. «When we started the negotiation with the municipality, the alderman for the heritage was Claudio Minelli. We went to concert the use of this space. We asked spaces for the RSM, where to meet and some space for crafts where organize professional courses. We also tried to reclaim the use of the local market as a "Crafts' Home". So far, the local market and the ex-boarding school remain the only relevant public spaces in the neighbourhood. So we negotiated: for example the municipality said to consider the option of assigning one floor to a private university of Rome (LUISS) to make accommodations for students. This is because even the City was looking for feasible ways of project financing. Then at the end, when the actual size of the property has been evaluated the proposal for the school was the only one that last. For us the important thing was that the complex would host public functions.» (Luigi Ravara, RSM).

Finally, in 2004, the municipality of Rome conceived to acquire the property from the State thereby preventing the property privatization in favor of the integrated school's community-project. Yet, in order to prevent the securitization on the property of the Angelo Mai, it was granted to the State Property an exchange with another prestigious municipality asset, located in the even more central via Giulia, to be securitized in his stead. Once the property was reclaimed by the City, the preparation for the renovation project of the former Institute by U.O. VIII and XII Department of the Municipality (Public Works) started: it concerned the only interventions needed to host the local school in the indoor spaces, the other public assets individuated by the participated project (i.e. the public square, the garden, the gym, the library, etc.) were left aside. In November, the final plan for the school was presented to the RSM, a project that, in fact, wasn't concerning the outdoor spaces (for lack of public funding). Just few weeks after, November 17th 2004, 35 homeless families (about 200 people) lead by the *Comitato Popolare di Lotta per la Casa*, CPLC (an housing movement called Popular Committee struggling for housing) together with an artists' collective occupied the Angelo Mai complex. It opened a second phase of conflicts since new claims, needs and visions were imposed on this vacant "box" localized in the core of the district.

2.2 The first Angelo Mai occupation: claims, needs and conflicts over the occupation

The 17th of November 2004, the former Institute Angelo Mai was occupied by 200 people affected by housing crisis lead by the housing movement *Comitato Popolare di Lotta per la Casa* (CPLC). The Probasis Onlus, an artists' collective that was part of the independent contemporary cultural scene in Rome, occupied a part of the premises together with the families and housing activists. A "Ciclofficina" offering free self-repairing bicycles workshop and promoting more sustainable mobility occupied other spaces of the same complex.

Quoting the interview conducted for this investigation to Pina Vitale,[233] the founder of the CPLC: «how this experience began? We have been looking for a place suitable to build a project based on the experiment of mixing residency and contemporary art and culture because the initial idea had been to combine culture's and living's concept when I realized that within housing occupations, cultural awareness was very low. The choice of the old Angelo Mai complex in *via degli Zingari* occurred by chance: in those days the newspaper were talking about the claims against speculation over this place».

The necessity expressed by a mixed group of Italians and migrants challenging practically and politically what they addressed as inefficient housing policies while claiming the "right to inhabit"[234], was overlapping and intertwining with the necessity for young precarious artists in Rome, to (re)appropriate some space in the city. While the housing movement's action was meant to denounce the disinvestment of the state in public sector, the sell out of public housing stock and the liberalization of the housing market, all element that provoked the worsened of the housing crisis in the city through the exclusion of increasingly wider parts of the population from the housing market, the action of the collective of young artists' was intended as (re)acting against the huge institutional gap in fostering effective policies to enhance contemporary art and cultural programs, first item of public spending decreased in a framework of spending review (Palmieri and Catarci interviews).[235]

[233] Pina Vitale is the founder and reference person of the Comitato Popolare di Lotta per la Casa housing movement. She militated in the housing movements from the early experiences of the Coordinamento Cittadino di Lotta per la Casa.
[234] The "Right to inhabit" is a claim formulated by the Rome's housing movements since the late 1990s (Mudu, 2014a).
[235] Semi structured interview to Andrea Catarci (Sinistra Ecologia e Libertà), President of the VIII borough and former occupant/activist of the social CENTRE "La Strada"; Semi structured interview Giammarco Palmieri (PD), President of the V Borough (formerly VI and VII), the municipality with the highest number of occupations per inhabitant (the ex-SNIA and the CSOA Forte Prenestino self-managed social CENTRE are located and the former housing occupation in via delle Acacie 56, which are analyzed in the research).

These two groups decided then to reclaim the right to access abandoned empty spaces in order to co-produce a self-made and self-managed immediate and radical solution to their problems. «It was quite new to have 35 struggling Italian and migrant families occupying in the very centre of the city, in a neighbourhood that once was a working class neighbourhood and was becoming more and more fashionable, in a real process of gentrification» said one of the artists/activists/squatters. The neighbourhood was, as mentioned above, experiencing the inexorable displacement of its inhabitants as much as of the little retails and crafts. In fact, while the city centre was increasingly perceived as a shop-window for firms and tourists, characterized everyday more by trendy and expensive wine bars, boutiques and galleries, "occupations" – related to housing and cultural movements - were mostly localized in the peripheries or ex-peripheral areas of the city,[236] in those working class neighbourhood that for decades suffered a strong marginalization.

«That was a time when the City Council started a process - that is still going on and now is stronger than ever - to make money selling city properties, often closing out them. The neighbourhood and the city centre was no any longer for people to live in it, for citizens to enjoy it as something that naturally belongs to them, but instead it was meant as a shop window for tourists, an asset to generate revenues» said the activist. «When we entered (or trespassed) in the abandoned property, a big, beautiful former boarding school that had been abandoned and closed for many years, we found a building in poor conditions and full of garbage and rubble. So we started organizing the works and the distribution of the people and activities in the space: the families were all arranged on the first floor while at the ground floor were located the laboratory activities, the theatre, the Ciclofficina (bicycle workshop); the former deconsecrated church was used for different activities» (Interview to Giulia Vitale, an activist involved in the CPLC and inhabitant of the Angelo Mai housing occupation). The activities such as movies, theatre and music shows were originally intended only as practicing cultural/artistic performances' experimentation and entertainment for people living in the occupation – considering the big number of children within the house project.

«A few of the people living in the occupation interacted with the artists and the activists, mainly the younger ones. But things weren't always easy. Some of the occupants weren't interested in the avant-garde theatre projects, they were looking for entertainment. Some others didn't like the crowds gathering there every weekend, they wanted to sleep. The artists were not sure about how to fully communicate with the families living there, how to fully involve them in the cultural project. It was after all one of the first experiences that tried to merge housing and cultural needs,[237] and to build a bridge between two different worlds. Soon enough creating and building projects together became one of Angelo Mai's main goals».

The first difficulties emerged in the confrontation between different visions on how to use the space due to different cultural backgrounds: finally the attempt of the occupants was to switch from a multicultural to an "intercultural" approach. In addition from the performances for the tenants, since the collective of artists began a fruitful reasoning on cultural policies and independent self-production,[238] this artistic and cultural experience became soon a land mark for the local and national (and also international over the years) independent and contemporary cultural scene. Some newspaper started representing the Angelo Mai as «a place that has become, in this few months, since its reopening, an open studio for the arts and culture».[239] «Soon, the "non-official" cultural offer produced in this illegally occupied space began to be competitive with the official cultural circuit» (Interview to Giulia Vitale).

«Quickly the network of people developing projects enlarged, theatre companies started rehearsing there, associations met there to discuss matters, a free bike laboratory born and dozens of people hung out in Angelo Mai everyday, whether it was to talk about sustainable mobility, present and future cultural projects, or how the city was changing - badly - and what could be done to elaborate, experiment and carry out alternative patterns. In a few months, more and more people were attending plays and concerts every week» (Angelo Mai's activist).

This space of radical reappropriation, even if experimenting new forms of interculturality and mixed use of the space, was recognizable and politically recognized in both the networks of solidarity of the housing occupations and social centres of Rome, since shared with them the basic common features.

Seems particularly apt, in this sense, quote the definition given by Pierpaolo Mudu: «Positioned outside the framework of mainstream institutions, social centres are significant and sophisticated grassroots initiatives, particularity when most

[236] With the exception of another singular case, the *Rialto S.Ambrogio*, located first in Rione Monti and then relocated in an other (re)appropriated space in the Rione S.Angelo, another space evolved from an housing project to a cultural one when regularized.
[237] It is correct to say that in the long tradition of squatting that the city of Rome has, the housing squats and the social cultural ones, were mostly separated in two different worlds. But it is also true that there have been many alternative squatted spaces around the city – like the Social CENTREs that started to spread since the late 1980s – where is possible to find this merged housing and cultural projects, but most of the time the housing dimension is less relevant than the social and cultural one. Another difference stays in the fact that in the social CENTREs, cultural and political background of the squatters was more homogeneous that in the case of Angelo Mai.
[238] Starting from that, the group began to self-create independent productions under the name of "Blue Motion" production.
[239] From the article "Angel, mai!" - exibart.com - Sept 18th 2005: «The Probasis Onlus from September 20 to November 8. In the church of San Romano - late Baroque architecture, one single nave - eight young critics are taking place for eight weeks with a personal curatorial project, each presenting an artist or a couple of artists. A dynamic exhibition, with a contemporary slant in a place that has become, in this few months, since its reopening, an open studio for the arts and culture.».

of the people participating in their activities are “simply” there “to be with others” and to be part of a process of cultural production from below. Gathering together in a squatted place generates challenges and debates on various topics such as decision-making processes, local opposition to speculation, “glocal” resistance to capitalism and consumerism, queer spaces and the emergence of new urban forms and identities, and alternative modes of economic production and exchange. Social centres have complex histories and participate as nodes in larger networks that connect the local to the global» (Mudu, 2014a, 246, 248).

Moreover, other fundamental features shared with other autonomous spaces in the city were that this place as the other social centres was “a space which originates through squatting an abandoned place”, within which the people involved in the project, through self-management (*autogestione*), and the ones participating to the space and its activities “experiment with forms of non-institutional action and association”. «Self-management is at the core of any social centre activity (Mudu 2012). «Self-managed social, political, and cultural activities are carried out based on a complex decision-making process and usually decisions are reached at open meetings, held on a weekly basis.» (Ibid., 2014, 250).
In fact, inside the squatted Angelo Mai, “in a sort of parallel dimension”, both in and out the neighbourhood, dozens of people had the possibility to experience an hidden place, confront with and learn new social and cultural dimensions and/or participate gaining new competences. «Emerging artists had the opportunity to experiment, try and eventually fail in order to grow. Others learned how to communicate, organize cultural events, and manage technical difficulties. A band was born and their album - that was later a small hit in the indie scene - was recorded. People enjoyed sharing their knowledge and passing it by. Self-training was one of the key word. Happiness, freedom, common and collective were some others. A lot of important projects started chatting around a table in the middle of the night in the beautiful courtyard. Having the time and the space for creation generated growing creativity in everyone» (Angelo Mai’s activist).

The view of the Angelo Mai complex façade from the street via degli Zingari

Above: The view of the Angelo Mai’s complex courtyard after the occupation
On the right: inside view of the deconsecrated chapel

The deprivation of the physical public space of the city to the citizens, left abandoned to decay, gave to the symbolic action of (re)appropriation – intended in a more or less radical way – the strength entailed in the (re)claim of the right to the city at the level that the idea of space and his physical and social bans disappear in the blurred edges that defines the idea of the whole city as a *commons*:

«The centre belongs to the entire citizenship, who was glad to take it back, and the neighbourhood was perceived as one of the intents, desires and willing rather than a physical space of buildings and streets» (Angelo Mai's activist). This element gave legitimacy to this action from the perspective of the occupants, the network of autonomous spaces supporting the initiative and all the users that everyday crossed this place (among them some neighbours supporting the project). «The citizens rediscovered that the city centre was a place that one could live and enjoy, where one could build projects and relationships. People were happy to be able to hang out in an historical and very beautiful neighbourhood such as Monti, that had become inaccessible to them, as by then meant only for tourists and their moneys. People, citizens were happy to go to a place where one could stay and do whatever he felt to do, without being forced to consume or buy something» the activist said. On the other side, the overlapping of the use of the space as a private space for housing, a semi-public space for workshops and a public space for events, generated the rise of conflicts within the space itself and its community and in the relationship with the neighbourhood. In fact, the relationship with the neighbours was both positive and conflictive. Most of the conflicts with the inhabitants arose because of the noise and the amount of people who began attending the spaces. «The neighbours were sometimes hostile. While some of the people enjoyed the freed space, others didn't trust in the way migrant families or the artists were using the space, and felt like they somehow ruined the image of their "perfect" area».

As we observed, Monti neighbourhood, despite the heavy gentrification suffered in the last two decades that has highly fragmented social fabric, has a dense network of active actors. It is significant in this story to understand the complex conflict that arose in those years in relation to the use of this same big "urban void", that started to be contended within the neighbourhood, and how these actors have organized forms of bottom up practices and participation both to reclaim it, to legitimize their actions, to build a network inside and outside the local community, to resist conflictive forces challenging their claims. In fact, as Herzfeld (2009) tell us in his book about the gentrification of Rione Monti, when the ex-boarding school was squatted, a process of collective "reappropriation" of this space had been already started by the neighbours, working on a participative process in order to influence the new general plan of the city and to propose future strategies to adopt in the development of the *Rione*. Moreover, in relation to the process of gentrification many conflicts arose with those "leftist intellectuals" that had moved to live in Monti and started to transform the neighbourhood, including asking for more bans and rules to have the most quite and orderly neighbourhood that responds more to the high value of the flats they purchased or rented. «A working group of the Monti Social Network,[240] led by two planner-architects from one of the local university departments, put together a plan that would allow the school to revert to its former functions while also including space for local civic activities. Even on this important issue, however, there were dissenting voices; when the occupiers' activities began to disturb the peace and quiet of the leftist intellectuals who had come to live in Monti, it was they who were at the forefront of an outraged civic sensibility that demanded the squatters' immediate ouster» (Herzfeld, 2009, 266).

According to Luigi Ravara, important member of the RSM: «Initially, the discussions were about how to fill this space with social activities. Then the idea of the school emerged, because it seemed the only thing for which the municipality would spend money. Moreover, there was an objective necessity to give a new home to the district school and so to reduce local traffic. Then came the occupation. Some were in favour, because they saw it as a cultural- recreational space, while some started to strongly oppose the alternative project. In short, there are people of all kinds in the neighbourhood. And the issue arose mainly because of noises during the night. But the question of school really minds much. The squatters said "we have liberated the Angelo Mai" but in fact it had just been liberated from RSM. In any case, the initial reaction of the neighbours and of those involved in the Monti Social Network was of relative tolerance. When all those families occupied the premise in winter, the Committee for housing rights told us that there was no need to free up the space until the renovations works started.
Then the problems arose. In short, the squat management and coexistence with the neighbourhood was not handled appropriately. I think, on their part, there has been little attention to the needs of the area. In this I saw a kind of sense of compensation to the inhabitant of the centre, as if here were all rich». According to Pina Vitale, it was clear that it would not be possible to realize the school in that building. «Our action created a conflict with the neighbourhood committees because they thought we'd wanted to stay there forever, even though we explained often that was not the goal. The protest against the noise was the excuse to say, "You have no right to stay there". Today, if you talk to people from the neighbourhood, many of them regret the fact that, actually, the Angelo Mai is gone».

[240] In 2001, arose spontaneously the Monti social network that brings together individual citizens and associations of both a local and a national character, but based in the district, and has as its aims the reconstruction of the social fabric, the development of active citizenship, the constitution of the social contexts of interaction and design, the proposition of projects and regeneration initiatives in various fields.

In short, for some local residents occupation “Angelo Mai” was considered an important cultural resource for the district, for others an in-democratic stance against the common will to bring the school within the complex, for others a heresy to think that in a prestigious area as Monti could locate an illegal occupation to house 35 homeless families (many of them foreign immigrants), as well as nightly events were considered inappropriate for the noise and the amount of people gathering at those events. Beyond the conflicts between the squatters and the neighbours, related to different interpretative frameworks, the conflict over this “urban void” it is also connected with different visions, interests and needs expressed over a physical and symbolic “empty” space located in the core of the city centre where the public access to space its increasingly questioned. The organized groups of neighbours started opposing the privatization of the space and claiming for the reactivation of the school.

The University sustained the Monti Social Network participated project as a pivotal element for the opening of a new season of negotiated public decision making processes and as an occasion to define itself as a third advocacy actor, in the process of negotiation between formal and informal actors. In this framework, the role of the university have been considered controversial in the conflict: for some, the University produced the result to influence and polarize to much the discourses and ideas produces in the participated process as intending to lead the process but starting from a much wider knowledge over the issue. On the other side, the university took an against position in the conflict with the squatters, considered the occupation an element that afflicted the process in a negative way fostering a fragmentation, constantly treating the success of the process since the social fabric that characterized the neighbourhood at that time was very varied.

According to the professors from the two University involved in the participative processes, the occupation had undermined a fragile process built over the years and had produced disagreements between the people involved, ultimately had a negative effect on the process of negotiation with the government and among citizens themselves. For this reason the evacuation of the building was seen by them as the only possible outcome of this process, although appreciating the quality of the cultural activities produced in that space, could not see the opportunity to resolve a conflict as fundamental incompatibility between residential dimension around the building and the events, festivals and performances that were held within the space occupied.

The permanence of the *occupazione* would have meant the impossibility of implementing the project discussed for a long time with the residents and with the administration. On the other side, the University together with the majority of RSM and The City considered between various visions and proposals the school as the only one that was feasible and acceptable in order to look for public resources and implement a public intervention (that never ended because of lack in economic resources). On the other side, the occupants raised more complex claims over the space trying to reopen the debate over the residency issue in the city centre, the right to have space for different and self-managed activities capable to offer more affordable spaces for cultural and social activities, more in general to reclaim the exercise of the right to the city for those excluded from that. The controversy and the conflict started from the attempt to affirm these claims through the act of illegal occupation instead of taking part to the negotiation and participative process institutionally and socially recognized as considered the dominant democratic tool for the individuation of the collective interest.

The question is: were their claims questionable and commensurable in a participatory process based on the identification of a consensus that cannot subverts the principles of democratic capitalist bourgeois state and dominant patterns of production space? Certainly, the lack of attention shown to the needs expressed by the neighbours (e.g. the problem of noises at night considered linked to the pedestrianization of the central square of Monti district, the growing number of people hanging out in the neighbourhood and transforming/consuming its authenticity), due to a lack of communication between the occupants and some residents and rooted in cultural/political differences, didn’t anabled the creation of a real space of negotiation over the different interpretative framework expressed over the contested space.

The lack in communication between these two groups of actors, both informal actors trying to propose a different way to understand the citizens empowerment and participation to the public decision making, could be seen as a weak element in the process of negotiation over the future development of a public space. It is difficult, though, to define if the different interpretative framework proposed by these two different groups of "citizens", one more "resilient" and conservative and the other more "progressive" and radical, were commensurable or not.

Other questions are then important to pose to this first analysis: would have the claims arose by the radical action of occupation been accepted at the negotiation's table (such as the housing issue)? Would have the subject involved in the occupation been included in the participated process created by and for those inhabiting the area? Would have been possible to strongly introduce in the public debate concerning the future of the Angelo Mai issues, progressive issues related to housing or the right to the city, without resort to radical actions such as the illegal occupation of the space?

In this difficult confrontation, it results worth stressing that the political claims carried by the occupant were probably considered by those fighting for their recognition, posed on a higher level of legitimacy (solve housing crisis for

homeless families, reclaim a public abandoned space and open it to the citizenry) confronting with the simple claims of the neighbours (relocate a local school). On the other side, many among the inhabitants couldn't recognize as legitimate and democratic the radical level of argumentation of the occupants, as well as the "appropriation" of a space that had just been reclaimed by the collectivity. In any case, what emerges is that the way to operate of the Monti Social Network is more recognizable and acceptable within a negotiation with formal actors because refers to tools and strategies that are considerate legitimate in a negotiation dimension.

It emerges also in the sociologist Herzfield's words describing the conflict over Angelo Mai: «The ability of the Network to mobilize technical expertise as well as political activism around the project of reclaiming it for local, communal use was impressive. The project engaged local attention around a specific place of monumental significance for local people.» (Ibid., 2009, 266-267). The occupants claims weren't considered acceptable because expressed over the reappropriation of an historical building, a valuable asset in the city centre. «The occupation of the Angelo Mai school was of wide local concern. The building is considered one of the landmarks of the neighbourhood, a place where many residents were educated, and its impressive approach through a high stone stairway offered one of the best views across to the Capitol» (Herzfeld, 2009, 268).

It results very controversial how, the same institutions that were recently before setting the privatization of the property, were in this circumstances arguing that an historical building, limited resource within the city, have to be granted to the whole population and not to the exclusive use of a minority within the city. Wouldn't have the privatization of the asset (as it happened to the other historic building that was privatized in its place) meant the exclusive use for an even stricter minority (high-classes) and, moreover, the definitive exclusion of the collective right over this space?

2.3 The use of eviction as a repressive or normalizing tool? Local committee/City Vs squatters

At this stage of the story, we have an "urban void" that is contended by: on the one hand the families in search of a home, the housing movement that tries to rekindle the interest on the housing problem and a collective of artists who use the free and empty space as an opportunity for artistic and cultural experimentation, on the other hand a growing number of citizens who support the occupation and use this space to participate to the debates, workshops and cultural events, and the neighbours that rather oppose the occupation because want a more quiet neighbourhood - even opposing the pedestrianization of the streets for fear of noises at night - and wish to have a public school in that building. Citizens wanted urgently news from the municipality.

On February 2006, the City announces the tender for Consolidation work on the main building that is planned to be the new headquarters of the district's school. In the meanwhile, RSM started to dissolve both because of the long time past since the negotiation started, and as a result of the disagreements over the property occupation issue. The same year, after two years occupation, the Mayor decided that this could no longer go on. In order to start with the renovation works the City asked to the occupants to vacate the building. A portion of the occupants left the building voluntarily, while, on Autumn 4th, the city administration order the forced eviction of the remaining people (many homeless families).

In response, in the two days following the eviction, the squatters enacted the symbolic occupation of an other historical building in the city centre (*Palazzetto San Marco in Campidoglio*) and of an abandoned public property located in the same I Municipal Borough. The action ended with an agreement. In fact, the Comitato Popolare (the housing struggle movement) is able to obtain that the evicted families get residential accommodation as their status of housing emergency is recognized. In that occasion, in order to give an answer to the housing crisis issue brought to the headlines thanks to the Angelo Mai's squatting story, the Veltroni's city administration approved the Resolution n°206/2006 (see

File 3 in appendix), a program of assignment of 10.150 housing units. The announcement included the following breakdown: 25% for the housing crisis, and 75% for people that have reached "10 points" (highest score) in the housing crisis ranking.[241] Many of the occupants got 10 points in the ranking but, todays, are still waiting for public housing.

For what concern the socio-cultural project the squatters/activists acted looking for another space, the strategy adopted has been again the occupation of another vacant public property located in the same borough. The Angelo Mai's activists occupied, as a symbolic proof of their combativeness, a former public boules court and senior centre, left abandoned despite the property was located in an area of great prestige, just few minutes walking from the *Terme di Caracalla*, (one of the most important roman ancient Baths), and located in a public park bordering the Appia Antica park. The property was immediately evacuated but starting from that action took place the negotiation process for the identification of a new place where to house the cultural activities carried out in the former institute, which had been recognized as a useful service for the I Borough. In addition to the individuation of centres for lodging assistance for those evicted, the Probasis Onlus (the artists' collective), thanks to the big public support against the eviction and for the identification of an alternative solution form the end of this interesting, creative and dynamic cultural project, gained the assignment of an other public abandoned asset, the same former-bowls court in the park San Sebastiano addressed by radical occupation. The negotiation process established also: that the City would have made available to the Probasis municipal facilities to carry out their activities (became so important on a local and extra-local base in just two years since their beginning), while waiting for the new space (it was never provided); a delegation of the association participated in the drafting of the new premises together with the City architects.

According to Walter Veltroni, the Mayor of Rome in 2006, in an interview for Corriere della Sera (16/7/2006): «I think at this point - the mayor said - there are the conditions for the "Angelo Mai" area to be available in order to can regularly begin the works for the realization of the school premises and the implementation of initiatives useful for neighbours and citizens. It was right for us - said Veltroni - hold together two demands: the rights of citizens of the district and public school, and the need to respond positively to a need for space for the important moments of cultural and creative production, especially among youth, that Rome wants to encourage». According to Luigi Ravara, RSM: «After the eviction, that was considered a success for many of the RSM, began the works for consolidation that lasted about three years. Then we have been said there were no more funds. But the work has always been very little. I remember that there were 20.10 million for the restoration but I'm not sure. Meanwhile, for the Metro C the government and the city are doing everything to find the money, despite this it has already cost three billion and a half for the realization of just half of the project, a billion more than expected for the whole line. For the school, which would have a positive effect on the territory, they cannot find the money. The struggle for Angelo Mai, in the long run weakened the movement that today does not exist anymore». After the eviction, the university Rome 3 will continue to organize workshops and activities on the theme of recovery Angelo Mai Institute[242], despite the RSM will slowly fade, given the growing lack of interest or lack of confidence in the project. The rehabilitation works stopped in 2010 and never resumed it since. The building, still today, is in a state of complete neglect. In 2015, Rome Mayor Ignazio Marino expressed the necessity to complete the renovation works on the Angelo Mai to the Italian Prime Minister Matteo Renzi, as a priority for the city of Rome (la Repubblica, 2015).

2.4 The negotiating a solution for the homeless families and the re-allocation of the socio-cultural project

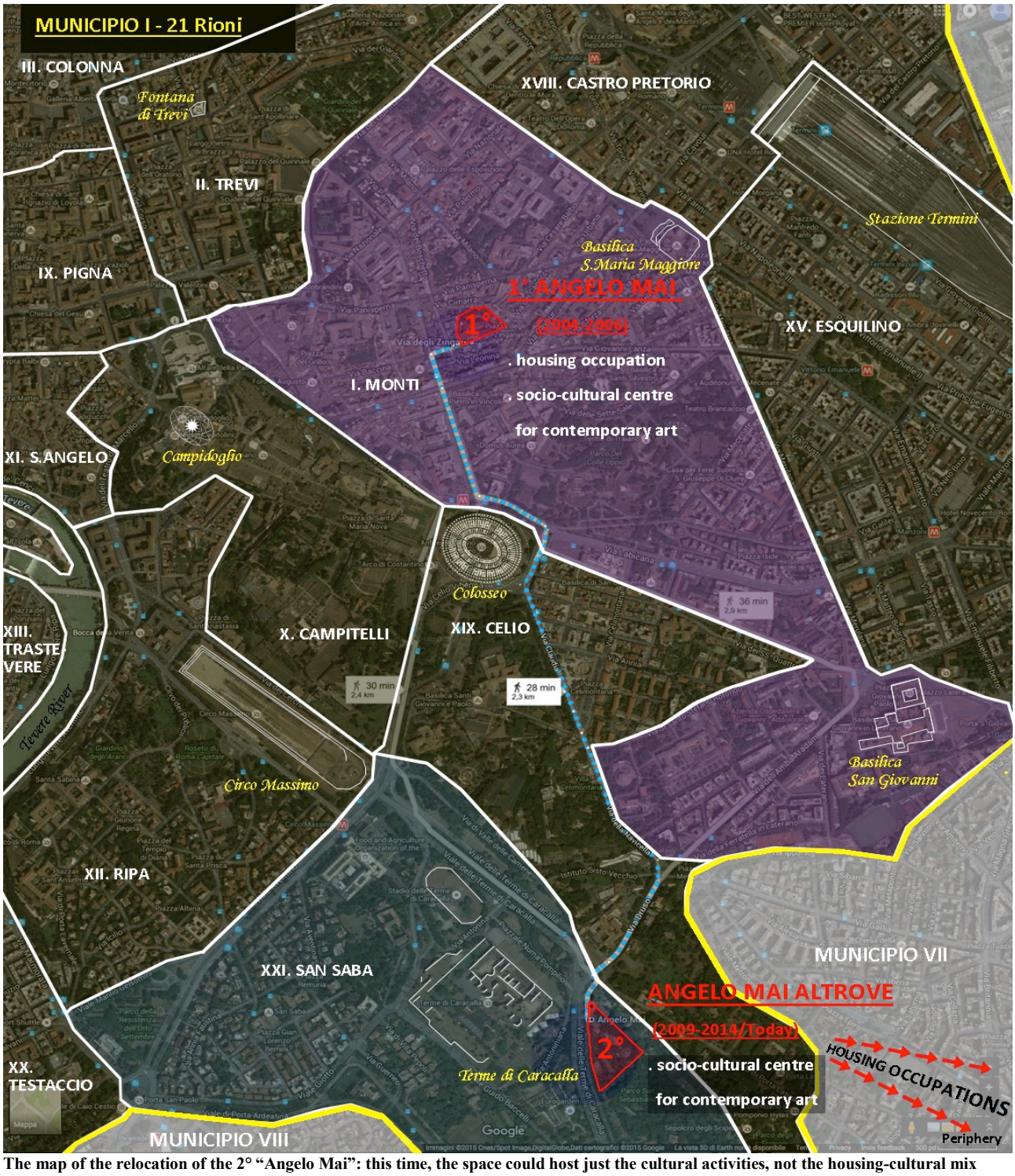
The Housing movement imposed a "forced" negotiation with local authorities, in conjunction with the imposed eviction notice, in order to define the fate of the housing and the cultural project settled in the public property after its clearance. For what concern the housing project, the negotiation ended up with the families housed in housing facilities located on the outskirt of the city, the so-called "Residence[243]", private owned buildings rented by the City in order to host families suffering homelessness and housing crisis. According to Pina Vitale, Comitato Popolare di Lotta per la Casa: «when in 2006, the evacuation took place, there was at the beginning a kind of negotiation without any form of real solution. For the 35 families the solution found was to host them in "Residences". Then they were moved to these places, which are the worst solution to the housing crisis imaginable in this city». Instead, for what concern the independent cultural project, the City recognized to the "Angelo Mai" self-managed social centre a cultural and social relevance to the

[241] The ten points in the ranking are the maximum possible score for the ranking of those entitled to social housing.

[242] (May to February 2007) Start Workshop-competition "recovery and reuse of the garden of the Angelo Mai" organized by the University of Roma Tre and the University of Weimar. Students develop alternative vision of the future of the Angelo Mai.
(December) The Laboratory TIPUS Rome 3 participating in the pilot project funded QEC-ERAN: Quartiers en Crise - European Regeneration Area Network, in which it proposes collaboration with the Forum Local Monti (which will remain in effect until 'summer of 2007) to define the inhabitants urban policies more necessary and appropriate to recover the district in terms of territorial and socio-economic. (Mortola, Giangrande, 2011)

[243] The adoption by the public actor of such solution to the housing emergency in Rome in considered highly controversial because most of the buildings addressed to be "Residences" are owned by the powerful contractors in the city that are considered to have a very strong influence on public decision making over the allocation of public resources and the determination of General Plan of the city. For these properties, often localized on the city outskirt, in areas with a very low market value, the owners receive very high rents that goes between 2000 and 4000 euros for households, that should serve to pay the expensive costs of constant security control due to the situation of social degradation that are often found in such spaces. Actually, the service that are offered and the apartment qualities are often very low making even more evident the controversial nature of this deal between the City and the private sector.

"services" offered to the district and the city, and for that negotiated with the artists' collective/squatters the assignment of another space. According to Pina Vitale: «About the Angelo Mai relocation: there was a promise in words that we would have had another space. It was, however, created a kind of "time waste" situation, and it was not sure that the administration would have accomplished with its words. So we started with the forcing: the occupation of another place the same eviction's evening. After these episodes started the real negotiations that led to the actual signing of the contract of allocation of a new space, negotiation that lasted two years. But while the families were now included in the residence, the CPLC continued its work trying find other suitable facilities in order to recreate the same experimentation began at the first "Angelo Mai". Because… what was basically the *Angelo Mai Occupato*? It was the cultural part of the housing project. Socio-cultural spaces are those that create self-income, self-income families could access working to sustain the project's activities. In this way some families could self-sustain themselves economically». But the project was actually split and a long time was needed to recreate a connection between the cultural and housing projects that the CPLC was promoting.



The map of the relocation of the 2° "Angelo Mai": this time, the space could host just the cultural activities, not the housing-cultural mix

The issue connected to logic of "social enterprise" (Membretti, 2007), looks central in the development of this experimental radical project. In order to funding both the families necessities, the restoration of the reclaimed space and the projects hosted in the space forms of alternative economy were developed. To better understand the mechanism that regulates this system it results useful to quote Pierpaolo Mudu: «(In social centres) Activities are funded with money collected during events, such as concerts or movie projections, and by selling food and drinks. The members of social centres are mostly unpaid volunteer workers. As activities are self-managed, the general rule is that there cannot be any regular paid jobs (Lombardi and Mazzoni, 1998), although, in the last fifteen years, various social CENTREs have decided to pay people who can keep their activities going within logic of social enterprise (Membretti 2007).

It must be recognized that social centres make an efficient use of the funds they collect, especially considering the difficulty of restoring large buildings or organizing big events unless one has significant funds and the work is done for profit.» (Ibid., 2014a, 250). Despite the deal was reached in 2006, only in 2009 the artists and activists could have access to the new space. The three years were needed for the bureaucratic steps that needed before the assignation of the space. During the lapse of time between 2006-2009, the Angelo Mai artists' collective organized activities and traveling shows, in liminal spaces of the city, mostly located on its outskirts. Quoting their Manifesto, produced in 2012, the people involved in the project define themselves as, "We are those who farm the third landscape, a space that expresses neither the power nor the submission to power".

Thanks to that, the cultural project, instead of vanishing due to the long time where to actually run the cultural and social enterprise, built an important local support and strengthen the network with other self-managed spaces in the city. Moreover, during this period, the collective participated to many national theatre festivals, strengthening the extra-local networks with the contemporary artistic and cultural national and international scene. The capacity to implement tactics of space and imaginary production in a nomadic and independent way, has allowed the project to stay vivid in the memory of the citizens and its supporters and do not disappear from the everyday geographies, while keeping a place for the Angelo Mai social centre in the city's collective imaginary. The cultural project resulted even reinforced from this nomadic experience, coming to be part of local and extra-local support network system that were, in a sort of way, further legitimating it. No doubt, the confidence to access a day to a new space has avoided the collapse of the project and the work of its participant but has also prevented another illegal occupation to take place in another abandoned space within the city.

Finally in 2009, the collective could reclaim the new "Angelo Mai Altrove". As mentioned above, the process for the assignment of the public property took three years on the accordance of the bureaucratic system that regulates the assignment of public properties to Social centre projects based on the Resolution n° 26/1994.[244] In this case the process was not applied to regularize and recognize a squatted practice but rather to assign an abandoned place and negotiate with the future users the has gone through the following steps:

1. The artists' collective had to constitute a non-profit association;
2. The technical departments of the municipality organized meetings with the non-profit association to define the co-design of a new hangar to be built instead of the old boules court in order to have a place to host the shows and activities of the association;
3. Once the architectural project has been defined, the Superintendence of Cultural Heritage proceeded to archaeological analysis required before the implementation of the project. In fact, the area is subject to archaeological restrictions (the archaeological investigation lasted a year and has cost large part of the funds allocated by the Municipality for the realization of the project).

2.5 The resurgence of the Angelo Mai "elsewhere", the ties with local and extra-local networks and the link with the movement of housing struggle: the issue of self-income, legitimate or illegitimate?

Once the area has been handed over to the association, it was including a cottage (originally part of the property), the new hangar, plus a large garden. The hangar realized on porpoise for the Social centre activities was handed over consisting only of the shell. In fact, "the hangar had no doors, no windows, no floor, no light nor ventilation system and no fire system. The building was compliant with no standard. The PROBASIS Onlus has done the building's adaptation to standards and have provided to the self-construction of the floor, the stage and dressing rooms, as well as the stands for the public and the bar" (interview to Giammarco, Probasis Onlus). As established by Resolution No. 26, these expenses incurred by the association have to be subtract to the rent fixed for the property (a rent calculated as reduced to 85% of the market value for assignment to non-profit associations operating in the social). On this issue there has been some controversies between the City and the Probasis since the only expenses which have been invoiced were

[244] The resolution for allocation of 'Social Spaces' (26/1995), the only device developed for the regularization of these practices, predisposed a (pre) allocation of (unused) public spaces to not for profit associations with social purposes; more often it provided the legalization, as the recognition, by the owner (mostly public) of formal association's right to run activities in the squatted premises through an agreement for a temporary lease contract (very low rent).

mostly about the items bought for the rehabilitation and construction works but not the value of the self-building work conducted by the same people involved in cultural project.

Slowly, from 2009, after completion of the works and the retrofitting of the building, the new project Angelo Mai Altrove (Angelo Mai Elsewhere) was about to begin. Some of the rules imposed on the space since it was now a legal activity in a legally rented space (e.g. the register of participants; the register of income and expenses; the appliance for legal permits for selling food and alcohol; receipts issuing; taxation payment to the *Società Italiana degli Autori e Editori*, S.I.A.E. (Italian Society of Authors and publishers) for the staging of shows; etc.) were never completely accepted by the collective referring to an ideology of autonomy from the State. The alternative project developed a variety of activities over the years, through the adoption of self-help for restoring of the space; self-management and radical participation; self-production of cultural, social events that through the logic of social enterprise were able to create a *"autoreddito"* ("self-income") for the people working in it. In fact, the Angelo Mai's collective have decided to pay people who can keep its activity going, almost everyday of the week.

Map of the "Angelo Mai Altrove" spaces, its location within the park San Sebastiano and near the local school and the archaeological site

In particular, the collective wanted to guarantee a legal contract to all the artists and people working in the field of cultural production that were working or performing in the space. It was based on the will to make evident the uneven treatment that the artists received in the institutional cultural scene of Rome, while an independent scene could afford to grant them a good contract. Also, it is claimed willingness to host artists belonging to the true contemporary scene that often, institutional spaces of culture, were not able to recognize or to attract. In this framework was included also the opposition against the forced taxation imposed by the S.I.A.E., which would then "guaranteed good revenue just to old and established artists" instead of protecting the whole categories of interests.

The funding for the alternative space initiatives, a part from the "free subscription entrance" was mostly financed by the selling of food and beverage (also alchol) by the "Osteria di Pina" (Pina's tavern) and the Bar. The idea for the *Osteria di Pina*, offering local popular cuisine, born from the importance that the moment of eating collectively had been recognized as one of the crucial moment in the everyday construction of the Angelo Mai's collective and the project with the citizenship. It became soon after its opening, an important reference for all the people participating to this autonomous space.

Moreover, the whole Social centre and the tavern enabled to slowly recreate that relationship between the cultural space and the new housing projects connected to the CPLC. It was considered crucial because, as mentioned above, "socio-cultural spaces are those that create self-income, self-income families could access working to sustain the project's activities. In this way some families could self-sustain themselves economically". But the project kept being spatially divided. Perhaps an even more ambitious project was the one that saw Angelo Mai and these two housing occupations working together with the aim of creating expertise and small incomes for young people, single mothers, migrants, unemployed people.

The political, artistic and personal union that lived in the occupation in Monti was restored and now more mature. The five years in the new space for Angelo Mai saw a lot of projects developing thanks to this union. One of the more fulfilling was the creation of a summer camp for the kids of the near-by primary school, where they could learn how to eat well and according to the products' periodicity, as well as how a song or a play is born and conceived. Another was

the self-production of several theatrical works, or the dozens of workshop that took place both in Angelo Mai and in the housing occupations.

Summer camp: afternoon activities for the kids of the neighbourhood (Source: photo by Luisa Rossini)

This situation of semi-legality (due to the accomplice to some rules and the non-recognition of others) of the autonomous project, it is very common in the social centres network, cause whether to accept or reject relations, negotiations and/or agreements with local authorities has always been an issue that has created fractures within the movement and many Social Centres related to anarchist networks remained contrary (Berzano, Gallini and Genoa 2002), and between movements and institutions.[245] The Angelo Mai started operating during the right wing leading mayor Gianni Alemanno (2008-2013) that although had threatened the closure of all social centres in Rome during the elections, once elected instead had denied his claims, placing itself in a fundamental attitude of tolerance (as done by previous administrations). Only in the case of the few social centres located in the city centre, the city administration started to strictly control the management of these social enterprises.

In 2011, the public authorities asked for the seizure of the Angelo Mai Altrove, who lacks the necessary permits for the sale of alcohol. In 2012, the bar of the Social Self-managed centre that lacked the necessary permits was seizured. It would have meant the stop of the activities and projects mainly relying on the bar's revenues. «Then in October 2012 comes the shocking news that the Angel Mai is forced to close the bar for problems with the municipal and numerous penalties and this would have probably also lead to its closure, because the bar is the greatest form of self-financing in these kind of self-managed spaces. The group chose to continue, acting out of the rules and paying the penalties, until it had triggered a vicious circle in which to pay the penalties were organized events that led to other sanctions. Therefore, the Angelo Mai's collective is able to organize the exhibition of the photographer David Fenton, the first of its exhibits brought to Italy. The initiative of the exhibition and small shows, keeping the bar closed (everybody could bring his drink from the outside), with free subscription, allowed to continue with the activities and run the space. I wanted to support the cause and so, I started going every day. The event of the exhibition was titled "AMO CURO COPIA" (Love Care Copy), which is nothing else if not an anagram for "OCCUPIAMO ORA" (Occupy Now). It was intended to be a collective moment for the re-occupation of the space. In October 2012, is organized a public meeting to announce this event. At the assembly I met Pina and better understood the connections and ties that this socio-cultural project had with the movement of the struggle for housing, the CPLC. They explained to me all the difficulties both in the communication of the project and the level of funding independent of the shows, as well as the discourse of the housing struggle and the Pina's projects for the implementation of the self-construction. I got passionate on both issues, that of the independent cultural production and that of the housing struggle that is connected to the first with the theme of self-income. This is how I became part of both the projects, although before becoming an integral part of the collective it

[245] Nevertheless, the issue of legalization comes out regularly in the life of *Centri Sociali* as well as for squatting for housing, mostly as a strategy to claim the recognition of legitimacy and to grant the "right to stay put" to this autonomous projects.

took time and participation.» (Interview to Stefano).[246] The day of the event "CURO AMO COPIA", at the call *occupy now* the people involved in the project and the entire participant to the event, performed the symbolic occupation of the space as an act of protest (see the Manifesto produced in the occasion of the new occupation).

Angelo Mai Altrove Occupied – MANIFESTO 2012

We are those who have lived in three years, experienced, animated Angel Mai Altrove

We are those who think that art, independence and critical thinking are essential

We are those who think that occupied sites are legitimate and necessary

We are those who do not recognize themselves in the "legality" of our government

We are those who think it is more ethical to occupy a space than leave it abandoned

We are those who think that occupy is the necessary response to the corrupt management of public assets

We are those who think that "free up" places and make them centres of production is a Right

We are those who think that the Angelo Mai can not be compared to a abusive club

We are those who have turned a skeleton, a hut, with no floor, no doors or windows in a theatre in the heart of the city

We are those who have renovated the place, have it covered with wood - complete with a fire-retardant treatment required by European legislation

We are those that have equipped the theatre of an electrical installation (by law) and equipment comparable to that of many "institutional" places

We are those who produced and co-produced 62 shows, 198 concerts, 34 performances, 23 workshops

We are the ones who have created possibilities cultural, artistic impulses, training, attempts at self-enterprise in the absence of public funding […]

We are the ones who know where they belong

We are those who farm the third landscape, a space that expresses neither the power nor submission to power

We are those who belong to a generation that someone wanted to be dead

We are those who have visions and put them into practice collectively […]

We are the ones who make up another piece of cultural revolt that from north to south across this country […]

We are those who believe in the universal right to be free and happy

We are those who belong to a fragment of a shared collective consciousness

We are those who come to the diversity in amazement

We are those who believe that a space freed is the place of the invention of the possible […]

We are those who claim that the Angel Mai Altrove is Occupied and we are full of joy

Confirming the strong connection with the physical space of the former Angelo Mai and the participation to the citizens' struggle for the (re)appropriation of that place, in 2012, the artists' collective and the CPLC reoccupied

[246] Stefano is a student at the faculty of engineering-architecture that started taking part to the activity of the Angelo Mai Collective since 2012 and in 2013 entered in one of the two housing occupation connected to the CPLC and the Angelo Mai.

symbolically the first Angelo Mai complex, in order to protest against the abandoned works for rehabilitation. «Eight years after the first occupation enacted by about 30 families in housing crisis and a collective of artists, the Angelo Mai in Monti has been reoccupied. In 2006, the occupants were evacuated and then began work on relocating a middle school, the "Viscontino". Works never completed. The yard is still there and the students here never came. "After eight years, there is an open wound - write the new occupants - an abandoned place in a city starved of space to live and create. A place that never became a school, never become a theatre, never became a garden, it has never been a yard for all anymore. A place that could be all this things together and contrast speculation and the new violence of Roman nights with the art, the "learning", the exchange, the feeling good".» (La Republica, November 17th, 2012)[247].

2.6 The new housing occupations and the proposal of the "*Auto-costruzione*" self-help housing strategy as alternative strategies for housing and regeneration of abandoned public assets

The "*Comitato Popolare di Lotta per la Casa*" ("Popular Committee for Housing Struggle" - CPLC) housing movement went up to the headlines with the occupation of the Angelo Mai in 2006. Until that moment the CPLC was considered a minor housing movement in the Rome scene. Pina Vitale, the founder of this new housing movement, has been involved in the Rome's housing movements scene since its beginning in 1980's, when the first autonomous housing movement in Rome, called "Coordinamento Cittadino di Lotta per la Casa" ("Coordination of Citizen for Housing Struggle") was founded in Rome.[248] We can then define her, as many of other activists in this field, as a long-life activists in housing struggle. «The main feature of the interaction of all these movements has been a particular reformulation of the right to housing into the "diritto all'abitare" (right to inhabit)» (Mudu, Rossini, 2016). «Why I started to be a militant in the movement for housing struggle?» said Pina «for the needs of the house. The need for a house is a problem I have always lived on my skin and having lived it I've exported to others. What is the house for me? The house is a right, the house is job, is dignity. When they take away these things from you, you lose everything. I can not see children whose parents are unable to say to them "this is your home". What we are claiming is the right to housing, together with the right to education, culture, work and health that constitute the basic needs of each human being and that only treated as unitary problem permit to individuate the right solutions» (Interview to Pina Vitale).

Hence the idea for the project to bring together independent culture and self-managed living spaces in the occupation of the Angelo Mai. The twenty years long experience in the field of the housing struggle brought by Pina to the *Comitato* served in the individuation and implementation of strategies both to oppose housing crisis and the need of space, addressing city's vacant public properties to squat, opposing to the concept of illegal trespassing the political legitimacy of insurgency and dissent fostered to prompt controversial issues, such as the exclusion from the access to fundamental rights. The years of militancy have been important to stop fearing the dominant power relations and to oppose insurgent and radical tactics of action-reaction, in the case eviction/occupation, in order to maintain a position of public visibility, pro-actively counter-propose implemented alternative solutions and finally discard the power positions, in the negotiation process, through the self-empowerment of the people. To answer the first Angelo Mai's eviction, the CPLC movement decided to force the issue with two symbolic occupations.

Hence, the occupation of the property located at the Terme di Caracalla was intended as a proactive action of proposing a new location for the Social centre and Cultural Project, while the occupation of the *Palazzetto San Marco* (San Marco Palace) in the *Campidoglio*, a property of high historical value, was intended more as a strategy to attract the public opinion on the issue related to the needed individuation of a real solution for the 35 homeless families that were going to be evicted from the ex-boarding school. In the case of the Social centre, the negotiation between the actors involved reached a higher level of negotiation, and the site proposed by the activists was accepted as a suitable place for the relocation of its activities. Moreover, the activists could take part in the definition of a project for the new facilities needed in the new location. Different the situation for what concern the negotiation over the housing crisis issue addressed by the housing project within the occupation.

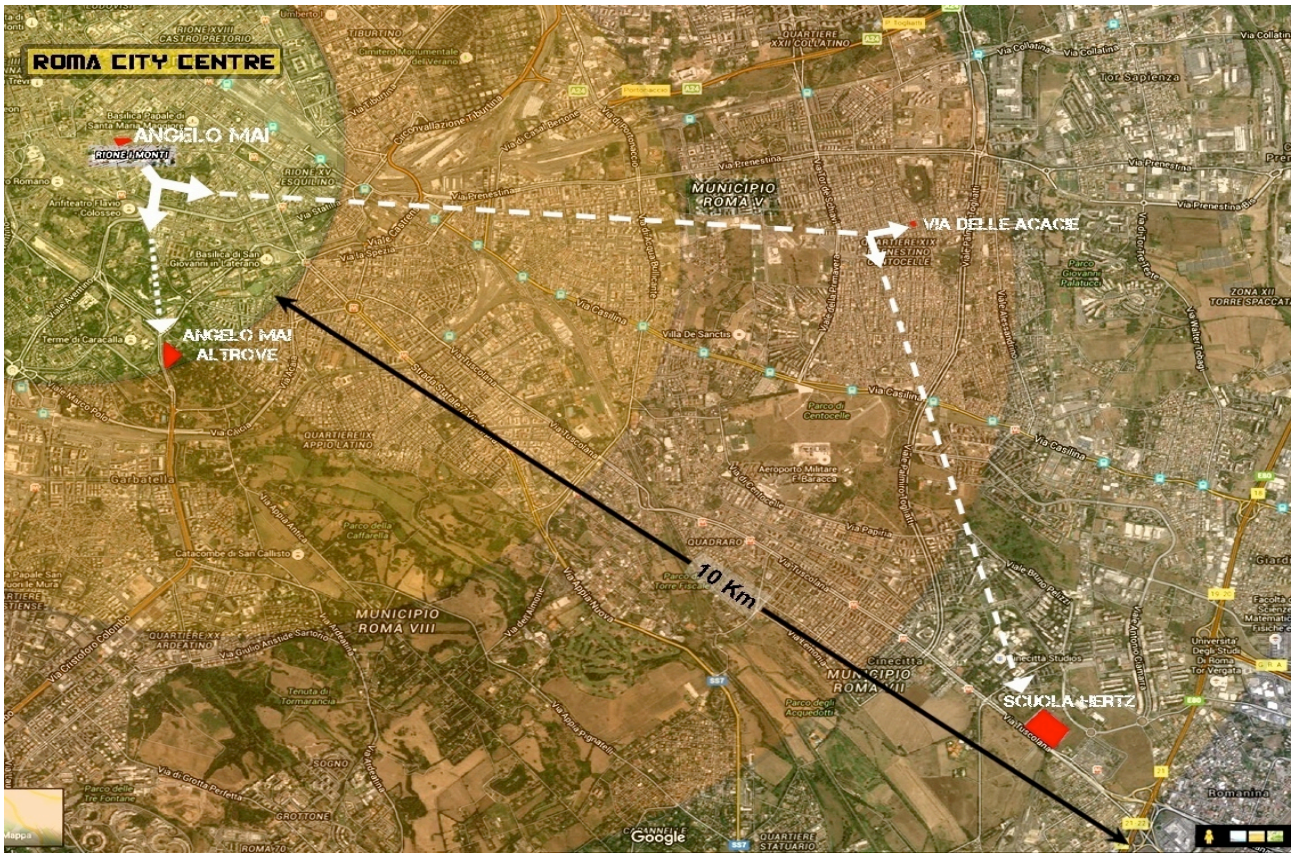
In fact, over the last decades, the debate over the potential institutionalization of Social centre was always considered less problematic than the one related to housing occupations in a city where property speculation is so central to the economic elites. The claims raised by the CPLC through the occupation of the Angelo Mai complex, regarded the possibility to plan self-help housing strategies in abandoned public city's properties (even of the ones located in the city centre) in order to give an answer to three relevant issues for the public agenda. The claims raised from the bottom

[247] From the newspaper article *Monti, Angelo Mai rioccupato dopo 8 anni, "Doveva esserci una scuola, ma è vuoto"* (Monti, Angelo Mai reoccupied after 8 years, "There had to be a school, but it's empty"), La Repubblica, November 17th, 2012. [http://roma.repubblica.it/cronaca/2012/-11/17/foto/monti_angelo_mai_rioccupato-46850396/10/]

[248] The case of Rome is quite articulated. At the end of the 1990s three main groups emerged in the movement dedicated to ensure the right to housing: Coordinamento cittadino lotta per la casa (CCLC), Action and Blocchi Proletari Metropolitani (BPM). These groups have different trajectories, although a similar kind of origin from the autonomist generation, and strategies. The CCLC was born in 1988 when 350 apartments were squatted in San Basilio, and it was mainly formed by people that have been militants in the former Autonomia Operaia. They have been always tried to minimize negotiations with the authorities. The other large group is Action that was born in 2002, from the transformation of the association "Diritto alla casa" (Right to housing) created in 1999, with a more flexible political action, also including participation in institutional politics (Franchetto & Action, 2004). Additionally, other organizations operate in Rome: Comitato popolare di lotta per la casa, Comitato inquilini del centro storico, Comitato obiettivo casa, Unione inquilini (Mudu, Rossini, 2016).

through the adoption of such insurgent practice were to address: the housing crisis through more effective/integrated/varied public policies negotiated with the people affected by homelessness; the idea to address communities management and rehabilitation of the big quantity of abandoned public asset in the city; the issue of residency and social mix in increasingly exclusive neighbourhood, such as the ones located in the city centre. None of these claims where included in public agenda or recognized as legitimate claims and negotiated.

The only answer to the housing crisis situation highlighted by the circumstances of the Angelo Mai occupation was the City council adoption of the Resolution n°206 that served only as a temporary relieve to a small percentage of the population involved in the housing crisis. It could be define as a "strategies of control over space" more than a recognition of the legitimacy of the alternative strategies proposed by the bottom-up practice and the attempt to hybridize institutional modes of action with the ones radically performed by the housing movement. After the eviction, the housing movement CPLC kept working on the struggle to find alternative solutions to address housing crisis in the city. Even if the socio-cultural project found the way to keep working, the experiment that unified right to housing and to culture was not any more settled in the same place.



Nevertheless, the housing movement, as mentioned above, didn't give up with this idea. Even if families could not live anymore in the same space where the cultural and social activities were placed, the Angelo Mai Altrove Socio-Cultural project supported morally, politically and economically the new housing projects/squats settled by the Comitato since the 2009 on. It is worth stressing that, as other housing movements in the Rome, after 2008, the CPLC had to confront with the side effects of the economic crisis started in 2007, that further incremented the number of people affected by housing crisis. In fact, in 2008 CPLC organized a squatting action in the social housing's neighbourhood of Tor Sapienza. The squatted houses were initially assigned to the occupants thanks to the Resolution n°206 approved by the Mayor Veltroni (Democratic Party - centre/left wing). The following Mayor, Gianni Alemanno ("Freedom Party" - centre-right wing), nullified the Resolution approved by the previous City council and moved the occupants in the Residences. In the meanwhile the CPLC had disposed a housing crisis' help desk[249] (where homeless families could be registered in a list of people looking for an alternative housing solution to homelessness) in the former headquarters of the Socialist Party in the square Quarticciolo.
Starting from the list of people in housing crisis, the *Comitato* acted through several different strategies in order to oppose the housing crisis: anti-eviction's picket lines to defend families under eviction order; assistance to homeless families in submitting the request for or force the acceptance by residences; search of alternative and temporary

[249] The housing crisis' helping desk is a tool utilized by all the Housing Movements based in Rome (Action, Coordinamento Cittadino di Lotta per la Casa, Blocchi Precari Metropolitani, Comitato Popolare di Lotta per la Casa). The list of homeless families suffering housing crisis drafted by the Hosing Movements is a useful reference tool for the local administration for the management and evaluation of the dimension of the phenomenon of the housing crisis in the city.

solutions for homeless families in situation of extreme housing crisis (sometimes people in need were housed in the same activists' houses); identification of properties that could serve for the implementation of housing occupation. In this framework, in 2009 a suitable property was individuated by the CPLC in order to host the increasing number of families that were waiting for a housing solution provided by the housing movement.

The new housing occupation took place in via delle Acacie, in the neighbourhood of Centocelle. Located in the periphery East of Rome, the property addressed by the squatting action is a private property under ten years' leasing contract with the City since 2004, that was supposed to host the district school but was actually vacant since more then two years. In that school, since then abandoned, now were living 48 homeless families, including more then 60 children, from different nationalities and social classes. In fact, this housing project was thought to be a space were different people affected b housing emergency at different levels and for different reasons (e.g. the project hosted also few precarious young students and some of the people involved in the Housing Movement Committee, that had chosen to share the everyday life and struggle with the occupants).

The people affected by housing crisis that merged in a collective action to individuate an autonomous radical solution to housing exclusion were not actually homeless (in the understanding of wasted people sleeping in the street), but temporary precarious workers, students, immigrants and even retired people, that cannot afford to pay the high rents in the city who are unable to pay all the expenses connected to dwelling. The classes have been converted into apartments, furnished with much care, as for everybody it symbolized the hope to make the occupation an ideal permanent housing solution. Every household has furnished his "apartment" in different styles related to the different culture of different nationalities. "Soon the families increased and the classrooms were not enough anymore" (Pina Vitale).

In the meanwhile, on September 2010, the *Consiglio dei Ministri* (Council of Ministers) approved the Decree *"Roma Capitale"*: with the measure, the City becomes a territorial entity with a statutory, administrative and financial special autonomy. The City Council will change its name and become the Capitoline Assembly. The Capitoline assembly has new administrative functions in various sectors: enhancement of historical, artistic, environmental and fluvial assets in agreement with the Ministry of Heritage and Culture; economic and social development of the Roma Capitale, with particular reference to the productive sector and tourism; urban development and planning; public and private housing and the organization and operation of urban services, with particular reference to public transport and mobility.

In 2011 the housing crisis heats so hard that between 2011 and 2015, every year, the State renewed the Decree "*Milleproroghe"* (a decree of the Council of Ministers intended to extend or solve urgent measures by the end of the current year) for the suspension of evictions for rental arrears, given the rampant housing crisis. For this, the CPLC began a new mobilization for the need to find another space to (re)appropriate in order to help families who come to ask for his help. After several attempts to protest against the inertia of public intervention to solve the growing problem of the housing crisis (i.e. have spent nights in the street with tents and the symbolic occupation of a Basilica), came the conquest of a new selected space.

On April 15th 2011, the CPLC together with 50 homeless families occupied another abandoned public school (public property), the Hertz school, located in via Tuscolana 1113, another peripheral neighbourhood. This second occupation came up around an ambitious project, the implementation of the "self-construction" alternative housing strategy to propose as a bottom-up practice to institutions. This project had been previously experimented in the housing occupation in *via delle Acacie* 56, where the classrooms had been transformed in little dignified apartments for everyone through the rehabilitation and construction process conducted by the occupants themselves.

«In the Hertz former school occupation, we have shown that in one year we have been able to create 23 functional apartments compliant with the all the norms and standards. Self-construction, means that we don't have to build new housing, but instead we can allow people to recover abandoned schools or barracks, town properties in order to respond to the housing crisis just relying on their economic resources and/or their work" (interview to Pina Vitale). «After clearing its spaces long abandoned, classrooms began to take the form of apartments. But occupy is not a simple thing when you consider cohabitation not simple, lack of privacy, lack of participation in collective activities. So from peaceful coexistence, mutual help, and the laughter, is easy to switch to discussion, even this collective, as they use to be in these spaces self-managed, religious holidays and celebrations.» (from the docu-film, "Questa è la mia casa", 2014)[250].

The formula was based on cooperation, that meant each person contributing according to their skills and their physical and economic possibilities, sharing labour and money so as to make possible the restructuring implementation with the use of a small economic capital, namely obviating the need to depend on bank loan. "Self-construction" meant, for the CPLC, that a group of people occupy an abandoned space not in order to gain leverage to get access to public housing,

[250] "Questa è la mia casa" (This is my Home) is a docu-film realized by Livia Parisi and Lucilla Castellano and released in 2014, that tells the story of the two housing occupation in via delle Acacie and in Hertz school.

but instead advocating a form of "sweat-equity[251]", in transforming abandoned properties, often in an advanced state of decay, in "real houses", through a regeneration process implemented by the same occupants. The Region council had approved in 1998 a Law for the *Autorecupero* ("Self-rehabilitation"), a self-help program, that had resulted unsuccessful considering the data: today, 17 years after its approval, there are only 11 cases of "self-rehabilitation" implemented in Rome. The originality of the "Self-construction" lays in the attempt to propose some fundamental transformation to the "Self-help" programs, for how they had been understood until that moment that could overcome the reasons for such long time of implementation. The underlying problems that have caused the failure of these programs would lie in three fundamental errors, according to the CPLC.

One of the self-built apartments created by the collective of occupants with the help of the CPLC

First, the cooperative formed for the implementation of the "Self-rehabilitation" program needs to apply for a bank loan; this means a significant economic commitment for people involved in the program, a commitment that often they fail to comply with, so that the City is nominee guarantor in case of insolvency. Moreover, it provoke two side effects: the time for the implementation process became longer due to the time needed for the request and approval of the mortgage, plus it put in a situation of potential problematic economic situation the people involved in the project (often people with serious economic problems), as well as the City, that have to face additional financial responsibilities, in a framework of dramatic lack in economic resources.

Second, the property to be allocated to the program of "self-recovery" must be identified from the town hall and this process takes very long time, both because until a few years ago, the City did not have a clear and complete picture of the public properties at its disposal, both because of the never occurred devolution of powers to the municipalities, which led to an overload of responsibilities to the offices of the City, often understaffed. Actually, this program is designed and implemented to formalize existing housing occupations and make them legal (then "selecting" properties previously "selected" by the occupants). The faux formal step of identifying properties suitable for the implementation of the program results in the dramatic lengthening of the time, given the reasons described above.

Third, the "Self-Help" programs are not always designed to produce more public housing assets. The ambitious project, experimented in the *Acacie* occupation, was implemented for real only in the second occupation, the Hertz school. The CPLC implemented in this space, for four years, the project of "self-construction".

The project is organized as follows: each family is "self-taxing" (*sottoscrizione*) and put into the common treasury his share consisting of EUR 100 per month; with the help of professionals supporting the cause (such as architects and professors from the University Tor Vergata), families implement shared renewal and construction work activities involving complex masonry - as electrical and plumbing - that permit to divide the space into real housing units, each with its own bathroom and its own kitchen. The project, and this type of occupation, is proposed as an alternative strategy to recover and manage a set of unused spaces inside the Capital, thanks to the work of people who are in a state of "housing emergency", both producing alternative solutions to address lack of resources in the management of the public assets and heritage and current housing crisis and the crisis of public policies for living, as well as oppose blindly

[251] The term "sweat-equity" has been used in NYC in connection to the Self-help housing strategies that became a form of formalization of former squats, where the owner exchanged the right to stay-put in the property for a low rent with the work for rehabilitation actuated by the occupants/tenants itself.

building expansion and speculation devouring hectares of countryside every year (e.g. building more social housing units). The people involved in these projects are mostly people who have been recognized the right to access to housing (but are still waiting since years). Moreover, these forms of collective housing involve experimenting with forms of intercultural and social mix, by mixing together people from different cultural backgrounds, different needs and social classes (trying to overcome forms of social segregation in addressing city's poor housing needs).

This proposal tries to promote the issue of collective construction and compliance with specific rules of coexistence as the driving forces of the entire project. The project of *Auto-costruzione* implemented in the former school Hertz, had been thought as a physical example of the feasibility of the proposal, in order to be able to present a citizens' bill proposal to the Municipality (provided by the bill over the local participation: Resolution n°57/2006 – City Administration Act – valid from 2.3.2006). Moreover, it has attracted, in recent years, the attention of several scholars (as the anthropologist Vereni Piero, who followed and studied this project for a long time, or researchers of the university of Engineer-Architecture in La Sapienza university of Rome). In addition, the CPLC has been invited to present the project to the European Commission. In fact, while for the local institutions the house project remain an "illegal" practice, the project of "self-construction" is presented at a conference at the European Parliament, "as an example of re-use of abandoned spaces and concrete way to overcome the housing problem". «The project was brought to Brussels and proved to generate considerable benefits, first of all multiculturalism and neighbourly relations between tenants. The nature and pattern of this occupation, in fact, are rather unusual: the families are arranged along the six floors of the building (the article is talking about the via delle Acacie housing occupation) following a well-defined policy of "forced" integration, i.e. the rooms/dwellings along the corridors are occupied by one Italian family and, the next one, from a migrant family. As evidence of this, one Italian and one migrant people make the picket lines at the entrance of the occupied property, so that they can talk and socialize. People inside the CPLC, in particular its founder Pina Vitale and Silvia Paoluzzi (who based his thesis in cultural anthropology in 2011 on this case), explained me that behind this organization there is a clear desire to transcend individualism, a typical behaviour of people facing extremely difficult situations, whom only concern is finding a shelter without caring about the rest» (Dailystorm, 2014).[252]

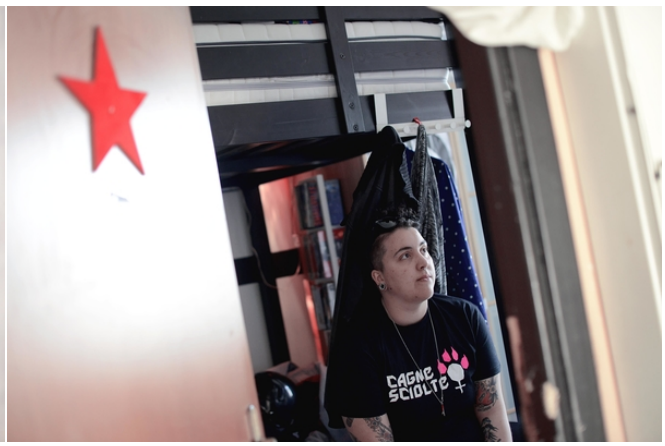
The idea of the *Comitato* was that that, since the Hertz school is a public property, it was possible to attempt to start a negotiation over the "Self-construction" project with the City authorities and more chances to avoid the eviction. The CPLC claims the will to experiment an alternative pattern against an unsustainable housing system, incapable to produce new public housing as well as use for this porpoise its vacant public assets while wasting public moneys in paying very high rents to private owners in order to individuate "temporary lodging solutions". In fact, despite the official strategies implemented by the municipality in recent years, were officially connected to the attempt to raise the funds needed to solve the problem or at least to alleviate it (e.g. selling public properties including subsidized housing located in central areas), the main issue that concern the govern of Rome, the housing issue, is today scarcely answered. In 2013, the housing movement "Comitato Popolare di Lotta per la Casa" ("Popular Committee for Housing Struggle") presented to the institutions a proposal over the *Autocostruzione* (Self-construction) of Real Estate. Formerly implemented in the occupied former Hertz school. The Autocostruzione project allowed, within a year, the conversion of the building into 22 apartments designed to accommodate families in housing emergency. «The neglect and decayed municipal property was, in short time, gave back to the citizens, becoming the point of aggregation and social integration.» (Comitato Popolare di Lotta per la Casa – CPLC - bulletin).

The Autocostruzione (which differs from Autorecupero since it excludes the obligation to apply for a bank loan for the execution of works of recovery on the property), provides that the same families involved in the project, and evaluated in the parameters of the housing emergency, will tackle, as a result of training courses, the completion of the whole regeneration of a disused stable (financially and practically) for the creation of housing units, with the payment of a very small monthly contribution. «All aspects concerning the project, the feasibility and progress of the works will be followed by a team of professionals and technicians in training, to ensure that the processes follow the provisions on safety. The income and expenditure will be accounted for and discussed periodically by the entire community. The apartments will be assigned only to the end of their realization, in which all participated equally.» (CLPC bulletin).

The proposal provides both the "cost free" renewal of abandoned public assets for Municipal authorities and the increasing in the public housing asset (since the property remain in public ownership). This idea that initially met the interest by the European Commission, in Rome triggered severe repression of these committee whose members were prosecuted with charges of criminal conspiracy and their occupations evicted. Today, despite the Department housing policy has shown a temporary interest to evaluate the proposal, it has never activated an actual internal council discussion over the issue nor a negotiation with the proponents. In March 2014 the national centre-right national coalition formalized their attack to the *movimenti per il diritto all'abitare*, by approving a law to criminalize them (law 47, 28 March 2014). The law was passed by the ministry Lupi, affiliated to a catholic bussiness group, and it has meant to exclude on purpose the movements that were able to give voice to the usually excluded most disadvantaged groups.

[252] http://dailystorm.it/2014/03/19/via-delle-acacie-non-va-sgomberata-ecco-perche/

Welcome


CAGNE SCIOLTE

Some image form: the Acacie squat everyday life

The eviction of the Acacie Squat and CSA Angelo Mai. All the photos were kindly provided by Simona Garnets (authorized by Simona Granati - simonagranati@alice.it)

2.7 Repression versus legitimization: what is the best option for the city government?

On February 28th Decree *"Salva Roma"* (conversion of Decree Law no. 16/2014) is approved: The document is organized into 21 articles proposed by the President of the Council, the Minister of Economy, the Minister of Interior and the Minister of Education, aimed at overcoming the financial crises of local authorities, and to ensure a balance of budget and financial stability of the same. Guidelines: apply the provisions and financial and budgetary constraints on the acquisition of goods and services and staffing; make a survey of the needs of staff in subsidiary companies; adopt innovative models for the management of local public transport services, waste collection and road sweeping, even resorting to liberalization; proceed, if necessary, for disposal or liquidation of subsidiary companies that are not have, such as social end, public service activities; enhance and dispose of shares of the real estate of the town. In the meanwhile, few households, among those occupants, began to have disagreements with the CPLC up to leave the occupation and to go to report the Committee for criminal offenses, extortion, exploitation of labour up to agree to define it as a criminal organization.

The *Comitato* was involved in the heavy judicial investigation, which led to the eviction of the two housing occupations and the CSA Angelo Mai in March 2014. The seizures were made as part of an investigation for criminal association led by prosecutor Luca Tescaroli, which assumes the existence of a "criminal organization" aimed at extorting money from the families housed in buildings occupied. But the eviction have been ordered without the permission of the Mayor and the City Council.

In fact, the mayor and the town council have complained that they were not informed in advance of the planned action of eviction and after have expressed his concern for the fact, the Mayor enabled the families to return temporarily in squats while the City administration was individuating an alternative solution for the families. «The investigation that led to the order for evacuation was conducted by the Digos and coordinated by the Public Prosecutor of Rome, as it informs the police, who acted on the orders of the Court of Rome with charges ranging from "criminal organization" to "extortion" (*estorsione*). It comes to 21 people who are likely to be indicted for criminal association. Mayor Marino, reaffirming to consider the Angelo Mai "an important cultural centre for the city", claims to be "surprised and concerned" about the evictions, on which the City "was not informed" by the prosecution.» (Mediapolitika, March 24th 2014).

The prefect of Rome granted two months for the suspension of the eviction. On expiry of the time allowed, on April 23rd, the two housing occupation were again forcibly evicted. The homeless families were gathered from the street and brought to "Residences" located on the outskirt of the city (about 30 km distant from the place evicted) rented by the City to the *Arciconfraternita del S.S. Sacramento e di S. Trifone*. Shelters, however, did not respond to the real needs of families, as the solution individuated by radical occupation and self-help renovation had managed to do. In fact, many families were separated, and many men returned to sleep on the streets.

Locations chosen are far more than 30 kilometres from the places where these families had lived for some years and badly connected to transportation that connects with Rome, creating many problems for those who needed to find a job in the city or to get to their job. "In addition, the children had to stop school for at least two months, as transferred in the middle of the school year, in neighbourhoods far away from where they had lived for five years" (CLPC activist).

The only solution that the public actor proposed for this situation of emergency was a temporary housing solution to counteract the dramatic situation in which the families were now: situation that became public after the forced eviction of the occupation. The administration accused the prefecture had not expected the planned relocation of the families to avoid the pain of a forced evacuation. The prefecture accused the council of total inertia in the identification of alternative solutions in the given period of suspension of the eviction.

Soon the CPLC, the families and some supporters counteracted and, on April 28th, a demonstration before the court took place in support of the members of the CPLC that are investigated with heavy accusation. The protesters have showed hundreds of paper houses on which the protesters had write the words "La Prima Cosa" ("The First Thing" – meant as the house as primary necessity). In May, it is presented to the audience the Docu-film, "*Casa Nostra*" ("Our Home"), by Livia Parisi and Lucilla Castellano, that narrates the experience of the two housing occupations. The documentary has been used as documentary evidence during the judicial process against CPLC members.

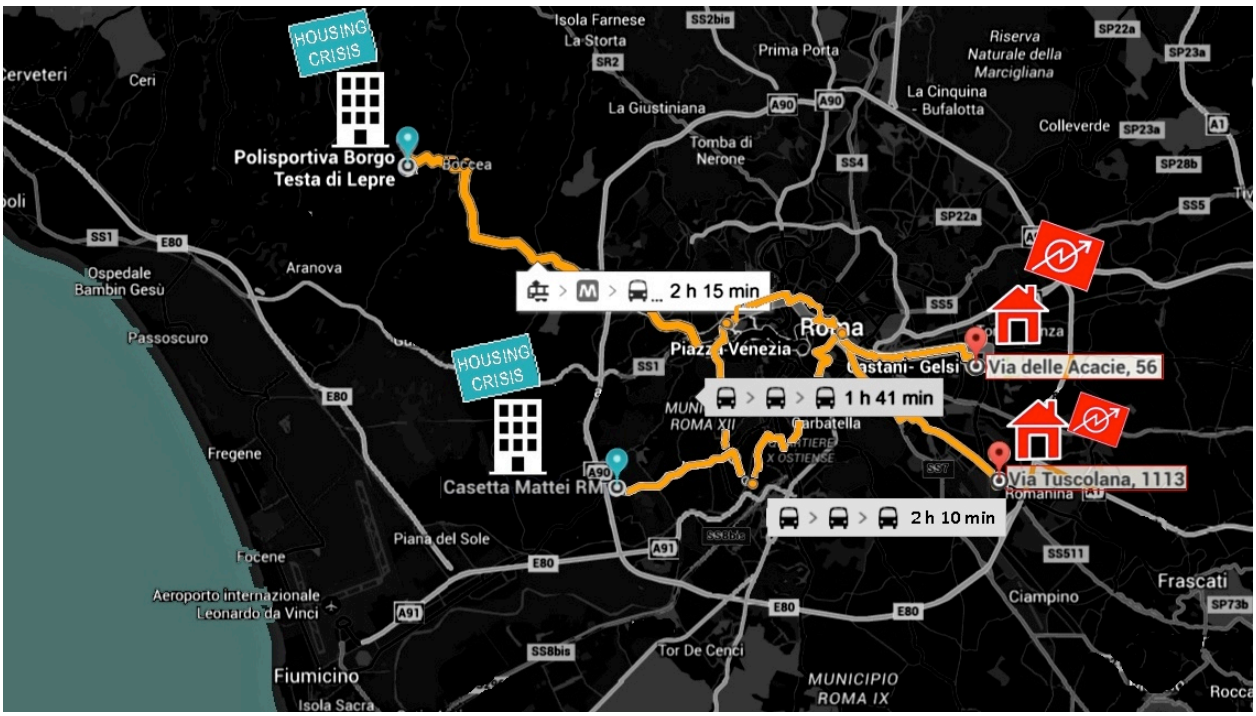
In June, the self-managed Angelo Mai Altrove socio-cultural centre is returned to the Probasis non-profit organization for lack of evidence justifying its eviction and closure (accusation of being an illegal accommodation facility). The tavern, however, remains under seal until the end of the judicial process (still in progress) and it is strictly prohibited administration of alcohol, beverages and foods in the absence of specific permissions.

An open assembly is held the day of the re-opening of the socio-cultural space. It has seen the participation of people involved in the artists' collective, Blue Motion, some people involved in the CPLC, some local politician, such as two City councillors (Gianluca Peciola, SEL and Erica Battaglia, PD) and the former Mayor of the V Borough of Rome (Alessandro Medici), supporters of the instances claimed by the movement, some artists involved in the artistic program of the self-managed space, some supporters. Serena, from CPLC, refers about the situation of the homeless families evicted in April.

«On April 23rd, all families residing both in the via delle Acacie and the Hertz school, have been moved to different places of the city, far away from any socially consolidated situation. A large part of them has been housed in the *Testa di Lepre*, which is an area on the *Boccea* towards *La Storta* (extreme western suburbs), a deserted area where there is absolutely nothing. The first bus stop is two kilometres away and it is a line that leads only to an exchange area from which to take other buses then, finally, linking the proper city. Testa di Lepre, among the various which have been identified for the housing of families, is the farthest zone. Then there is a base in *Laurentina*, *Casetta Mattei* (periphery on the south of Rome).

They actually tried to put all the families in the most possible distant places compared to Centocelle or Anagnina where they stayed for years until the day of the eviction. This constituted a big problem, first of all for children who could no longer attend school, except in the cases of some parent who gets up at 4:30 am to be able to bring their children to school and then stay in Centocelle all day waiting in the street the end of the school day. This shows that the main aim was to disrupt the social fabric that, by great difficulty, we managed to build in five years. In fact, in the case of the Via delle Acacie occupation, which occurred in an area sensitive to these issues, as it has been historically Centocelle, there, the construction of social and neighbourly relations, networks and relationships was in fact a hard work and a great victory. But this victory was dismantled by this eviction. Now, on June 30th expires the agreement with the City of Rome, which provides accommodations for these families in residence for housing crisis, into foster care to cooperatives. A big chunk of the management of the housing crisis is administered by the Arciconfraternita that we all know. Currently we do not know if the 30th of June this emergency status will be renewed and these people will stay there where they were located, for the moment, or whether the situation will change. Among other things, in this laps of time, the City has checked on people who are housed in these apartments and what is emerging is a picture of considerable ferocity. In this context were contested some highest income to people unemployed or laid off, tiny size farmlands may have been the reason for denying housing assistance, or are disputed the not formalization of the residency. In short, there is a tendency to reduce to a minimum the lodging assistance to the occupants evicted. The thing that stands out, the most serious, is that this committee presented as a conspiracy, as a group of criminals, for these families remains the only viable interlocutor because, to date, was not found another real interlocutor for them. So, for now, these families who have been described as "victims" of this Committee are addressing to the same because they do not found in the institutions an interlocutor who can listen and meet their demands. Now with the lawyer we are going to oppose to a series of measures that deny the lodging assistance to these families. The expiring date in June is giving us a lot of concern. Some have already been expelled from the hotels, some we do not know yet what will be their fate, we have older people in the campgrounds where they cannot stay for long. It would be interesting to understand what this housing crisis has costed in economic terms and also in terms of commitment of public resources».[253]

[253] Translation made by the author.



Maps of the location of the former occupation and the relocation of the homeless families in temporary lodging assistance residences located on the very outskirts of the city – the maps show the distances between the areas where the families lived for several years and the new locations (via public transports)

In December, emerges the scandal "Mafia capitale". The Mafia Capitale is the name given to a scandal involving the government of the city of Rome, in which alleged crime syndicates misappropriated money destined for city services. A police investigation by Rome's chief prosecutor Giuseppe Pignatone, revealed a network of corrupt relationships between some politicians and criminals (Mafia) in the Italian capital.[254] In the scandal are involved cooperatives that manage homeless' and immigrants' shelters for the City of Rome (since August 2015, the City of Rome is put under receivership because of the scandal of "Mafia capitale"). Among them, the same *Arciconfraternita del SS.Sacramento*, and the cooperative *"29 Giugno"* and *"la Cascina"* which are all involved in the management of the hotel and temporary lodging residences were the families evicted are hosted. Inquiries indicate a real "business of the poor" managed by officially licit, but actually illicit actors.

In January 2015, the temporary arrangement for the accommodation of homeless families has expired and, since then, the families live in a precarious housing situation and do not know yet what will happen to them. During those months, the CPLC organized numerous events before alderman for housing policy to seek immediate solutions for families. The case Mafia Capitale caused the replacement of several councillors, involved in the investigation, among them the councillor for housing policies. Today, the situation is unsolved and some families have been pushed out of their provisory accommodation and are experiencing again homelessness.

[254] Mackenzie, J. (December 4th, 2014), *"Rome mayor orders review of contracts amid graft scandal"*, Reuters; Mackenzie, J. (June 4th, 2015), *"Italy hit by new corruption scandal over migrant centres"*, Reuters, Uk.reuters.com; Squires, N. *"'Mafia capital': Rome hit by mobster scandal"*, Telegraph.

FINAL REMARKS

A. Berlin's case study: Remarks

A.1 Tactics of conflict and conflictive dimension: motivation, public evidence, latent or obvious dimension of conflict between subjects and the conflictive spatial and discursive order

In the case of Berlin, the tactics of the illegal occupation of abandoned spaces has been used in recent decades, in specific stages of the implementation of urban renewal strategies (Holm, Kuhn, 2011). The historic complex of Bethanien was repeatedly the scene of these performative practices of dissent mainly related to the "protection" of this "object", which has become a symbolic public space for the district. The first opposzione was against its demolition and the second against its privatization.
The basic conflict is born of citizen opposition to the strategies that would have caused their exclusion from the collective enjoyment of an important space for the neighborhood. From the point of view of the institutions, however, occurred at various stages, the question of which functions could accommodate this large historic complex, given the changed conditions spatial-political and economic. Both issues are therefore related both to management strategies of public assets that the functional reorganization of large decommissioned, disused public spaces. Over time the complex of Bethanien has hosted changing functions (hospital, centre of cultural production, work office, daycare, housing project, community centre, etc.) and the modalities of its management went transforming over time (subsidized private, property municipal, co-management with citizens' associations; self-management): for each of these steps has emerged a conflict of visions of what should be the "concept" on which define and orient the future of this space. In fact, the occupation of Bethanien took place in the early 1970s, through the organization of a major campaign of protest against its planned demolition, to which took part groups of local residents, citizens' associations and social movements such as the student movement.

In the early 1970s, the occupation was chosen as radical strategy and political act aimed contextually to stop the replacement of the historic building with the nth monotonous and alienating blocks of public housing in Kreuzberg. At the broadest level, the dispute generated on this contested space, served to unmask the latent social conflict caused by the authoritarian implementation of strategies of urban regeneration based on destruction/reconstruction methods, which in those years were deeply upsetting the social, economic and urban ffabric of the district. **Occupation, in this situation, performs the task of subversion of the dimension of sovereignty exercised by local governments and the technical departments of planning (understood as the only actors entitled to define the strategies of urban development)** and to highlight the presence of infromali actors and conflictive instances that came from below (for long mantained outside of the public debate). The campaign "Kampf um Bethanien" and, the following year, the occupation of the building adjacent to the Bethanien (Rachhaus project), **unhinge the balance of positions of power and force the introduction of a new actor in the debate over urban transformation strategies and definition of the urban agenda: the active citizenship**.

This new actor, in fact, in these two experiences, appears **able to organize, implement and manage new uses of abandoned spaces, present in large numbers in the city** (persistent element in the history of Berlin from the second world war), through forms of self-empowerment, participation and radical experimentation of self-government. In addition, these experiences from below show able to experience and propose site-specific solutions to the problems of development of the capitalist city: **the answer to the housing needs, the collective construction of an autonomous urban ideology and of new urban identities**. It is based on the development of a sense of belonging and the idea of community, in opposition to political decisions that, since 19070s, increasingly led to the progressive reduction of "community spaces" favouring, therefore, the withdrawal of daily life into the private and the atomization of society. These proposed solutions from the bottom are able to **prevent both the displacement of the weakest sectors of the population, both the complete loss of the city identity** and autenticity (resisting the destruction of the Luisenstad, the XIX century city) and the destruction of **the functional mix**, the real engine of urban vitality (Jacobs, 1961), through forms of self-recovery that define flexible uses and articulated city spaces (Heyden, 2008). These experiences create alternative "possible worlds" in opposition to the ideology of the hegemonic urban modern city based on the requirements of the "Charter of Athens". Many of the experiences of radical reappropriation, claimed as strategies for cautious urban renewal and forms of self-help housing, were soon regularized.

The proposed strategy was then introjected in local strategies with the introduction of *Bauliche Selbsthilfe program* (self-help programmes), that transformed the occupants in cooperatives which accessed to government incentives for self-recovery of abandoned buildings (Heyden, 2008; Vasudevan, 2011), and the definition of caution urban renewal strategies. **However, it is correct to emphasize that the application of strategies of cautious and participated urban renewal and forms of self-help housing, was quantitatively very limited compared to more traditional forms of urban transformation**, based on land consumption or demolition and reconstruction. The Rauchhaus Hausprojekt was also legalized just one year after its illegal occupation, through a form of lease that, as mentioned above, identified the young occupants as a cooperative of people who would have taken on the "self-management" of

the abandoned public property (note: in the years 1970s there was no real interest or strategy for the use of these public properties located in proximity of the Wall). In these cases, the regularization of these radical spaces had two positive outcomes: on the one side, the pacification of radical instances and conflicts; on the other, the management of otherwise abandoned assets in degraded areas of the city. These experiences, in fact, have not produced a real subversion of the hegemonic system, as were aimed, but formed of micro-fractures in it. If the implementation of these alternative strategies of urban regeneration and management from the bottom of the heritage of the abandoned city has not been quantitatively significant, it is due, I argue, to the fact that their integration in mainstream strategies or methods of rescaling, it was never really discussed and investigated. Perhaps this is because these practices on micro-scale, represented an harsh criticism of the capitalist bergeois democratic state and proposed the experimentation of models radically different to that. Since planning is an institutional instrument imposing a sistem of rules on the use of space, and therefore the expression of the same institutions, the difficulty of negotiating strategies that deny their legitimacy, questions the legitimacy of the role of the urban planner himself. In conclusion, the strategies of formalization of these illegal practices, through the identification of contractual forms for cooperatives and the creation of subsidy programs for the self-recovery, were often understood by the radical movements more as forms of "pacification" then as forms of real recognition or hybridisation between traditional models of action and innovative proposals for autonomous action from below (Heyden, 2008).

Despite the changing paradigms based on a more incluside approach to communication of plan processes, the definition of the urban agenda and the introduction of forms of interaction between the institutions and informal actors (citizen participation, deliberative practices, instruments of direct democracy, community based services), it is interesting to note that in the case of the second occupation of the property in 2005, the same combination of instances and reasons which had led to the occupation of Bethaniene and Martha-Maria Haus in the early 1970s, were present. The occupations of the two buildings that took place in 1970 and 1971 were due, in the case of Bethanien to the challenge the authoritative top-down strategies and, in the case of Rachhaus to the satisfaction of a need for afforbable housing, and the construction of spaces freed from the dominant culture. The illegal occupation of the south of Bethanien, carried out by the former inhabitants of the house project Yorck 59, is linked to the demands for the fulfillment of a housing need. For the group Drussbar is linked to the desire to create a new autonomous space for the counter-cultural scene in Berlin. The local residents, have joined these instances, and intended to temporary illegal occupation as an instrument form of political bargaining, in order to face the revision of the privatization plan of the property (intended as top-down political-economic strategy). Again, the reasons listed above are the official reason that led to the occupation of Bethanien, but, more generally, this act can be understood as the result of a objection general strategies of urban neoliberal adopted in Berlin in the last two decades. Today, these are resulting in the neighborhood in: the transformation of the social fabric, due to the uncontrolled icrease in rental market (including the social and public housing) and, as a consequence, increasing evictions for rental arreas and gentrification cum displacement phenomena; the transformation of the economic fabric, and the relocation of many businesses activities (especially small shops and workshops); the transformation of the urban fabric, through the implementation of mega projects (as the one for the regeneration of the Spree waterfront, Mediaspree project); and finally, the loss of local authenticity given by the natural coexistence of these factors, which is particularly felt in this area, given the strategies of wholesale instrumentalization of culture and 'creativity' on contemporary processes of capitalist urbanization (Harvey, 2001).
In fact, even if the occupation of 2005 this radical reappropriation serves to unmask and bring in a frontstage position the conflict: the privatization of the property (initially known only to a few neighbors), and the inherent conflict on the growing need to identify strategies for rent control and affordable housing provision in the central districts.

Moreover, the radical action of squatting, generally deemed unacceptable by the local authorities and completely eradicated from the late 1990s through the massive use of repressive instruments, in this case, it is justified by the general climate of political protest that starts to take root in the city from this experience on and that marks and highlights the beginning of a new crisis of the city. In this experience, for the first time, citizens have recourse to the use of the institutional instrument for the petition of a local referendum (instrument of direct democracy) that elevates them to the level of decision makers (again) subverting formal positions of power. Despite on discursive level, the occupation is the main element that would have justified the opposition of the institutions to a negotiation with radical claims from the bottom, **the support of the population to this practice** (seen as the only means capable of allowing access of citizens to a public space closed and abandoned and to highlight the conflictual dimension generated on the issue of privatization), **it has meant that in this case the interpretative framework of the "legitimacy" prevailed over that of the "illegality" and made room for the negotiation of a shared vision**. In this interaction between institutions and informal actors, both had to recalibrate their demands and their interpretative frameworks in order to undermine their own point of view and produce a more comprehensive vision on the issue, questioning their own implicit assumptions, allowing the opposite and conflict point of view to establish itself as "possible world" and disclosing so, the “agonistic” potential that lies in the comparison between conflicting positions. **When informal actors** (formed by activists of the radical scene of Berlin, citizens, experts in various fields) **have chosen to analyse the problem that local institutions were facing**, namely the management of a major public asset with limited resources, it has actually **undermined their implicit assumptions** (negative will of the public sector to impoverish the citizens and favour large interests), then democratically **highlighting what unites them for a first argument about which is the origin of discord and which are the possible solutions**. On the other hand, both institutions, both part of citizenship have undermined their

understanding of the act of occupation, often intended as fundamentally illegitimate act because illegal, in a new framework that left open the debate over some controversial questions: may this practice be understood as legitimate since it addresses some unresolved issues? as it allows to give visibility to a widespread contestation of the policies implemented over the city? finally, as it allows to propose an alternative to the privatization of a public good? Thanks to all these elements, the various actors involved have shown the capacity to previously compare (by will or by force) to the phenomenon and to themselves putting at the centre of the confrontation the dynamics of interculturalism (what Mikhail Bakhtin called "exotopia").

Nevertheless, the discussion from all shared was only at the level of the technical evaluation of "cost-benefit" and ways of management, as the at the systemic level-ideological, concerns the negotiation of ethical frameworks of values hardly shared. Space for negotiation and discussion on the legitimacy of counter-hegemonic practices, need, therefore, first a long process based on the ability to provide all those involved in the conflict with knowledge of ethical and value-minority frameworks, so that the dominant ones not heavily influence the debate on what can be defined as "right" or "wrong." On the other hand, the evaluation "cost-benefit" was the one that ultimately permitted to informal actors to demonstrate that it was necessary to consider the proposed solution from the bottom while the more radical arguments, though discussed, have not found a real recognition to institutional level. Nevertheless, the negotiation process was considered successful according to all interested parties (interviewees). This allowed the identification of a new form of subsidiarity between the institutional subject and the citizens for the management of public assets and recognized a form of self-management and self-government of the citizens within this collective experience.

Yet, the more "subversive" requests have not really been addressed in negotiations; among them: a complete autonomy of the association in the management of the space (which instead has been entrusted to a company of urban development that acts as an intermediary between the institutions and the association of citizens); autonomy from the rules imposed on the space (regulations for the safety of the space); the right to (re)appropriate abandoned spaces; the right to produce from the bottom alternative strategies of production of space, not linked to the concept of commodification and the utilitarian vision of the spaces of the city. According to one of the occupants/tenants/activist of NewYorck im Berhanien: «This south wing is not a place for neoliberal mechanisms. Of course this place is not 100% autonomous and of course through this deal with us the administration can have advantages (cut of costs related to public properties management) but I think **it has more to do with control**. First of all, we have to pay a rent to the "GSE" (*Gesellschaft für Stadt, Entwicklung gemeinnützige GmbH* – Urban Development no-profit company) this company that administrate besides us the building, and then there is a sort of control that is produced by State regulations like: provision of a legal fire system, provisions for the renewal operations such as how to do the doors, etc. **It would be completely self-organized if we could decide on our own and if we would not have to depend on State regulations**. For example the Rote Flora, which is an occupied space in Hamburg, they are not regularized and they have more autonomy then we have. They also have to collect moneys to fix things but they are not so much under control because they don't have any official deal, they don't have any contract. So, in a way, this could be considered an advantage but I think that **the situation that we have was the best compromise we could make**. So I think it's ok. Ok in a way that, of course the contract is not forever, the contract is 15 years and there are ways to make it longer but **it is not forever and this is still a control of the State**. If the political situation would change in the future in Kreuzberg they could legally evict out." (NewYorck in Bethanien tenants' personal interview). This, we could say, however, is natural on a comparison between strongly conflictive positions: «this represents frames that are typically held to be incommensurable because of controversial ontological and epistemological approaches.» (Bond, 2011).

Summarizing: the relevance of this case study comes from its articulation in different Berlin historical phases characterized by the use of different paradigm and strategies of urban regeneration. It shows how the **emergence of radical practices of space appropriation** and the articulation of the experimentation of bottom-up urban practices, **have been strongly influenced by the implementation of not-negotiated urban renewal strategies**, while, in turn, these practices have been able to influence the diversification, shift, transformation of top-down strategies, initially based on international approaches, pushing for the identification of more site specific strategies capable to address local problems. Moreover it shows how the «**condition of over determination of the points of antagonism and the diverse struggles is a repressive political context**» (in this case the implementation of authoritarian, top-down, non-negotiated urban development strategies) that ultimately **produce a "mechanism of unification" of single isolated struggles in a more general struggle against what is identified as "the system"** (Laclau, Mouffe, 1985, 11). It follows the thesis presented by Andrej Holm and Armin Kuhn (2011) on how in Berlin the «dynamics of squatter movements (have been) directly connected to strategies of urban renewal in that movement conjunctures occur when urban regimes are in crisis». In fact, this contention between insurgents/radical practices of reappropriation and institutional strategies of space production, played over the field of the "determination" of "indeterminate territories" of the city, strongly emerges in times characterized by systemic crisis, or power vacuum. In those periods, the "production of the sensible" (Rancière, 2004) has more possibilities to be struggled or negotiated since the "hegemonic" dimension of the formal planning strategies, intended as the temporary and precarious articulation of contingent practices through which a given order is created and the sense of a social institution is fixed, is unmasked; in this specific translational moment the particular structure of power relations can be challenged (Mouffe, 2012). The staging of dissent in these periods of rework of institutional framework results fundamental for the democratically trigger a co-evolutive generative

dimension, since, according to Rancière: «a dissensus is not a quarrel over personal interests or opinions. It is a political process that resists juridical litigation and creates a fissure in the sensible order by confronting the established framework of perception, thought, and action with the "inadmissible", i.e. a political subject.» (Rancière, 2004, 85).

A.2 Conflictive interpretative frameworks and conflicts over strategies

As mentioned above, the interpretative frameworks that have been produced over this conflict can be described as more or less radical, conflictive and commensurable. The citizens were criticizing the local government for taking decisions on the future of such an important space for the district without giving them the right to participate to the decision-making process and without proposing participatory processes for the development of shared visions. This has been suspiciously seen as linked to a corrupted local administration favouring local and extra-local elites interests. The squatters shared this interpretative framework. In addition to that, they saw the new urban ideology imposed by hegemonic strategies of space production as the result of the same undemocratic neoliberal capitalist bourgeois system that they aim to question, challenge and eventually subvert. The administration and technics were sceptical about the possibility of implementing real forms of citizens empowerment and co-production of public space, considering citizens' associations a non-reliable partner (both in managerial and economic terms); local administration criticized the choice of proceeding with an illegal occupation of space and also was hesitant about the possibility of referring to a collective subject within a system of governance, to whom entrust the public space.

	Local Authority	**Initiative Future Bethanien**	**Squatters**
Privatization & Valorisation	Imposed from National and supranational levels of governance	Imposed from National and supranational levels of governance	Imposed from National and supranational levels of governance
	Legitimate since underutilized public asset	Lack in legitimacy since it resulted a symbolic public space / opposition to speculative strategies affecting the city	Lack in legitimacy since it resulted a symbolic public space / opposition to speculative strategies affecting the city
	Necessary for the lack in economic resource	Unacceptable for gradual reduction/substitution of public spaces/services in the area	Unacceptable for the lack of affordable spaces in the city
			Unacceptable financialization of the urban space
Institutional reclaiming processes from the bottom	Legitimate	Legitimate	Legitimate
	but consider how to avoid to stop the privatization of the public property and find a consensual solution with the neighbourhood committee for the future use of the property	since it is a symbolic public space, reclaimed by citizens in the early 1970s Strategy to oppose privatization and take actively part in decision making processes and management	since **institutional** and conventional methods can **rise the level of legitimacy** and **recognition**, of radical forms of contestation over space, but it has not to be limited to the needs and claims of the neighbourhood
	To individuate alternative strategies for the management of vacant spaces	To individuate alternative strategies for the management of vacant spaces	To individuate alternative strategies for the management of vacant spaces
Non-authorized Occupation	Illegitimate, Since illegal and addressing a valuable property	Legitimate	Legitimate
		since both find radical and immediate solutions to the local problem (access to Bethenien south wing spaces) and producing a wider public awareness over conflictive issues (oppose privatization)	since the implementation of forms of "radical urbanism", like squatting, permits to make reclaim autonomy and propose and experiment alternative solutions for affordable housing, spaces for political debate, cultural

			production and abandoned spaces renovation and management
	Legitimate as a strategy to make visible an invisible issue: political claims	Legitimate as a strategy to make visible the "invisible" political claims: conflictive dimension against not-negotiated strategies	Legitimate since it made visible invisible/unheard political claims: conflictive dimension against not-negotiated strategies
		Legitimate for some since permitted to "freed" the enclosed space and produce citizen empowerment	Legitimate since reactivate and "freed" the enclosed public space and produce people empowerment
			Legitimate since the public actor has failed in its burdens and tasks addressing urban inequalities through urban public policies
Negotiation between institutions and local citizens' group	Necessary to legitimate the democratic dimension of public authority decision-making process	Necessary to legitimate the democratic dimension of public authority decision-making process	Necessary to legitimate the democratic dimension of public authority decision-making process
	Legitimate since it has been claimed through institutional democratic practice of dissent	Legitimate since it has been claimed through institutional democratic practice of dissent	Legitimate since it has been claimed through institutional democratic practice of dissent
		Necessary since the un-democratic decision making process that have been adopted for valorisation and privatization of the public property	Necessary since the un-democratic decision making process that have been adopted for valorisation and privatization of the public property
Negotiation between institutions and squatters	Necessary to pacify / routinize the conflict	Necessary to routinize the conflict	Necessary to routinize a conflict and obtain the right to stay put
		Legitimate to discuss potential allocation of the public property	Legitimate to discuss potential allocation of the public property
			Legitimate to define the democratic right of autonomous/alternative uses of space to exist within the city

Shared interpretative frameworks:

- Imposed from National and supranational levels of governance
- Institutional reclaiming processes from the bottom can be considered legitimate
- Reclaiming processes from the bottom are legitimate as an alternative strategies of vacant spaces management
- Lack in legitimation in privatization strategies over symbolic public spaces
- Non-authorized occupation results legitimate as a strategy to make visible an invisible political claims
- Necessity to legitimate public decision making processes through negotiation with recognized citizens' groups
- Necessity to negotiate conflicts that have been claimed through institutional democratic practice of dissent
- Necessity a negotiation between the institutions and squatters to routinize the conflict

A.3 Actors involved in the conflict

Actors involved in the Yorck 59 house project and in the Bethanien's squatting action, use the practice of (re)appropriation of abandoned spaces as a political statement, rooted in political beliefs and ideas, and the vast majority **belong to or affiliate with, in one way or another, the new social movements of the radical, anti-authoritarian left, to the movement of the *Autonomen*, or to anarchist or anti-imperialist group**s which all emerged with the beginning of the 70's. Especially in the early seventies, at the beginning of squatting in West-Berlin, a very high number of working class youth and self-empowered youth, joined and participated in those first squats (such as the Rachhaus or the to the "Bethanine Kampf" initiative).

Nowadays that all squats are legalized (ex) squatters/**people from the radical scene are mostly white, German, middle class** and therefore privileged social groups. New squatting actions see today the participation of marginalized and discriminated minorities like migrant persons, refugees, homeless people that are politically and organizationally supported by the network of alternative spaces. The general actors involved in the conflict over Bethanien are mainly local residents, both in the 1970s and in the 2005. The Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg population (268.831 people on an area of 20.16 Km^2) presents large non-German ethnic groups such as: Turks, Arabs, African, Kurds, Chinese. The active citizenship in the neighbourhood is historically characterized mostly by Germans and Turkish families that represents the largest ethnic minority group in the city (a population of around 200.000) and in Kreuzberg constitute the 10,6% of the population, historically concentrated in the Kreuzberg SO36 area, due to its affordable housing and its peculiar cultural milieu. The **Turkish population** resulted active in different moment of the urban development of the city: firstly to claim **the "right to stay put"** both during the period of big scale demolition and reconstruction and during the recent period of strong gentrification phenomenon interesting the area (they also run many economic activities in the neighbourhood like little retail), like the big campaign over the contested area of Kottbusser Tor since the rules for the protection of the weaker social classes in the areas have been cancelled, and because **concerned about the future of their children in areas characterized by social and spatial degradation**.

In fact, when the conflict over Bethanien started in 2005, a group of Turkish mother participated to the initiatives of the campaign claiming the localization of activities for their children in the Bethanien complex, due to the fact that they were often involved in illegal activities in the area. Other neighbours involved in the local campaigns are both local **vulnerable sectors of the population** such as retired people, or young precarious, that are **affected by the strategies provoking the increase in rental prices** (like the groups involved in "Kotti & CO." or "Wir Bleiben Alle!" local initiatives) and the **increasing insufficiency in welfare provisions** and groups of **active citizens', middle class high education actors**, more interested in state-driven mechanisms to advance their causes that refers to an increasing presence of forms of "public space" activism, regularly and vigorously deputed **against civic policies, projects, and regulatory measures, that it feels are detrimental to the city's public space**. Old and new inhabitants constitute this last group made of «well-educated middle-class creative individuals such as design and cultural professionals, as well as artists and students, i.e. individuals who are today, following the works of Richard Florida (2002), labelled members of the so-called 'creative class'» (Novy, Colomb, 2013).

This **"well-educated middle-class individuals" is the one that have permitted to structure the campaign for the petition and develop a comprehensive cost benefit analysis presented in the dossier "New concept for Bethanien"**. Both of these **tools have been very important in the obtainment first of a space for negotiation and second reclaiming a position of self-empowerment, overcoming the power position of formal actors, in the decision-making process**. It is worth to point out, however, that many of the neighbours involved in the campaign "Bethanien fur Alle", started in 2005, against the privatization of Bethanien and for a participated definition of its future usages, have progressively abandoned the struggle, and today few of them are involved in the projects hosted in the complex. For example, many of the Turkish families involved initially in the campaign "Bethanien fur alle", do not participate in the cultural activities of Kunstlerhaus nor in the activities offered by the "public space" NewYorck, the first because is perceived as a kind of "exclusive" space, the second because they don't feel confortable in an environment that is clearly linked symbolically and practically to the political and cultural scene of alternative Berlin – they often express prejudice against squatters. The more structured groups, such as the people involved in the Berlin counter-cultural scene, or in city movements are, instead, the same participating, today, in the activities proposed within this space. The **people involved in the counter-cultural scene** are mostly middle class well educated individuals too, but these people do not have well-paid jobs as in the other case, they are mostly employed in social jobs or are unemployed.

Their role as actors is equally **important**, if not even more, not only **for having put into action the occupation of the space, which served as the basis for meetings and stage for organizing the Initiative Future Bethanien (IZB), but also for helping to define the autonomous organization and management of space**, based on their previous experiences. Moreover, being part of a large network their city, they have relied, for the success of the initiative, on the help and support of a large number of other people and other spaces belonging to the radical left scene in Berlin.

A.4 Negotiation process

«Since we started gathering signs for the referendum, the process was well covered by the media and the local institutions were then interested to get into a negotiation with us. They wanted to put the process away from the people and their unregulated meetings open to everybody. They wanted to put the process under their administrative control. So, following the institutional methods, they were inviting one or two person from each group (institution), including the squatters and the neighbourhood organization, to the negotiation process. They were monthly meetings where you had the mayor and the main actors participating, (like one person from each interest group and one or two main people from the institutions). We never accepted it. We said: "the real process is with as many possible as can we find". So, we will come with a bunch of people, because we cannot speak for people when they can express directly their own voice.» (Simone interview).

The materialisation of a conflict dimension caused by the dissent against the predictions of the local administration (the district of Kreuzberg-Freidrichshain) has actually pushed the administration to negotiate a new shared solution with citizens who were opposed to the proposed one. The district had planned the relocation of public services for the citizenry and for the neighbourhood (such as the job office, the library, the nursery, the school of music, etc.) and the privatization of the Bethanien, a public building of historical and architectural relevance. The privatization of the entire complex for budgetary reasons was also connected to a forecast of development of the complex and the activities within it inherent to the artistic production, responding to the political development of the city based on the idea of the creative city. Moreover, the theme of the "district artistic vocation," which tied for year forecasts of the development of the district, was seen by its inhabitants, more and more forced to move because of rising house prices, as one of the causes of gentrification.

The campaign to collect signatures for a referendum (institutional form of dissent) that would prevent the privatization of the complex, and the occupation of part of the building, has led to a rescaling of the conflict in which a wider part of the population was informed and involved in the conflict. The adoption of this institutional strategy intertwined with the radical practice of squatting permitted both to recalibrate the positions of power and to legitimate the conflict: in such a way, that part of insurgent citizenship that had been the cause of this mobilization of dissent, had the power to dictate certain conditions for negotiation.

The achievement of a round table, as a place of confrontation between the various stakeholders, and the inclusion in the debate of all concerned citizens to express their opinion on the matter, led to a higher level of participation (Arnstein, 1969), which was not limited to a mere information on the plans, partial discussion of the project or pacification, but rather has created the conditions for a horizontal discussion between the ideas, concerns, problems and opportunities faced by each of the parties concerned. This has meant a "agonist" (rather than antagonist) approach that has allowed all the actors in the negotiation to hear the arguments of the other party and to develop a joint solution, which at the same time accept the presence of different values, approaches, goals, and is able to rework them on the basis of a democratic dialogue. This resulted in the development of new hybridized, negotiated interpretative framework for the analysis of the problem and the individuation of new joint solutions. In the case of Bethanien, we cannot define the process as a form of consensus building but of negotiation and creative methods of resolution of the conflict.

The negotiation has gone from a confrontation based on the idea of "multiculturalism" (in this case not intended as a comparison between cultures but between different ideas, values, approaches) to a new one based on the idea of "interculturalism", which enables to overcome the idea of "otherness" to get to an idea of "we", while accepting all the complexity that word means ("we inhabitants of Berlin Kreuzberg are politicians, active citizens, squatters, refugees, tourists, artists, students, etc.").

A.5 Participative dimension: non-participation, tokenism or real citizen empowerment? Interaction between institutional and informal actors: deliberative practices, practices of urban democracy, agonistic pluralism

Despite the presence of numerous tools for the information and communication over the planning processes (http://www.stadtentwicklung.berlin.de/wir_ueber_uns/fokus/partizipation/de/partizipation_senstadtum.shtml), urban conflicts over big urban projects and planning policies and practices are increasing. It depends from multiple reasons. Firstly, the actual tools proposed by the public administration are often accused to don't be able to produce real "citizen empowerment" but instead to belong to the category of tokenism (Arnstein, 1969), being able to formally inform the citizens of top-down decisions (and convince them of the positive effect of these decisions), or to involve them in irrelevant project details while excluding them from the collective development of an urban ideology (Marcuse, 1998). Secondly, the absence of spaces of democratic negotiation over the general urban ideologies imposed over strategies of urban transformation. It produced over the time the increasing disenfranchisement of the population from the dominant paradigm of urban development connected with the neoliberal hegemonic system affecting all the levels of social life and producing the increasing marketization of the city and its spaces, due to the growth-oriented and gentrification-

friendly approach to urban development, are affecting a wide sector of the low income middle class. Thirdly, the shrinking of the public space where to claim the dissent is producing a diffuse sense of lack in space of democracy, for debating and negotiating different and alternative vision for the maintenance, management, production and development of collective space and resources. These "anti-growth" groups and the ones that invoke a "city for people not for profit", propose alternatives that radically oppose the dominant system and for this they are hardly commensurable in a confrontation between conflicting positions (Bond, 2011).
In the case analysed, the opposition to the privatization of a public asset (in the framework of the shrinking of public domain and neoliberal restructuring), connected to local conflictive instances against big transformation of the area (such as the Media Spree mega project, or the thousand of permits for the construction of new expensive housing that provided by the City Plan) that are attracting speculative interests and producing the uncontrolled increase of rent market, can be intended as fundamentally opposing a general trend of government of the city more than concerned with the specific issue of the Bethanien's privatization. In fact, in this context, the decision to privatize the asset was not negotiated with the citizens, as considered the only possible solution within the actual system of government of the city's resources. The citizens' instance was accepted as legitimate, following the collecting of signatures for the petition. Instead, the claim of the squatters has been considered illegitimate since was based on an illegal action. In both case, the adoption of the most common strategies of consensus building wouldn't be the right way to solve this complex conflict with the citizenry. The initial attempt to set a round table were few people were accepted to confront with pre-set topics, was rejected by the community.

A highly participated model was instead proposed by the bottom. The new element was however the practice of self-empowerment that the citizens enacted through: the radical (re)appropriation of the space; the self-organization of workshop for the development of alternative proposals; the production of a document individuating actually feasible alternative solutions to the privatization. Moreover, it could be correct to affirm, that the people involved in the first phase of meeting between squatters and the IZB groups, created the basis for a democratic debate over conflicting positions (sometimes highly conflicting, such as over the squatting and living issue), which did not impose the principle of "the dictatorship of the majority" but that would take into account all points of view, even the minoritarian ones. All these elements self-developed and experimented by the bottom, have strongly influenced the institutional participative process. In fact, it resulted in the one of the first confrontation between formal and informal actors that could be described as driven by an approach to "agonistic pluralism" (Mouffe, 2000). The citizen empowerment as been so reached thanks to the radical (re)appropriation of this right by the people. On the other side, despite some controversial topics have been discussed over during the public negotiation process, the most radical of them have never been really accepted or recognized. Among them the proposal for the recognition of a completely autonomous body, consisting in the Sudflugel association, for the self-management of the Bethanien south-wing and the squatter issue. In fact, even if they have been allowed to stay put in the Bethanien and granted with a 15 years lease, their official existence have never been recognized.

These issues have been incorporated in the urban general plan/ been included in urban agenda?
Yes, the issues raised from below have been included on the public agenda (such as non-privatization of public assets, the need to co-produce and co-manage public spaces, experimenting public space with various, temporary and alternative uses).

Have this practice been able to change planning previsions? If yes, how?
These practices have been able to change the predictions of planning thanks to the mobilization of active citizenship, the organization of an initiative to collect signatures that would allow a referendum on a local scale, the engagement of the media, which put the conflict in a *front stage* position, making it a public issue. In addition, the use of the instrument of local referendum has prompted the local government to open a round table to discuss together and negotiate the strategies for the future development of the area and to propos alternatives to the privatization of the public property.

Doing so, has been reached an higher level in representing common public interests?
Thanks to the negotiation process on the future use of the space, we can say that has been reached a higher level of representation of the collective interest because it ended up being nor a model imposed from above, which could seem detached from the local problems and needs, nor a decision from the bottom, which could represent particular interests. Given the large number of requests for its space and the many very different interpretive frameworks expressed on the controversial issues of the sale of the property and its illegal occupation, the comparison between all parties involved was not limited to a consensus building procedure but has explored ways confrontation more based on an "agonistic pluralism" approach, in which the framework for shared visions, is fully explored and defined collectively, by comparing positions radically opposed.

B. Rome's case study: Remarks

B.1 Tactics of conflict and conflictive dimension: motivation, public evidence, latent or obvious dimension of conflict between subjects and the conflictive spatial and discursive order

This story permits to introduce several important topics to discuss in order to understand formal and informal actors roles, responsibilities, claims and conditions in operating solutions. Starting from the reappropriation of a symbolically relevant and contested abandoned public space, we observed many conflicts articulating over the city (e.g. increasingly exclusive central district), over the Angelo Mai ex-boarding school (e.g. public institutional use or alternative autonomous space), and over conflictive interests, needs, claims, desires and visions projected over an empty public space.

The story of the case study starts in the city of Rome when a group of people involved in a struggle for housing movement and thirty five homeless families together with a group of young precarious artists decide to enact a radical action, to trespass on a vacant, abandoned public school property and illegally occupy it in order to find a shelter both for living and for building artistic projects. Staging the practice of dissent and the autonomous capacity of self-management and self-help these actors bring to the fore the issues related to the exercise of the "Right to the City". The story of the case study starts, at the same time, from an historical complex and public asset located in one of the oldest city centre districts *Rione Monti*, the Angelo Mai ex-boarding school, left vacant for about two decades and listed to be privatized by the State, in opposition to the will of the local residents. The local residents wish to regain possession of this place, given the lack of public spaces and services in the area.

On the one hand, an empty, abandoned, liminal public space, located in a central area of great interest to the market, "waiting" to be reclaimed and physically or symbolically re-signified. **On the other hand, people looking for a "case" where to give expression to their needs** (both fundamental and everyday socially constructed needs). **The frame of this story is a city that suffers from a chronic problem of lack in affordable housing and the side effect of housing crisis, a chronic lack of public spaces for socializing, culture and leisure, a constant centrifugal force which causes the expulsion of the weaker classes to the city outskirts.** This situation is the result of a weak political and planning management of the city, both in the inner city and in its expansion areas, strongly influenced by powerful (often latent) interests that encourage strategies (or their absence) producing uncontrolled growth of land and real estate market values, discursively justifying the huge profits for the private sector as benefiting the city government (new constructions tax burdens, job opportunities in the construction industry, local economy activation, etc.). Even if the investigation is interested in analysing the squatting, radical (re)appropriation dynamics it is worth mentioning that this story has been previously narrated from the perspective of the local neighbourhood committee (*comitato di quartiere*). It involved in the struggle against the privatization of the "Angelo Mai" ex-boarding school, engaging the confrontation with the formal actors and their strategies through the adoption of institutional tools such as the participation programs, a popular petition, institutionally recognized forms of collective protest (Cellamare, 2008; Mortola, Giangrande, 2011). This community, as the ones that we previously mentioned in the Berlin's case study, is experiencing the hard dynamics of gentrification and its side effects, and a new increasing tourists/night life centred urban economy provoking social fabric and spatial transformation.

The institutional apathy in addressing the issues connected to local problems, such as the increasing taxation over all the activities connected on living in the city centre; the progressive disappearance of little retails and craft local economy; the progressive loss of authenticity; the scarcely regulated tourists flux and their "space consumption" that profoundly affects the daily life of those living in central areas, **have increased the conflictive dimension over not-negotiated strategies of urban transformation and the claim for more participation.** In order to resist not negotiated transformations and to oppose/criticize the low inclusive institutional approach **the community, despite a social context of low participation, decided to turn into action** and reclaim direct participation in the decision making processes that concern their district, starting from its local issues.

The alternative/insurgent practices that have been experimented over the Angelo Mai space are interesting considering their **multi-scalar level of conflict**. On one side questioning supranational (i.e. "Stability Pact" imposed by EU), National (disposition of the "Securization" Law) as well as local policies (strategies of public real estate valorisation) and their un-negotiated strategies. On the other side questioning different level of public policies implemented by different level of local authorities both in the city centre and in the peripheries (i.e. Regional/Municipal level for housing strategies, Province level for education public policies, Municipal level for planning provisions, Borough level for management of participation). Last but not least, the multi-scalarity of conflict depends on the different subjects involved, coming from different social classes and groups and connected to different claims, targeting different forms of urban inequality. The missed confrontation with essential urban planning issues over the time has caused the increasing

dramatic social conditions worsened by the crisis. In the framework of neoliberal transformation of welfare system, **increasing retrenchment of public expenditure and austerity urban programs**, discursively justified by the increasing indebtedness of cities, the interest over strategies of co-production and co-management of resources are **producing an increasing relying over self-help, informal, pop-up strategies**.

In this same framework, the **unsolved urban issues and conflicts** (such us the crisis of welfare state, the crisis of the institutional role in imposing rules and control over the market, the difficulty in implementing public policies and managing public resources), **today, concern wider sectors of the population** and **differentiated social groups and classes struggling for the right to the city starting from different ways to understand the Lefebvre's concept** (Harvey, 2012). The immigrants and low income population suffering housing emergency; the young middle class citizens suffering the difficulties of self-determination in an increasingly privatized, expensive and exclusive urban space (also due to the economic crisis, reworking of welfare and public policies and the precarity of the job sector); the lower/middle class population pushed to the outskirt of the city by an uncontrolled rental market; the new wealthy inhabitants of the historical centre, such as leftist intellectual, opposing the paradigm of the necessity to privatize public assets and pushing for more quality public services and for implementation of policies for the control of space in their neighbourhoods; the high class investors that support the process of gradual transition of management services by the public entity to the private sector contributing to create a more "exclusive environment" to attract wealthy neighbours/customers. In the case study analysed, what strongly emerges is the conflictive confrontation between different visions, needs and interests from the local communities, the City administration and the squatters point of view, for the self-management and (re)appropriation of a vacant public space.

The case's interesting element, is **the temporal and spatial evolution of the conflict**: the radical issues articulated on the disputed vacant school, born in this space and then transform. Some of them dissolved (such as the local community claims) in the time-laps of the conflict some of them evolved and are struggled over in order to maintain alive the struggle for the access to fundamental/basic needs. "**We are those who believe that a space freed is the place of the invention of the possible" is written on the Manifesto claiming the legitimacy of the radical practices enacted in the case study's story.** In fact, the action of tacking over a space "freed" by rules, bans and bureaucracy entails the actual possibility to find, invent, spatially experiment renovated solutions/tactics. It permits to instantaneously, autonomously, self-producing solutions to local issues and use them both as a dispositive of resistance and as a pivotal element giving visibility to a pro-active capacity of proposing "actually existing alternatives". Moreover, this radical/insurgent practices, when "extirpated", show the capacity to rise again, taking over other empty "cases". The new space become then a "case" to fill with political and symbolic meanings, making visible invisible issues (e.g. housing crisis and homelessness), "inexistent" people (the powerless, the "having not"), places (urban wastelands) and fortifying the strength of their actions through the reproduction of radical squatting practices that produce self-empowerment (Vasudevan, 2011).

These bottom-up strategies of production of space, (re)claiming urban vacant spaces for public purposes, besides reveal the inherent political and imaginary potential of these "indeterminate" spaces, produce symbolic/political contents and overlap these contents with the reclaimed space itself. It defined alternative, autonomous geographies of attachment spatialized in counter-power spaces from where to push for the negotiation of "minor narratives" related to different understanding of the city's "evolution". In addition, the **ability of these collective radical actions to network with others radical spaces**, has allowed to empower those spaces that become part of an organization, with its own lawyers, and it is **capable to question and oppose the application of the rigid concept of legality and renegotiate it towards the idea of legitimacy**. This large network of counter-hegemonic practices, is involving a large number of people, spaces, organizations, supporters that is therefore difficult to vanquish. Moreover, it is capable to constitute himself as a actor that can be involved in negotiation processes with institutions within a governance system. **The networking with other "spaces of the exceptions created from the bottom" (Virno) enable the effective challenge of the "sovereignty" of formal institutions, which define un-negotiated boundaries of what formality, legality and "spaces of exception" means in a space of constructed rules (Roy, 2007).** This is including also the contended and un-negotiated management of city resources. In this case, the group of squatters moving from an abandoned space to another is capable to maintain the identification with the first experience (the name Angelo Mai) given the resonance (in terms of public opinion and participation) of the cultural activities produced in the first illegal occupation. It produced the effect to **associate a new symbolic meaning in the urban geography of the citizens' everyday life to the name "Angelo Mai" that no longer identifies the container but the content,** content that can be transferred elsewhere without losing its meaning.

This symbolic added value is acquired through the implementation of a radical, insurgent and illegal action that brings a strong visibility to the bottom-up practice. The "Right to inhabit" struggle of the housing movement and the "Right to appropriate" the city struggle of the artists' collective, **brought the conflict in a front-stage position, both forcing the formal actors to confront with their claims both producing support to the cause and its legitimization by a part of public opinion**. Today the name Angelo Mai represents two places in the city: the still abandoned ex-boarding school complex in the *Rione Monti*, and the new social centre called "Angelo Mai Altrove" (where *"Altrove"* means "Elswhere" because of the relocation) both located in the I Borough of Rome. Moreover, the case of Angelo Mai

housing project shows how the public strategy to remove the problem without confronting with the claims and issues raised through the implementation of insurgents (often emergency) practices of (re)appropriation of space, produces the only effect of fragmenting and radicalize these practices. Even if the homeless families are addressed by an institutional strategy for the temporary resolution of their housing crisis, the solution results capable to address only the problems of this specific group of people. **It do not open to the discussion of alternative strategies capable to put at the centre of the city's political agenda the housing crisis issue nor to work on subsidiarity solutions for the management of this chronic city's lack in affordable housing.**

Instead, the adopted approach of repression (through the forced eviction) and pacification (through the individuation of a temporary lodging solution) do not negotiated social conflicts that produces themselves re-emerging somewhere else in the city. As a matter of fact, the housing movement "Comitato Popolare di Lotta per la Casa", as other housing movements groups in the city, that have been accused by public authorities to be a "criminal association" remains today the only intermediate between the institutions and the homeless families who have turned to this group of activists to find a housing solution. Starting from this complex intertwining of issues, conflicts, and subjects involved it has been analysed the conflictive confrontation between different visions and of the top-down Vs bottom-up policies and practice that are implemented in this case. It create some elements of discussion for the understanding of what relationship has been established between these two parts, and especially by the planning and therefore public sector actors: a relationship of hegemonic / counter-hegemonic opposition? a relationship that tends to neutralization and normalization / co-optation of the practices proposed and enacted from below? or a relationship open to negotiation and interested in experimenting forms of hybridization of its policies and practices?

From the introduction to the historical and spatial context, describing the evolution of urban policies and programs that lead to the crisis of space in the city centre and the city's peripheries, we are able to identify many elements connected to the embeddedness of contextual conditions that are behind the emergence of specific conflicts and radical strategies. It is in this spatial and historical context that the issue over the complex called Angelo Mai raised for the first time to the headlines in 2002 because of its planned privatization and then again in the 2004 because of its occupation. The story of the conflicts articulated over this symbolic public space is strongly connected with the urban strategies (or the absence of them) that were implemented over the city centre and Monti district, and the peripheries (such as Centocelle where the conflict is displaced) mostly on the South-east sector of the city. The first resistance that raised in the 2000s, followed by the physical reappropriation of the Monti former boarding school Angelo Mai by the neighbours and networks of active citizens, influenced deeply the understanding of what the absence of urban renewal strategies based on public initiative and the budgetary reform pushing for public estate privatization were causing: the imposition of a non-negotiated urban ideology based on private property and the undisputed power of local elites. What emerged from this conflict was that the mechanism of city enhancement can go contrary to the eco-social well-being of the population and the development of positive values of ethical citizenship.

This unheard and unaddressed issues increasingly produced reasons for urban conflicts with the local inhabitants. The strategies implemented **during the '70s** based on a **strong public intervention on the city centre** (Piani di Recupero) and the **peripheries** (Piani di Zona) could attempt to **address the urban issues related to the actual lack in public spaces and goods**, thanks to the **economic support of national funding**. The strategies implemented during the 1970s, produced on the periphery the formalization of the city through "titling" policies and the transformation of "dead capital" - properties and economic activities placed on informal markets - in "living capital" - assets that, having accessed formality, could in turn generate capital (De Soto, 2000) –, and on the city centre, the revitalization of its neighbourhoods. Despite that, they were not able "to heal the urban fracture" between the centre and the peripheries that increased over the decades and today is visible in the strong spatial exclusion that affects many city's inhabitants. Since the **1980s on**, the decrease of national support to local public policies, together with inherited Community Party's approach in addressing the housing precarity through the "titling" of informal self-built housing (Coppola, 2013), produced **a strong turn toward privatization of institutional tasks, self-help strategies for housing and implications of an increasingly influential "homeownership ideology"** (Ronald, 2008). On the other side, the increasing **phenomenon of radical solutions addressing housing crisis and the absence of public spaces for gathering,** was just **slightly took into consideration by local authorities.** The only two tools developed, starting from the mid 1990s, for the regularization of Social centres and housing occupations, were deployed more as a way to impose strategies of "control over space" and pacification of social conflicts than as real self-help strategies for heritage and public space management and housing. Starting from this, the different needs, claims, conflicts and interpretative framework affecting the case study emerge.

<u>Moreover results relevant that:</u>

- The **bulk of the achievements in the field of public city in the city of Rome, have been completed by the strongly progressive politically oriented junta of PCI** who ruled for 10 years from 1976 to 1985, through the adoption of *Piani di Zona*, *Piani di Recupero,* for the construction of public assets in the CENTRE and in the outskirts of Rome. For the rest of the time the institutional urban strategies were strongly driven and influenced by particularistic interests of land owners and real estate developers and by a political and social conservative class,

focused more on the spread of private property that on the construction (and cultural acceptance) of the collective city;

- **Experiences and platforms for the exercise of participation in the definition of local urban agenda are very rare in Rome**. Only in the early 2000s, the Monti neighbours obtain to experiment the co-development of strategies for the development of the neighbourhood, with the I Municipal borough (Monti). This inclusive strategy is proposed after the introduction of the disputed new plan, and the emergence of unspoken and unheard local interests (such as in Kreuzberg during the '80s IBA altbau) thanks to: the project "Sbilanciamoci"; the "Workshop on land use decisions of the I Municipal Borough"; the meetings of the "Social Network Monti"; the participated project with the local universities support;

- **The Monti neighbourhood was accessible to less wealthy social classes until the late 1980s and the beginning of 1990s.** For example, the interviewed Luigi Ravara grew up in the subsidized housing district *Tufello*, and had access to his workshop in Monti at a very low price. When he started his business activity in Monti **in the 70s, there were still numerous retail space owned by the City, and the houses belonging to the public bodies.** This allowed moderation by real estate prices **until public properties have been privatized and the law on "rent control" (Equo Canone) cancelled** between the 1980s and mid 1990s;

- **The issues connected to unaddressed local problems are very sensitive for the neighbourhood**: increasing taxation over all the activities connected on living in the city centre; progressive disappearance of little retails and craft local economy; progressive loss of authenticity; scarcely regulated tourists flux. **It provoked the distrust toward the institutions role and turning into action of the local community** reclaiming direct participation in the decision making processes that concern their district;

- **Today, in the city centre districts, the increase in value of the properties** (and the increase in taxes connected to these properties) **is causing the expulsion of the last historical inhabitants,** living or working in the neighbourhood since a long time, towards the city's peripheral areas and so the radical social transformation of the neighbourhood. **This increase in the taxation of property depends on the re-appreciation of asset values** (*rivalutazione catastale*): what today is taxed is the possibility of speculation on a property that is applied even to unused cellars. The first result is that the only businesses that are opening are the ones who work with tourism and that often operate illegally in order to survive. Moreover, **the strategies of real estate valorisation**, as the one produced for the privatization of the Angelo Mai complex, are also producing the effect of increasing the value of the surrounding areas. This re-appreciation of asset values depends on **the contested strategies of financialization of urban space**, that include the strategies of public real estate valorisation (as the formation of *fondi immobiliari* (real estate funds). The effect of these strategies are producing an increasing spatial exclusion and progressive expulsion of the population toward the outskirts of the city, affecting also semi-peripheral areas;

- **It is never mentioned by the institutions the engagement with eco-social well-being of the population** and the development of positive values of ethical citizenship through the idea to protect the green area and make it accessible to the collectivity and to oppose the exclusive and land consumptive idea of luxury houses and mall transformation provided for the valorisation of the public asset Angelo Mai;

- The **exclusion of some argumentation in a public negotiation for the identification of consensus within a gentrified neighbourhood**: the **proposed localization of public housing in the city centre** was **completely excluded from the negotiable ideas and visions** as seen as disadvantageous to the interests of the majority of local actors characterizing the new district's social fabric (upper classes who bought property for very high values). **The gentrification that affected the area and the transformation of its social fabric produced also a transformation in local values of ethical citizenship.** "This gives an idea of how things change in the District. The former inhabitants of the district would have not opposed the idea of having social housing in Monti" (Luigi Ravara, interview);

- **The collective goal in negotiation processes is the identification of a solution that meet the collective consensus of the majority of opinions not actually negotiating "minor narratives".** "The school became the strong argument, on which all agreed. The new and old inhabitants were all interested in the school relocation within this space. The municipality also showed an interest in moving the school" (Luigi Ravara, interview). **In a rather radical conflictive confrontation over radically opposed values, the risk is to advantage the dominant opinion of the majority (according to Gramsci often emerging from the construction of an hegemonic culture), to the detriment of claims that albeit minoritarian should have the opportunity to be negotiated.** This provides for the need to develop strategies of interpretative framework negotiation (Scalvi, 2003), the legitimation of minoritarian cultural understanding (Lyotard, 1979), and the acceptance of conflict as crucial for democracy, trying to exploit the "agonistic" dimension of conflict in pluralist visions for the definition of more democratic strategies,

producing **public decision-making procedures capable of incorporating a truly agonistic dimension of democracy;**

- **The "freed" of a enclosed public space produced the experimentation of transitive practices of urban space reappropriation, theorized by Lefebvre as one of the crucial elements for the exercise of the Right to the City (Lefebvre, 1968).** "People were happy to be able to hang out in an historical and very beautiful neighbourhood such as Monti, that had become inaccessible to them. They were happy to go to a place where one could stay and do whatever he felt, without being forced to consume something" (Angelo Mai's activist, interview). For many other neighbours, though, this "reappropriation" of space, appeared as an illegitimate "appropriation". **The conflict is generated by the different understanding of the Right to the City projected over public vacant spaces and the different interpretative framework expressed over the legitimacy/illegitimacy of reappropriation processes connected to hegemonic/counter-hegemonic cultural constructions**;

- **The alternative proposals for self-help housing strategies, through a subsidiarity between institutions and informal actors is never been really accepted and discussed** (the few cases of Autorecupero means that this strategy has been used a limited number of times more as a form of pacification that as a real approach to interculturality). The proposal for self-construction strategies to manage the abandoned heritage and create public housing units with the neutralization of costs for the institutions haven't been considered as a "possible world" and have not been created any space for the negotiation of its agonistic dimension;

- **The instances of the social-centre have been accepted by institutions for two decades and have produced the initial response to the Angelo Mai artists' collective claims with the assignment of a new public space for social use**. In fact, the value of autonomous spaces of cultural and artistic production it has been recognized and supported by the local administration when the clashes in interests and conflictive dimension was identified as commensurable. Nevertheless, the lack in definition of specific roles of the two actors (formal/informal) during the contract period, have produced some misunderstanding over the duties and rights of the two contractors (it has generated conflict). **In the last years, the pushing for adjustment of national and local budgetary frameworks** (from a multiscalar level) have affected also the management of the subsidized temporary lease contracts used for the regularization of these self-managed public spaces. In fact, this is pushing the government to demand higher rents, demand months rent arrears, and the redefinition of expenditure incurred on public property to be deducted to the monthly-established rent. **It is provoking the increasing adoption of evictions of public properties allocated as self-managed social centres as a strategy of adjustment of national and local budgetary frameworks.**

- **The issue of the "social welfare"** that permits to individuate self-income practices for those that are excluded by the job market **is considered a highly controversial topic** since the necessity to regulate working activities for institution and to individuate alternative forms of income for precarious people involved in these alternative projects. The entrepreneurial activities within social centres are mostly considered illegitimate by social authorities both because often not regulated and because of a wrong understanding of what "onlus" means. In fact, the social centres are assigned once the people involved in the self-managed social project organized themselves in an Onlus association. In this way they can access subsidized lease contract with the local authorities. The authorities contest that since these space produce a income for their operators they cannot be considered as an Onlus. Actually, the legislation about Onlus enable to produce income for the employee but not to make profit out of an activity

- **The conflicts that emerge in the analysis of the case are deeply intertwined with: the urban regeneration processes that have concerned the historical centre of Rome and his historical urban development** (as the one of *Rione Monti*); the **unresolved relationship between the historical city's central areas and the peripheries**, such as **the issue of "residency" and local activities protection** in central gentrified or museified areas, **where** are **concentrated most of the public offices, ministries and additional activities**, such as universities, museums, theatres, etc. **causing a daily unsustainable mobility from the suburbs to the centre**; the urgent housing issue and the gradual expulsion of poorest ranges of the population towards the city outskirts and out of the official housing market, results dramatic in the city central and semi-central areas. Moreover, the lack in or inefficient/uneven distribution/management/activation of public spaces and services, such as parks, spaces for culture and social activities outside of the inner city is worsened by the increasingly "exclusive" oriented policies for services in central districts.

- **The capacity that some urban practices have to detach them from the physical place targeted by the practice itself and play patterns of struggle and resistance in other places is made evident in the analysis of this case study.** Being able to maintain the symbolic connection with the first squatted place, they show how **ineradicable, resilient and resistant these practices can be in confronting with repressive strategies**. In fact, in the Angelo Mai case, the autonomous project moved in a second space but maintaining the name *Angelo Mai* (belonging to the first complex). It shows how effective can be the capacity to oppose against strategies of repression especially when connected to the wider network of autonomous spaces, that have been built over the last three decades. This

phenomenon has been particularly relevant in Rome thanks to strong forms of social activism (related to a series of political struggles: for the right to housing, against the high cost of living and the wage cut, against the physical and social degradation of the peripheries; see Mudu, 2014a, 2014b) and to the network that such independent movements have built with extra-parliamentarian political groups as well as with official political parties (i.e. with PCI - Italian communist Party). Moreover, in the Rome city context the growing in number of these autonomous practices have been favoured by the "selective neglect" approach implemented by the City. It results from the incapacity or the unwillingness to solve/answer/negotiate the issues and claims that such practices were raising and maintain them in a "back stage" position acting as if they wouldn't exist.

- **The radical reappropriation of the Angelo Mai assumed a symbolic value making it a crucial element for the development of "tactics" outside the official institutionalized domain**. The urban voids addressed in the case study, in fact, have been intended not only as "cases" capable of receiving possible alternative/utopian/dystopian visions, but also for their capacity to play the role of making manifest issues that afflict the urban space and its population and thanks to that to conquer an important place in the public imaginary.

- **The case of Angelo Mai autonomous housing/cultural project shows how the public strategy to remove the problem, through the implementation of "repression" or "normalization" strategies,** without confronting with the claims and issues raised through the implementation of insurgent/radical practices, **it produce the effect of fragmenting these practices that instead of vanishing, continue to re-emerge somewhere else within the city.**

B.2 Conflictive interpretative frameworks and conflicts over strategies

The interpretative frameworks have been produced on conflicts generated over this case study, as for the Berlin case study, are the results of the confrontation between more or less radically conflictive and commensurable dimensions. It initially emerged from the opposition of citizens criticizing the local government for taking decisions on the future of such an important space for the district without giving them the right to participate to the decision-making process. The proposed participated workshop for the development of shared visions over the local urban transformation had created an important space for the information of plan processes and the discussion over local issue. The issue related to the privatization of the Angelo Mai instead emerged from the debate organized by the Monti Social Network a grassroots organization of citizens. The privatization of the former boarding school was not considered as negotiable by local authorities since it was a National property. The only role of the local administration was then the one to implement strategies of valorisation of the public real estate whose planning destination was converted from public school to residential and commercial activities (not in accordance with the law that imposed the predominance of public school destination over the housing and commercial ones). This has been seen by the local inhabitant as both a form of non-democratic decision imposed from the top and the demonstration of the potential concretization of latent interests and corruption in the local administration favouring local and extra-local elites interests and of wild speculation increase in properties values. The squatters shared this interpretative framework. In addition to that the squatters saw the new urban ideology imposed through the adoption of hegemonic strategies of space production as the result of the undemocratic neoliberal capitalist bourgeois system that they aim to question, challenge and eventually subvert. At the beginning, the administration and technics were sceptical about the possibility of negotiating the possibility to avoid the privatization of this public real estate since the big lack in economic resources made difficult the possibility to individuate strategies to buy the property and renovate it. Moreover, the actual necessity to individuate economic resources necessary to plan and implement local strategies, pushed in this case the public administration to valorise the area through the change in planning provisions on the area in order to obtain both a higher profit from the selling of the public property and access economic resources through the payment of the new constructions tax burdens particularly connected to the realization of new housing units.

On the other side, on a pure costs-benefit analysis on one side could legitimate the valorisation/privatization strategy for the individuation of resources capable to address immediate problems resolutions but, on the other side, could have been considered a wrong solution since the reduction of public resources can reduce the capability of the institutional actors to successfully address urban issues on the long term and through the articulation of macro-scale strategies. Moreover, the transformation of a school in more apartments blocks, increasing the population in an area that suffers for the lack in public spaces and services could have further worsen the possibility to provide the adequate public spaces proportioned on the local population. Since the Angelo Mai property became a Municipal property in 2004, the Monti Social Network proposed to the City to refer to traditional tasks, burdens, and responsibilities of the local authorities in order to renovate and manage the complex. Instead, the squatter radical proposal was based on the experimentation and implementation of forms of subsidiarity between formal and informal actors for the management and maintenance of the public asset. Both the Monti Social Network and the Squatter, but with a different understanding, have claimed the will of implementing real forms of citizens empowerment and co-production of public space to collectively reclaim physically and symbolically the space. This more radical interpretative framework have not been taken into consideration due to the historical relevance of the property, that according to the local authorities, needs specific renewal interventions that are economically unfeasible for citizens' associations.

	Local Authority	Monti Social Network	Squatters
Privatization & Valorisation	Imposed from National and supranational levels of governance	Imposed from National and supranational levels of governance	Imposed from National and supranational levels of governance
	Lack in legitimacy since it resulted a symbolic public space	Lack in legitimacy since it resulted a symbolic public space	Lack in legitimacy since it resulted a symbolic public space
	Necessary for the lack in economic resource	Unacceptable for lack of public spaces in the area	Unacceptable for the lack in public spaces in the city
			Unacceptable financialization of the urban space
Institutional reclaiming processes from the bottom	Legitimate	Legitimate	Legitimate
	but consider how to avoid to stop the privatization of the public property and find a consensual solution with the neighbourhood committee for the future use of the property	since it is a symbolic public space left abandoned for many years Strategy to oppose privatization and take actively part in decision making processes	but limited to the needs and claims of the neighbourhood while perceived exclusion from the process of those who do not live/work in the area
Not-authorized Occupation	Illegitimate, Since illegal and addressing a valuable property	Illegitimate since was considered disrespectful of the citizens' democratic actions enacted to reclaim the Angelo Mai as the local school / for some inacceptable the localization of homeless families and loud activities in an high real estate values area	Legitimate proposed and experiment alternative solutions for affordable housing provision, cultural policies and public spaces renovation and management;
	Legitimate as a strategy to make visible an invisible issue (lack of affordable spaces for housing/socio-cultural activities)		Legitimate since it made visible invisible/unheard issues through the occupation of a valuable public property in the city centre;
		Legitimate for some since permitted to "freed" the enclosed space and produce high level cultural activities	Legitimate since reactivate and "freed" the enclosed public space and produce high level cultural activities
	Legitimate since the public actor has failed in its burdens and tasks addressing urban inequalities through urban public policies		Legitimate since the public actor has failed in its burdens and tasks addressing urban inequalities through urban public policies
Negotiation between local authorities and local citizens' group	Necessary to legitimate the democratic dimension of public authority decision-making process	Necessary to legitimate the democratic dimension of public authority decision-making process	Necessary to legitimate the democratic dimension of public authority decision-making process

	Legitimate since it has been claimed through institutional democratic practice of dissent	Legitimate since it has been claimed through institutional democratic practice of dissent	
		Necessary since the un-democratic decision making process that have been adopted for valorisation and privatization of the public property	
			Insufficient since it provide the space for negotiation to a limited group of "privileged" citizens, legitimate as the only that are affected by the privatization strategies and that can therefore participate to the negotiation process
Negotiation between local authorities and squatters	Necessary to routinize a conflict that results "fundamental" and to address the urgent issue of the homeless / socio-cultural affordable spaces and vacate the property for institutional use	Necessary to routinize a conflict that results "fundamental" and to address the urgent issue of the homeless / socio-cultural affordable spaces and vacate the property for institutional use	Necessary to routinize a conflict that results "fundamental" and to address the urgent issue of the homeless / socio-cultural affordable spaces and vacate the property for institutional use
			Legitimate to discuss potential allocation of the public property

Shared interpretative frameworks:

- Privatization and valorisation of public assets imposed from National and supranational levels of governance
- Lack in legitimation in privatization strategies over symbolic public spaces
- Institutional reclaiming processes can be considered legitimate
- Non-authorized occupation can be considered legitimate as a political tactic to make visible invisible issues
- Non-authorized occupation can be considered legitimate when provoked by the institutional apathy in addressing urban inequalities' issues
- Necessity to individuate (alternative) resources for urban renewal, heritage management and welfare provisions
- Necessity to legitimate public decision making processes through negotiation with recognized citizens' groups
- Necessity to routinize a conflict when becomes public

B.3 Actors involved in the conflict

The missed confrontation with essential urban planning issues over the time has caused the increasing dramatic social conditions worsened by the crisis. In the framework of neoliberal transformation of welfare system, **increasing retrenchment of public expenditure and austerity urban programs**, discursively justified by the increasing indebtedness of cities, the interest over strategies of co-production and co-management of resources are **producing an increasing relying over self-help, informal, pop-up strategies**. In this same framework, the **unsolved urban issues and conflicts** (such us the crisis of welfare state, the crisis of the institutional role in imposing rules and control over the market, the difficulty in implementing public policies and managing public resources), **today, concern wider sectors of the population** and **differentiated social groups and classes struggling for the right to the city starting from different ways to understand the Lefebvre's concept** (Harvey, 2012). The immigrants and low income population suffering housing emergency; the young middle class citizens suffering the difficulties of self-determination in an increasingly privatized, expensive and exclusive urban space (also due to the economic crisis, reworking of welfare and public policies and the precarity of the job sector); the lower/middle class population pushed to the outskirt of the city

by an uncontrolled rental market; the new wealthy inhabitants of the historical centre, such as leftist intellectual, opposing the paradigm of the necessity to privatize public assets and pushing for more quality public services and for implementation of policies for the control of space in their neighbourhoods; the high class investors that support the process of gradual transition of management services by the public entity to the private sector contributing to create a more "exclusive environment" to attract wealthy neighbours/customers. In the case study analysed, what strongly emerges is the conflictive confrontation between different visions, needs and interests from the local communities, the City administration and the squatters point of view, for the self-management and (re)appropriation of a vacant public space.

The case's interesting element, is **the temporal and spatial evolution of the conflict**: the radical issues articulated on the disputed vacant school, born in this space and then transform. Some of them dissolved (such as the local community claims) in the time-laps of the conflict some of them evolved and are struggled over in order to maintain alive the struggle for the access to fundamental/basic needs. "**We are those who believe that a space freed is the place of the invention of the possible" is written on the Manifesto claiming the legitimacy of the radical practices enacted in the case study's story.** In fact, the action of tacking over a space "freed" by rules, bans and bureaucracy entails the actual possibility to find, invent, spatially experiment renovated solutions/tactics. It permits to instantaneously, autonomously, self-producing solutions to local issues and use them both as a dispositive of resistance and as a pivotal element giving visibility to a pro-active capacity of proposing "actually existing alternatives".
More in general, the people involved in the Rome's case are middle class people from the neighbourhood for what concern the neighbours' "mobilization" against the Angelo Mai former school privatization (mostly Italians), while the people involved in the Angelo Mai former school occupation are mostly immigrants' families, for what concern the squatting as self-help housing strategy, and young middle class citizens, for what concern the space for cultural and artistic experimentation. In fact, the last two decades, the people involved in squatting actions for housing in Rome includes many migrants families, suffering serious housing emergency, while the people involved in social centres are mostly young neighbours that wants to develop a self managed space for socio-cultural and leisure activities.

B.4 Negotiation process

The negotiation processes in the case of Angelo Mai, have interested the first phase of "institutional reappropriation" and the second phase of "radical reappropriation" under different conditions. In the first case, the local committee through the performance of dissent has conquered the space of negotiation between neighbours and the City over the provided privatization of the Angelo Mai complex. The instances for the definition of a public participated project over the abandoned public property have been recognized as legitimate and have fuelled an institutional process of negotiation between the state and the City aiming to obtain the ownership of the ex-boarding school in order to stop the privatization. It is worth mentioning that, while the I Municipal Borough arranged some space for participation, in order to discuss over micro-issues of urban transformation affecting the area, the privatization of the Angelo Mai was not negotiated with the citizens until the conflict emerged. Once the citizens highlighted the failures of public administration in the fulfilment of its tasks (such as providing a proper public school to the neighbourhood), the City could not avoid receiving the claims from the bottom and answer to those demands. The following negotiations regarded primarily the definition of technical issues over the draft of the project for the school and the individuation of economic resources for the realization of the project. Therefore, we can not consider it a real innovative approach, since the real participated processes, where mostly organized by the neighbourhood committee itself, the university and partially by the Municipal Borough (that has very limited powers).

In the case of the radical reappropriation put into practice by the housing movement and the artists collective, the negotiation had a different character. The radicality of the practice and the urgent dimension of needs expressed over this contested space (the housing crisis affecting the 35 homeless families) forced the administration to confront with issues whose definition of legitimacy or illegitimacy remain controversial. The housing occupations in Rome are numerous and this is why, the city of Rome has to confront with similar issues very often. Nevertheless, the centrality of the space that had been reclaimed, and its high contested nature (since the neighbours had planned to locate the local school in it) provoked the necessity to rapidly address such issue with an institutional solution. Despite the place remained illegally occupied for two years, the "selective neglect" approach, often adopted by local institutions, was not the case of the Angelo Mai. Due to the impossibility to immediately address the housing demand, made publicly evident through the staging of the practice of illegal occupation, the occupation was not cleared until the works for the recovery of the former school had to start. When the order for eviction became official, the housing movement had not found an official deal with local institutions to guarantee the families another shelter. Also the artistic and cultural project, very successful at a local and extra-local scale, strived to be recognized and be awarded with another public space.
The negotiation, though, took place starting from the staging of new radical practices (the occupation of *Palazzetto San Marco*, and the occupation of another abandoned municipal property) capable to give visibility to the issues raised by these conflictive groups. Since, the claims they raised were again connected to the failures of public administration in the fulfilment of its tasks (lack in effective housing policies, increasing cuts in the cultural policies), the City had to define the space for negotiation with such radical subjects. It resulted in the approval of a new Resolution aiming to

address (at least partially) the housing emergency (Res. 206/2007) and to regularize some housing occupation. In fact, the social pressure of an increasing housing crisis, connected to the case of the eviction of the homeless families hosted in the Angelo Mai school, forced the public administration to individuate some alternative solution avoiding the "social uprising." This tool, however, is not an innovative tool: it was providing the homeless families with temporary lodging in residences privately owned (the same strategy used since years and provoking a big loss of public moneys). It was adopted more as a pacification tool then as a strategy capable to detect the demand for social transformation through the negotiated definition of integrated programs.

The negotiation over the cultural and artistic space has been more open to negotiation between the stakeholders. Also in this occasion, the allocation of a new space has been possible thanks to the Resolution 26/1995 (see pg. 321). This normative tool, despite based on the recognition of the social value of the phenomenon, and thus quite innovative, is never been updated since the 1995 and maintain, since then, some weak element (such as the lack in eligible criteria for the definition of the quality of the temporary initiatives proposed from the bottom). However, in this case, the innovative approach has been constituted by the openness of the Administration in negotiating aspects regarding the architectural project of the spaces the now hosts the cultural project.
There has been no space for negotiation, however, over more controversial and "agonistic" aspects. For instance, the demands for the negotiation of public residency in the centrally located public facility, has not taken into consideration as not aligned with the new neoliberal approaches to city development, based on the financialization of the urban space. Moreover, the possibility to consider the negotiation of the alternative housing policies proposed from the bottom, namely the "Autocostruzione" (Self-construction), did not found the institutional space to be implemented.
Finally, the activists involved in the self-managed social centres network in Rome, are pushing for the reworking of the Resolution 26/1995 that could give more power to the citizens' in identifying and proposing initiatives with social purpose on abandoned public spaces within the city. Also in this case, no institutional space for negotiation has been identified. It shows a remarkable lack in spaces for negotiation, participation and inclusion of the proactive dimension of practices from below, in the city of Rome.

B.5 Participative dimension: non-participation, tokenism or real citizen empowerment? Interaction between institutional and informal actors: deliberative practices, practices of urban democracy, agonistic pluralism

Starting from the above-mentioned considerations, we can affirm that, even if the tools for participation are present in the local administration of Rome, they are often not observed. In fact, very few are the situations in which urban transformation objectives and plans are defined together with the interested citizens. Mostly, the only effective tool implemented is the information of the defined Master Plans is the possibility to submit observations and objections during the month in which the plan is put on board for viewing in the Municipal offices. The process that brings to the definition of the plan is, most of the time, do not include the participation of the citizens.
Also in the case of Angelo Mai, the conflicts arose from the not-negotiated new master plan of Rome introduced in 2002 and approved in 2008. Here the citizens were just informed and could express their opinions on micro-scale interventions (such as the pedestrianization of some district streets). More in general we could affirm that the Rome institutional context is characterized by "non-participation" levels and in the very few and recent occasions of participative processes to level of mere "tokenism" (Arnstein, 1969). Only in the cases of the implementation of radical practices that force for the creation of space for radical negotiation, sometimes have been reached a level of "citizens' empowerment", since the actors involved have been directly empowered of burdens related to the management of public spaces, the definition of initiatives of collective interest. As in the case of the "reorganization of the volunteering and *privato sociale* (no-profit social sector) competing with the City Council to a program of interventions, and taking the role of promotion and initiative connected to an overall assessment of the social issue" provided by the Resolution 26/1995.

Have these issues been incorporated in the urban general plan/ included in urban agenda?

The interesting element is that in both cases the practices have contributed in confirming planning previsions more than subverting/transforming them.
In the case of Bethanien it has stand the chance to alter the agenda of privatization of a public asset. It has therefore contributed in maintaining and affirming planning prerogatives, that individuate in the Bethanien complex cultural and artistic public uses (adding the dimension of social and political). However, the housing project is not officially recognized (did not altered planning prerogatives).
In the case of the conflict that has been articulated over the contested space of Angelo Mai, the planning prerogatives, identifying the use as public asset for the public property, have been renovated thanks to the citizens' protests. For what concern the radical reappropriation processes, they have not been able to change planning prerogatives for the Angelo Mai asset, since they were proposing a mix and flexible use of the space. In the case of the allocated public space for

the social cultural project Angelo Mai Altrove, it has stand the chance to be included in the political agenda, since their claim for socio-cultural space has been recognized as legitimate and institutionally addressed. Also in this case the alternative-housing dimension, proposing alternative strategies for self-help provisions of public housing unites, has not been recognized and just addressed through approaches that tend to routinize the problem resorting to traditional strategies. In fact, the claim to be included in self-help strategy program and regularized has not been accepted.

Have this practice been able to change planning previsions? If yes, how?

It results interesting to note that none of these practices, produce actual change in planning provisions and are not identified in the master plan providing the definition of uses of the spaces.

Doing so, has been reached a higher level in representing common public interests?

In the case of Bethenine we could say "yes". We "could" since some argue that the Bethanien south-wing is not actually today a place accessible to everybody, since its radical political dimension. Anyhow, it is important to say, that the conflict played over this space has been able to force the negotiation over the identification of an alternative from privatization. This has meant the maintenance of the public ownership of the space, that, then, remains a collective property. In this sense, we can affirm that, since it has been clearly highlighted that this space has a symbolic significant value for the district, an higher level of common interest have been reached.
In the case of Angelo Mai, the stop of the privatization of an important asset for the neighbourhood has been intended as a victory for the representation of common interest. However, the space today stays abandoned and closed to the public (and this is not considered as the achievement of a higher collective interest). The only occasion in which the people could re-experience and (re)activate this space, was through its radical reappropriation, that ended after two years with the eviction of the occupants. The eviction was motivated by the need to represent the interests of the local community. It did not resulted in it. For what concern the Angelo Mai Altrove self-managed cultural and social centre we could affirm that somehow a higher level in representing common interests have been reached, since a public property, otherwise abandoned, has been reactivated and today can be experienced by the citizens thanks to the many initiatives that are produced in this place. Finally, the eviction of homeless families from the two illegally occupied abandoned public properties could not be considered as a strategy that produced the enhancement of public interest. The negotiation of a solution with the squatters, could have allowed the local authorities have economic advantage, instead of addressing traditional strategies that are produce an high waste in public moneys, since are based on the very expensive payment of rents to private owners that host in their residences people affected by housing crisis.

C. Confronting the two cases

What these two insurgent practices of reappropriation have in common:

- Grassroots mobilization based on self-determination, self organisation and direct action
- Counterpart of an institutional intervention
- Partial and temporal evasion from the disciplining effects of neoliberalized participation mechanisms
- Adoption of tools of direct democracy like the referendum (*bürgerbegehren*)
- Adoption of tools of radical democracy like squatting

Synthesis of the similarities

- Are located in city central districts, which present some similar features: Kreuzberg and Monti, for different reasons, weren't involved in the strong gentrification processes that followed the valorisation of city centres in Europe during the 1970s. They offered for a long time cheap/accessible rents because of rentals control policies and a low pressure of the real estate market. During the 1990s, the situation of both district started to change because of the liberalization of the rental market, their inclusion in the urban renewal programs (connected to valorisation and privatization) and urban marketing strategies, that provoked the uncontrolled increase of housing prices, increasing expulsion of residents and workers (working and middle class population) and the shrinking of public accessible spaces;
- Address the un-negotiated approach of Securization strategies over the two public properties, that have caused the increasing shrinking of public assets and the citizens' mobilization questioning for the maintenance of public/common accessible spaces and services both in Kreuzberg and Monti, and in general in the city centre;
- Address the contradiction between the incapacity of individuating successful negotiated strategies for the management of the vacant public properties with the citizenship and the imposition of hegemonic strategies addressing the adoption of leasing contract on private property in order to activate the same public services, such as the proposed strategy to rent the privatized Bethanien for the implementation of public cultural activities or the renting of private properties where to host public offices due to the Kalkulatorische Kosten policies, or the renting of private spaces where to locate public schools or housing solutions in the case of Rome, with a consequent big loss in public economic and spatial resources;
- Show grassroots/organized forms of resistance and reaction: the local committee mobilization's of the IZB and of the RSM, respectively in Berlin and Rome, against the privatization of two public symbolic spaces such as the Bethanien and Angelo Mai complexes; against the alleged weak role of public institution in urban regeneration processes that affects Kreuzberg and Monti where the weaker population is undergoing the dramatic side effects of gentrification (displacement of families and little commercial activities, increasing number of evictions, transformation of economic and social fabric, commodification/distortion of local identity, etc.); against the absence or real spaces for participation/negotiation, when both the Initiative Zukunft Bethanien and the Monti Social Network have proposed petitions and other forms of radical opposition (occupation/human chain) in order to radically question the un-negotiated public strategies; against the exclusion of some sector of the population from the Right to the city, such as precarious young population of Rome and the old one in Berlin, the anti-hegemonic radical left/housing/cultural movements, unemployed people, immigrants, working class, etc.).
- Are spaces of political negotiation: to request the opening of the debate and discussion over the possibility to propose and experiment alternative forms of co-production and managements of public assets and alternative public policies and strategies capable to stop the increasing privatization and consequent shrinking of public domain though the involvement of active citizenship, in times of financial crisis;
- Are spaces for experimentation: bottom-up initiatives experimenting forms of self-organization and co-production of public spaces, as well as alternative forms of management and maintenance of unused public assets, that can constitute pivotal elements for the implementation of alternative public policies and practices;
- Have achieved a big spatial relevance in terms of social network that have been forming around these experiences and as service providers for the neighbourhood and the city, and symbolic relevance that these spaces have acquired in the collective imaginary, mostly because based on radical participation (at least of those directly involved), citizens' entrepreneurialism and empowerment and the principle of subsidiarity and use value instead of urban public spaces rather than exchange value;
- Are spaces of "agonistic pluralism": when the conflict about the legitimacy of these insurgents practices of re-appropriation became public, a public debate emerged, among citizens, associations, occupants, and formal actors over the reasons for the emergence of such subversive practices within the city, that made emerge a critical analysis over the gradual disinvestment in the public sector and the scarcity of public resources, that forced all the actors involved to try to confront with antagonistic position in a democratic way;

- Are emancipatory spaces: both pushing to critical analyse that arguments that without distinction stigmatize these experiences, which often have chosen to perform the act of illegal occupation not to subvert the right to private property, create problems of urban order or being disrespectful to the rules of the community, but to force a direct confrontation with the institutions on controversial issues related to urban justice or to find the space where to self-experiment radical forms of participation and urban public/common space (re)appropriation. Moreover these spaces try to emancipate people through political and civic engagement as well as empowerment.

Synthesis of the differences

- Monti neighbourhood and the centre of Rome is concerned by a speculative bubble in the housing market that isn't still comparable with the phenomenon of Kreuzberg increasing housing prices and that have almost completely pushed low income population towards city outskirt;
- In Berlin most of the insurgent practices of reappropriation have emerged in the historical districts and in particular in Kreuzberg, while in Rome, most of them have emerged in the city's periphery, (so that Monti and city centre have not significantly experienced the diffusion of such practices).
- Fundamental differences in post-war urban development of the two cities: in West Berlin the presence of the surrounding wall, has prevented, for thirty years, the sprawl of city and has kept real estate prices reasonably low; Rome, where the urban sprawl has been significant after the WWII and is still today, has numerous big peripheries. Moreover, since 1960s on, while in Berlin the public policies for housing were localized in central districts (at that time considered peripheral), in Rome were localized on the city's outskirt.
- The phenomenon of informal urbanity in Rome is much wider than in Berlin, mostly because of the size of housing crisis that has been a chronic problem for the city and that today is in an emergency level; that's why in many cases it is tacitly accepted. Moreover it is related to the Rome's embedded cultural different understanding of illegal urban developments phenomena, the high relevance of latent interests in urban decision making processes, a much more complex urban planning law for users, the different political system that characterize Rome (while in Rome is mostly the City council that can take decisions, in Berlin, most of the local administrative responsibilities are decentralized to the district council);
- In Rome there is a big number of still illegal occupations (housing squats and social centres), while in Berlin all the squatted spaces have been legalized (or evicted) and significantly incorporated in urban renewal and housing policies; in Rome the illegal practices of occupation of public vacant space as an housing emergency's temporary radical solution, have been treated during the years as backstage conflicts, through selective neglect approaches;
- in Berlin there is a greater awareness of citizens' rights and higher citizens' participation to questions which concern policies and practices of planning, even if in Rome, the groups involved in urban conflicts are much politically engaged.

These insurgent practices of (re-appropriation, in the different local contexts, differ in the relationship, more or less controversial, with the forms of institutionalization; also the underlying motivations that led to the appropriation of space (especially for residential purposes), as well as the typology of those involved, are profoundly different and strongly connected with the historical and socio-economic environment in which they fit.
The political dimension of "subversion" and defiance of hegemonic practices, that these practices have staged in their performative dimension of dissent, is instead linked to similar claims that such radical experiences advance as the demand for the right to participation, for the right to appropriate public city and the negotiation of strategies capable to include alternative forms of production of space and everyday.

Two cases comparison: similarities and differences

ANALYSIS	BERLIN	ROME
Social composition of the subject involved in insurgent practices policy: social/housing squat	+ Yung people belonging to both working-class and middle-class and mainly in occidental country. + Often people that are not suffering housing emergency.	+ Disadvantaged class people suffering of housing emergency (at first Italian, than mainly foreign people)
Social composition of the subject involved in insurgent practices policy: cultural/housing squat	+ Yung people belonging to both working-class and middle-class and mainly in occidental country.	+ Yung people belonging to both working-class and middle-class (mainly Italian);
Selected places	+ Historic building or in however building survived to bombing; + Abandoned public building; + Former productive space; + Disputed public place.	+ Abandoned or never activated public building (school, parks, sport facilities); + Social housing; + Private housing (owned by big real estate); + Former abandoned productive space (outnumbered since Rome never had a developed industry); + Theatres ad cinemas; + Disputed public place.
Purposes	+ Opposition to eviction and displacement polices; + Political struggle for the right to access to abandoned building + Bottom up policy proposal + Opposition to daily live state control + Opposition to city identity part demolition + Activation of missing services and activity within the periphery and/or marginal neighbourhood + Obtain space to develop non-hegemonic and independent culture + Ask for a different and more negotiated approach to social housing polices and regeneration polices. Not ask more social houses + Contest the state model of space production that usually is not negotiated and it is joined with the modernist, capitalist and industrial model	+ Defence of the right to housing. + Criticize the lack or the abandonment of public services within marginal areas + Opposition to the state model of space production that, joined with a waste of space and resources, often implying a de facto poor and disadvantaged people exclusion + Activation of missing services and activity within the periphery and/or marginal neighbourhood + Obtain space to develop non-hegemonic and independent culture + Ask more social housing + Contest the state model of space production that usually is not negotiated and it is joined with the modernist, capitalist and industrial model

Final questions

Analysing the selected case studies I will try to question their actually progressive dimension in proposing new ways of "space production" (Lefebvre, 1974):

- Are the urban conflict related to these cases both embodying the crisis of the democratic system, excluding citizens from extra-local decisions processes (such as the European Union dictat) that affects them on various levels and to the incapacity of fostering local public policies relying on European funds more than on national ones?

Yes, these two conflicts articulated over the forced privatization of public spaces and goods undergone since the 1990s in the framework of neoliberal restructuring, are strongly motivated/justified by the access to the European Union System. Moreover, the rework of the inter-scalar relationship has been produced on one side by the progressive withdrawing of the National governments on financing welfare and local authorities, and the increasing devolution of new tasks, burdens, and responsibilities to municipalities, with lacks in public economic resources, put a pressure on them for the individualization of EU funding programs, to be able to fulfil the old and new tasks and to be competitive in the framework of Cities trying to compete in the new world economy. This meant adapt the local agenda on the EU agenda and local objectives to EU goals. It has been also perceived by the citizens as an abstraction process of political and political space, since, while at the local base the possibilities for the implementation of participative arena looked to increase, they could interest just micro-local decisions, since the macro-strategies look to have been established and planned far away from a form of direct or even representative democracy (EU non elected government). In this case, the push from EU for adjustment of national and local budgetary frameworks, due to the "stability pacts" signed for the participation in European currency system, provoked at a State/Region (in the case of Berlin) and National (in the case of Rome) scale, the adoption of Laws and decrees intended to force local government to costs cutting, through the privatization of big shares of public spaces and goods. Even if the local active citizenship has been able to prove the necessity of such space for the public use and the community, avoiding the privatization and proposing alternatives for the management of public spaces and heritage system, they succeeded in affecting few single cases but not to impose the reworking of the privatization trend. But, have they the actual right to oppose EU politics? Actually, there are no democratic means through which the population can affect directly the decision imposed by the EU government. The only action that can be undergone is the protest in order to ask to National governments to negotiate with EU its decisions. While National governments are still the bodies that take operative decisions over national policies, the EU can indirectly force this government to rework over their local policies in order to fulfil their tasks as member of the EU. Last but not least, the citizens enfranchisement in political commitment increase when they realize to have to confront with a decision-making system that is so far away from their understanding of the local needs; i.e. the claiming for more public housing policies it is often said, by local government, as difficult to address because of lack in public economic resources, concluding that the only possibility is to individuate suitable EU funding programs in order to get the investments necessary for the development of local strategies. But the people claiming such needs are often people (such in the case of Rome and other Italian cities), are very low income people, or immigrants, with a low education level, that have no idea on how to reclaim a right if not through local protests and actions. For them, most of the time, Europe results as a distant place, where resources are concentrated but difficult to reach.

THE TWO STORIES

The **“(Re)claimed space”**, the forth case, refers to former vacant land occupied by various individuals, groups, or entrepreneurs for “interim” public uses, but used primarily as a strategy to draw public attention to claims emerged from urban social movements trying to oppose the privatization of parts of the city considered a “common good,” using various state-driven mechanisms to advance their causes against civic policies, projects, and regulatory measures, that are considered detrimental to the city's public space. These are often also connected to more radical instances that refer to the claims for more social justice, or more inclusive practices. In their “conflict within the state” they have been (in most of the cases) “neutralized” while the institutional dimension of conflict has been included in a space for negotiation and individuation of alternative strategies of co-management between local authorities and active citizens groups.

THE “(RE)CLAIMED SPACE”

4.a&b | The story of two co-managed public spaces: Tempelhofer Feld and ex-Snia's Lake Park

Most cities are going through radical transformations in the use of space, which seriously threaten the accessibility of "the right to the city" (SqEK, 2014). In the cities which have taken on a strategic role in today's reshaping of political economic space (Brenner, Theodore, 2002), there have been many spontaneous practices of (re)appropriation of space which come from strategies of resistance from below towards dominant models of development which have led to the progressive reduction/substitution of public space (Bonafede, Lo Piccolo, 2011). The dominant models of development of neoliberal capitalism have contributed to the increase of the "urbanization of injustice" (cfr. Merrifield, Swyngedouw, 1996; Mitchell, 2003; Nicholls, Beaumont, 2004) by destroying the instruments of regulation of the market, which limit and balance the process of polarization of capital and resources. In opposition to the crisis of public space these practices demand the right to the city as a common good that needs to be defended and constructed collectively through participation and the radical (re)appropriation of the physical and symbolic (co)production of daily life space (Lefebvre, 1968, 1991; Purcell, 2002). The radical (re)appropriation of public space, as a political and performative tactic of dissent influencing the urban political agenda and the prospects of space transformation (Groth, Corjin, 2005), has in the last decade increasingly become the instrument used by an increasing number and heterogeneous groups of people for the rescaling of urban conflicts. These two histories tell the story of "insurgent citizens" (in the sense of breaking the sovereign dimension of the rules imposed by the state) against the probable prospect of development of two big public areas, over which are played strong interests since they are potentially very remunerative for private investors. In a system of governance and in a context of scarcity of resources, the public actor, who should represent the collective interest, decides to delegate the development of these areas to a private actor, keeping for himself just the role of direction and definition of the system of rules so as to balance the interests in play. As we will see, insurgent citizens arose in opposition to this system of governance intended as favouring the interests of economic elites and big investors and which results not able to protect and give voice to very collective interests and to guarantee the objective of social justice based on equitable redistribution of spatial, natural, and economic-social resources. These are stories of temporary (re)appropriation and reconversion for public ends of two areas in disuse: the ex-airport of Tempelhof in Berlin and the lake Park ("Parco del Lago") in the ex-Snia factory area in Rome. The analysis of these experiences will allow us to explore some questions like: is it possible to build a real alternative to the reduction/substitution of public space, in consequence mostly of budget problems which threaten the workings of local administrations, by relying on the experiences of self-organization, self-management and participation which have emerged in our cities? Is it possible to interpret and translate into strategies and operative methods the pressing need for participation invoked by an active citizenship, which again today is demanding "the right to the city"? How do you project a public space so that it maintains its pluralistic character and recognizes the inevitably conflictual dimension that develops among its various elements? In two very different but at the same time very similar European cities, two interesting cases of active citizens' participation to define a new public space have emerged from a situation of spatial conflict: the park of Tempelhof in Berlin and the little lake of the ex-Snia in Rome. Both of these places are in ex-peripheral lower class neighbourhoods, which were built up around areas destined to host productive activities and/or big infrastructures, with few green areas and quality public spaces. The growth of the two cities led these neighbourhoods to change from marginal areas to relatively important central residential neighbourhoods, which meant that many of their productive activities and infrastructures delocalized to new peripheries or were simply closed leaving big empty spaces in their place. Concerning the use of these spaces conflicts have arisen between the citizens, market forces, and the formal actors who are formally in charge of planning and defining new functions and strategies for the development of these areas (including the identification of plans of action, resources, partner cooperatives to implement the plans and the running of the area). On one side an active and insurgent citizenship emerges, which wants to take part in the collective construction of new meanings for these two empty public spaces, in the determination of its functions and in the identification of the strategies to develop and manage this spaces. All this is happening "in the context of a general crisis of political representation, and of widespread erosion of public space" (Lo Piccolo, Bonafide, 2011). On another side, the market and private investors see the area as an interesting investment since its value could grow because of the city's expansion (Holm, 2011) or because of territorial marketing strategies that aim at capitalizing on the presence of cultural diversity and on alternative uses of space (Shaw, 2005; Colomb, 2012). On the third side the public authorities and technicians who have to negotiate the conflicts and mitigate the positions of power but at same time guaranty the economic resources to enact urban development, believe this central and big area can become a catalyser of resources and investments useful for the city growth. In this context "these movements don't offer definitive solutions to the problems they uncover - this task obviously belongs to the forces of the local, national and even European governments - but do have the ability to revitalize in a democratic sense the politics of the city by putting the primary needs of the inhabitants and their demand for social justice back in the centre of an institutional process which is largely influenced by the interests of the political and economic elites." (Rossi, Vanolo, 2012).

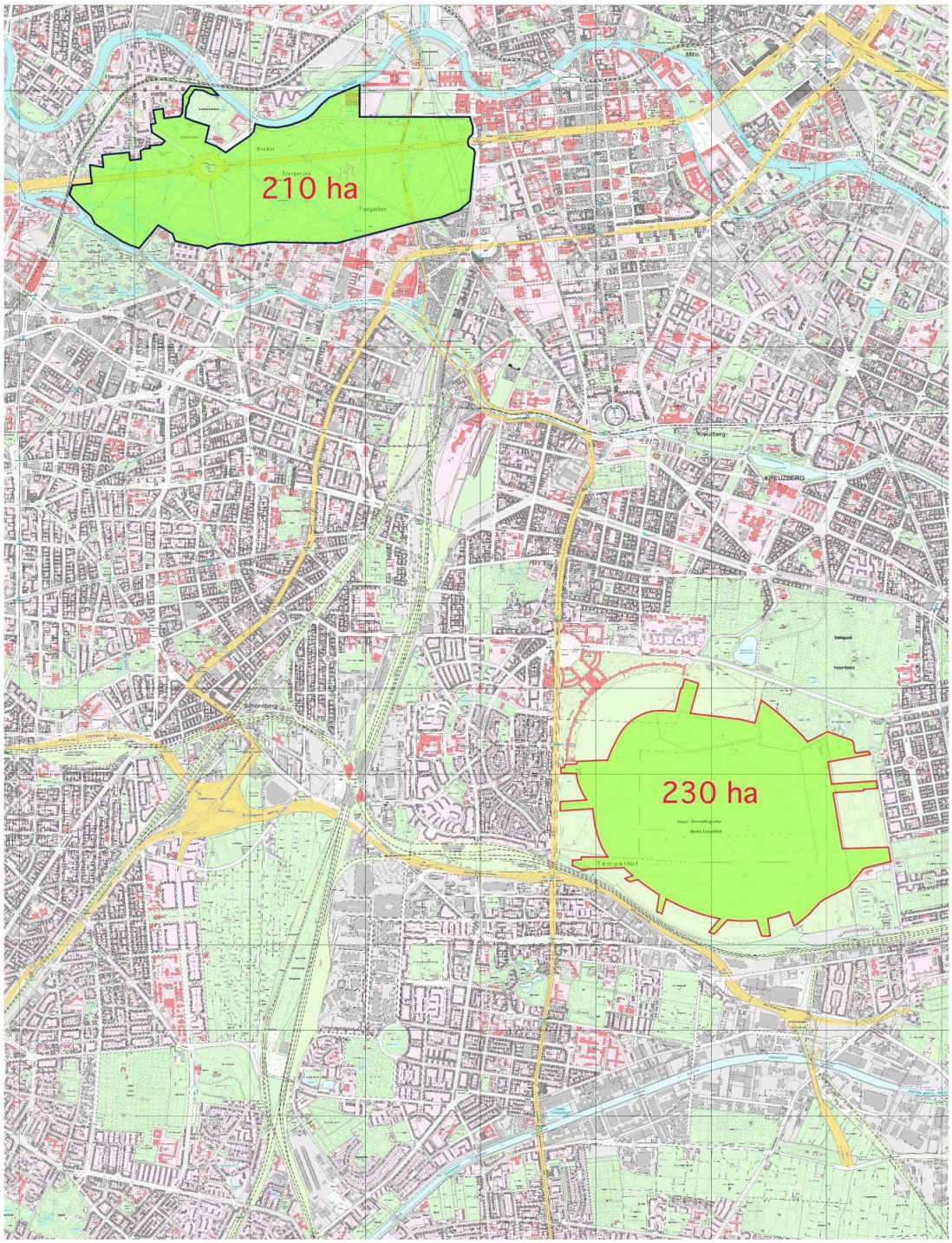
4.a TEMPELHOFER FELD

Localization of the area:	Located in the south of the city centre within the area included in the rail and urban highway "ring". Situated in the Tempelhof-Schöneberg neighbourhood and bordering on the North Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg and on the East side Neukolln, three ex-working class neighbourhoods that in the last years started to be interested by urban regeneration strategies and the side-effects of gentrification. Mostly in the Tempelhof neighbourhood and south Neukolln are localized big infrastructures (the ex-airport, the highway, the train station, etc.) and vacant or still active industrial areas. While the neighbourhoods are characterized by big "urban voids" the inhabitants claim the need for more green public areas for social and leisure activities.
Space typology:	Ex main airport of the city (big empty area)
Property owner:	Public (State property, became City property in 2008)
Reason for vacancy:	Area decommissioned since the beginning of 2008
Planning destination:	Private/public housing, public assets, activities in the field of creative industry, public park
Reclaimed space as:	Self-managed public space
Typology of users:	The neighbourhood's committee, neighbours and city population, "Urban pioneers", companies in the creative field, tourists
Nationality:	Citizens from different nationality living in the neighbourhood/city
Legal status of the area:	Regularized public park and spaces for temporary uses
Actual use:	Public park + gardening + cultural/leisure/social activities

Conflicts over Tempelhof due to:	• the exclusion of citizens from the participation in planning the future destination of big public spaces and in decisions connected with public expenditure; • urban regeneration strategies fostering gentrification in the inner city districts and the displacement of the "original" population; • the need to stop building and consuming land in a city filled with "voids"; • opposition to speculation in a public area: the rethoric about the creation of social housing, considered unsufficient confronting with the prevision of development of new private estate; • the excessive control over space (the presence of fences and gates that disable the freedom of movement through and access to the big empty space).
Citizens' claims:	• Access abandoned spaces in the economically inaccessible inner city; • Enable public open and "free of bans" spaces; • Permit citizen empowerment in self-management and co-production of public spaces to activate big abandoned areas and take them away from private speculation; • The right to the city: the right to participate and appropriate the spaces where the active citizenship can develop alternative ideas for the use and management of public spaces.
Stakeholders involved in the conflict:	• Berlin Senate • Tempolhof-Schöneberg /Neukolln districts administration • Private investors • Citizens committees • People belonging to the Berlin's alternative political scene • Forum 100% Tempelhof • Various associations (preservationists, environmentalists, etc.) • Students (TU university) • Neighbours/citizens • Political parties (like Green, and die Linke that sustained the campaign against the development of the area)
Strategies adopted by informal actors:	• Squatting (attempt) • Temporary uses • Referendum
Strategies adopted by formal actors:	• Police control over the area and repression of insurgent practices • City master plan to plan the development of the area • Individuation of area for temporary uses (website) • Participative processes (conferences, workshops, public documents)

TEMPHELOF'S HISTORY

A huge urban void of 230 hectares, between the neighbourhoods of Neukölln (to the east), Tempelhof-Schöneberg (to the south and west) and Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg (to the north), was created following the dismantling of the ex-airport of "Tempelhof" in 2008.



"Surface compared Tiergarten and the Tempelhof Field with peripheral development" (Berlin SenStadt)

1. The origin of this big empty space within the city

The *Templehofer Feld*, or Tempelhof field, an area which recently became empty is not just a space in the city; instead, it is symbolically very important because of its history. In medieval Berlin it belonged to the Templar knights (which explains the prefix "Tempel") to then become an area for arms and in the 19th century it was known as a field where families gathered on Sunday afternoons; finally in the 1920s it became the city's airport and one of the world's most important airports during the Nazi period. In the mid 1930s in conformity to the urban and architectural projects of the architect Albert Speer to transform Berlin into the "capital of the world" after the conquest of Europe, the old terminal built in 1927 was replaced with a much bigger building designed by the Nazi architect Ernst Sagebiel. The complex of rooms and halls of the airport completed in 1941 - and still today an element, which strongly characterizes the image of the area - was conceived to be the entrance door to Europe and was indeed remarkable for its huge size. The architect Lord Norman Foster later described the complex as "the mother of all airports".[255] «It was adjacent to a concentration camp that held journalists, politicians, Jews and other so-called "undesirables", so it is redolent with all the most negative associations» (New York Times, 2015).

After the end of the Second World War, the Tempelhof airport was also used by the Western allies as a base for the air bridge which for eleven months - from June 26 1948 to May 12 1949 - brought aid to the 2.5 million inhabitants of West Berlin who were isolated by the land and water blockade put into place by the Soviets. This operation, called "Operation Vittles",[256] caused the area to have positive connotations (New York Times, 2015).

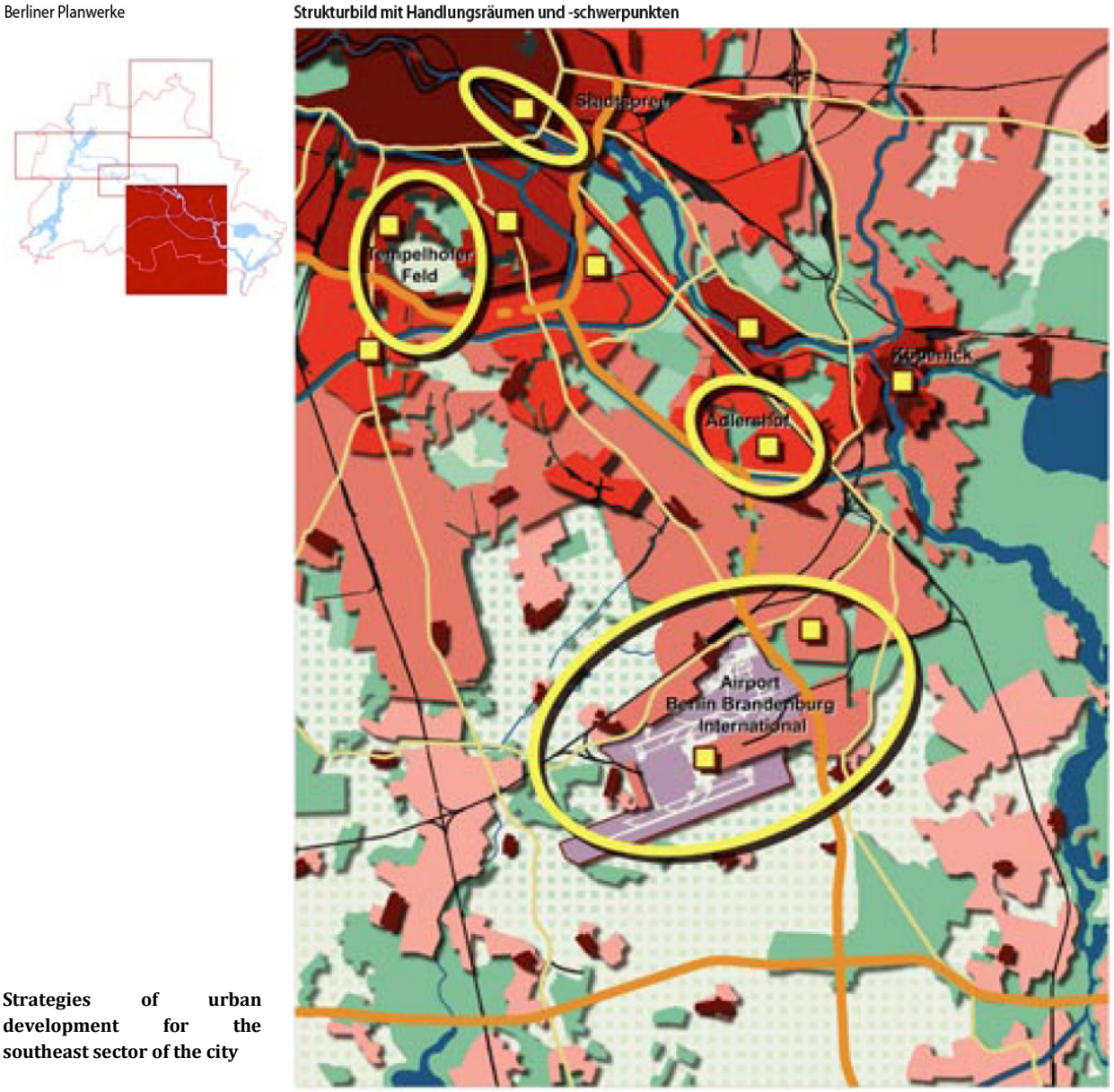
The area, which was in the U.S. sector as defined by the Yalta and then the Potsdam agreements of 1945, which formally divided Berlin into four sectors of occupation (Soviet Union, United States, England, France), remained under American control for almost fifty years and only in 1993 did it cease to be air base for U.S. military transportation. From then it became a civil airport until 2008.

2. The airport demise, the area development plans, and the conflict with the citizenship

The Berlin's Major Eberhard Diepgen, the Brandeburg's minister-president Manfred Stolpe and the federal transportation minister Wissmann signed the so-called "Consensus Resolution" in 1996; this document aimed to fuse the 3 Berlin's airports in only one (the new airport Schoenefeld) as the international airport of Berlin-Bandeburg "BBI" (der Tagesspiegel, 18 june 2007). In fact, the city-hall government of Berlin –putting as a background justification the acoustic and environmental pollution and the risks for a possible air crash for all the population districts living at less than half a mile of distance, and the financial deficit of more than 15 Million/year- decided the Tempelhof airport closure in October (Los Angeles Times, April 27th 2008). This decision included the Tegel's airport closure in order to guarantee the investments on the third airport pole and to stop the criticisms concerning the new expansion area of the Schonefeld's airport, which represented one of the pillars in the Berlin south-east district developmental direction from the mid-90s.[257] On the basis of this ten-year plan, in June 2004 the permission released by the Berlin authorities for the air traffic cessation was publicly announced. Air companies operating in Tempelhof reacted against this decision and some of them offered to manage the airport; this triggered the decision of the Administrative Berlin Court to temporary suspend the decision and left the airport to continue its activity.[258]
The conflict between citizens and the local administration over the future Tempelhof started when the airport's demise became official. On April 27th of the same year, the first non-bounding referendum was held (see Templhof story's File

[255] http://www.worldarchitecturenews.com/project/2011/16669/sutherland-hussey-architects/tempelhof-airport-in-berlin.html.
[256] http://www.historynet.com/berlin-airlift-operation-vittles.htm.
[257] http://www.stadtentwicklung.berlin.de/planen/tempelhof/.
[258] http://www.berlin.de/rbmskzl/aktuelles/pressemitteilungen/2004/pressemitteilung.47836.php

1 in appendix). It resulted from a two-years signatures collection (30.000 signatures) to call a petition for a local referendum that cold make public citizenship's opinion on the airport demise. This referendum resulted in a relatively low turnout (36,1% of the voting population) and despite a 60.1% rate in favour of airport activity continuation in Tempelhof, the legal threshold to avoid the demise was not reached.[259] On October 30th 2008, Tempehof airport definitively ended its activity. However, in 2009 the "be-4-tempelhof.de" Alliance started a citizen-triggered initiative for the protection of the area entitled "*Das Denkmal Flughafen Tempelhof erhalten - als Weltkulturerbe schützen*" ("The common monument of Tempelhof Airport-protection of the world heritage"). A second referendum was held on June 7th 2009. It had a turnout of 37.9% recruiting 65.2% of votes in favor of the proposal; the quorum was reached and it had legal value on the same level of a decision taken by the City Council.[260] The airport originally belonged to the Federal Government's *Reichsvermögen* until when –in 2005- it became co-property of the *Bundesanstalt für Immobilienaufgaben* – BimA (institute for the federal properties)- and the Berlin State. In fact, in 2009 the Berlin state bought the airport area from the German Federal Government, with a 35 Million Euros disbursement by the city.[261]



Strategies of urban development for the southeast sector of the city

Following the airport demise, the "Tempelhof field" (Tempelhofer Feld) became an "indeterminate territory" belonging to the city hall, potentially reclaimable by anyone and malleable to be transformed to all kinds of usage and symbolic meaning. On this point, starting from 2008, a conflictive confrontation between the actors coordinating planning/development of this area and the local population started over the confrontations between more or less radically different ideas, needs, models and proposals that had to be negotiated.

[259] https://www.wahlen-berlin.de/historie/abstimmungen/Landeswahlleiterbericht_VE08.pdf
[260] http://www.berlin.de/ba-tempelhof-schoeneberg/organisationseinheit/buerger/wahl/ergebnis_be_tempelhof.html
[261] http://www.berlin-magazin.info/3741/titel/ehemaliger-flughafen-tempelhof-bund-und-land-berlin-einig-ueber-kaufpreis.html

Today, strategies for promotion of this area represent one of the major pillars for the Berlin urban development strategy and a bulwark to be defended by citizens who see the Tempelhof area as a common and inalienable good; the gentrification spectre is suspected as a consequence of its promotion; the loss of a large green space is feared as a consequence of its development. For the Berlin Senate, the development of this 'empty' area of 386 hectares "just in the capital core of one of the largest industrial world nations, represents a huge opportunity" (Senator Junge-Reyer, 2008)[262]
for implementing a big urban developmental project -like those which dominated the urban agenda in the recent years "on the background of a rhetoric of a competition-oriented development" (Gualini, 2008) – which should allow Berlin to remain competitive with other cities which "pursue ambitious strategies for internationalization"(Ibid., 2008).

For the citizens this huge green public space -a large empty space which for a long time contributed to separate the two halves of the city- is like an immense blank sheet still "to be written", on which desires, visions and needs could be projected. The main idea is that it might become a unifying place for the different neighbourhoods, on which a collective construction for a public space devoted to socialization and leisure time could be experimented via the barriers elimination that for such a long time did inhibit access and free circulation ("freedom of movement" has beeb one of the claims over this space). In the guidelines contained in the introduction to the city master plan for the southeast Berlin area development of 2008[263] (*Planwerk Südostraum: Plan Leitbild*), it is explicitly said that the opening of the new BBI airport and the closure of Tempelhof was a pivotal moment for the future development of this area according to the Senate forecasting. In the document produced by the city administration titled "South east Berlin - the perspective of development between the centre of Berlin and the airport BBI", the area of Tempelhof is identified as a place for the development of policies: «Since the decision taken for the realization and localization of the new Berlin Brandenburg International Airport (BBI) in Schönefeld, the area south-east of Berlin has become significant for the future urban development of the city. Certainly, it opened and expanded the business prospects of the airport and the opportunities for further use and development of the existing elements of attractiveness both urban and natural in the south-east sector of the city.»[264] (Source: *Planwerk Südostraum: Plan Leitbild*). The master plan contained the first development plans for the area of Tempelhofer Feld, which provided a total of four interventions. The planned new uses of space would be divided between the creative industries, the development of facilities for research on new technologies, the creation of new housing units (innovative and sustainable), and 220 hectares of public park. Looking at the plan approved in 1994 in Berlin (Berlin *Flächennutzungsplan*), however, we can observe that the destinations for commercial, residential, green areas and sports were already planned.[265]

1. "Tempelhofer Forum THF": spaces for culture, media and creative industries;
2. "Stadtquartier Tempelhof" ("Urban district Tempelhof"): spaces for the development of activities in the field of Future Technology;;
3. "Columbia-Quartier": for the development of sustainable and innovative housing units;
4. "Stadtquartier Neukölln" interventions directed to public use of the park and location of housing units.

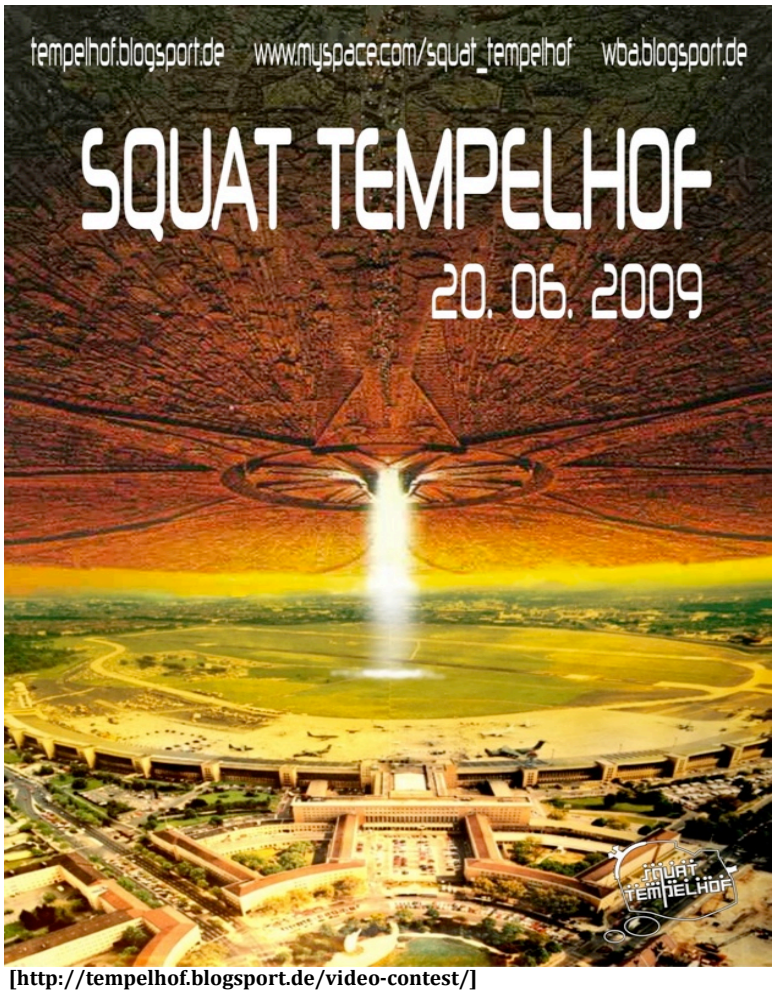
"Plan zukunft Tempelhofer Feld" 1998-2008 ("Plan for the future development of the Tempelhofer Feld)

This proposal immediately created widespread discontent among neighbours and other citizens' groups. The lower and middle classes settled in Neukölln, on the east side of the area, would have liked a park for the children and to organize picnics and barbecues. In addition, they fear that the new changes will lead to a further increase in rents in the district and especially in areas bordering the east side of the former airport, producing displacement of the weaker population.[266] In fact, in the part of Neukolln are localized social housing unites realized during the IBA Berlin 1985 interventions, that host a (number of population) that is scared to be affected by the effects of gentrification that is

[262] Senatore Junge-Reyer, March 5th, 2008, conference over the future development of the Tempelhofer feld.
[263] Translated by the author.
[264] Translated by the author.
[265] http://www.stadtentwicklung.berlin.de/planen/fnp/pix/historie/8_FNP_1994_gr.pdf
[266] http://www.ilpost.it/2011/09/12/il-parco-pubblico-di-tempelhof/

becoming a central concern in the more attractive neighbourhoods, in the last decade. Quoting the Quartiermanagement information over the area: «the area has a good public transportation and has after the closure of Tempelhof Airport is a great potential for development. This contrasts with a high building density and a considerable deficit on publicly accessible green space. The proportion of the migrant population is in the field at around 52%. The high unemployment rate and the high turnover rate in the region were among other indicators of to designate the site in 1999 as a district management territory. Since area determining about 8,000,000 euros in grants were approved to control the problems in the district meet.»

The Kreuzberg inhabitants, today's trendy district, which borders the park on the north and northeast side, would like to have facilities for sports, leisure and entertainment in the area. But Kreuzberg is also a district historically inhabited by students, radical activists of the radical left and many foreign families (living in the neighbourhood often since two or three generations). They claim the right to reclaim an important piece of the city to manage collectively and freely enjoyed. In this regard, after the disposal of the airport activities and the acquisition of the area by the Berlin Senate, they demanded the removal of the fence that surrounds the boundaries of the area to ensure the free enjoyment of the space to the city's inhabitants. The Tempelhof district, with a social fabric mainly consisting in small families, is particularly concerned about the potential increase in traffic and in house prices. Citizenship in general saw behind the implementation of the planning provisions the specter of speculation and gentrification, which had already affected many other areas of the city. As an alternative, some groups of active citizens, claimed the desire/ability to participate collectively in the definition of future uses and functions of the area. Initially, local government do not showed the will to confront with these demands.



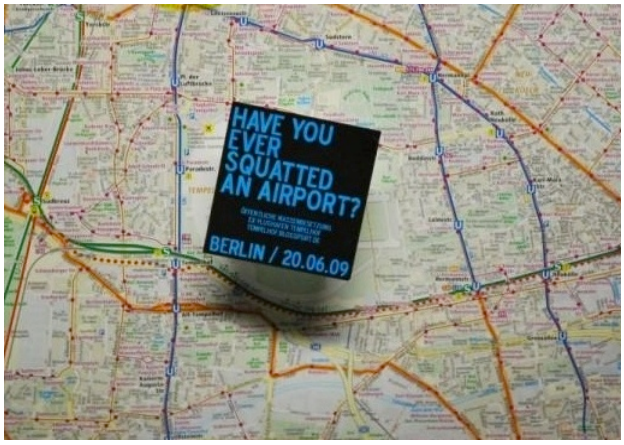
[http://tempelhof.blogsport.de/video-contest/]

Consequently, after less than a year, the network of local radical citizens' movements in Berlin, with the slogan "Have you ever squatted an airport?" - "take back the city" announced a protest for June 20th, 2009, which involved the participation of a large number of people. The appeal declared: "What's worse than an airport? An airport that has been converted into apartments and gentrified yuppie assh* .. who work in the city, but who want a place where disconnect over the weekend. Loft, beautiful view of the shopping district. When the old anarchists have heard that they have organized themselves to take back the airport". [267] For the occasion, several thousand people (approx. 5000),[268] between activists of the radical political scene and environmentalists, students of the Technical University of Berlin, neighbourhood committees and some members of the Green Party (*die Grunen*) attempted the irruptionin in the area, as a demonstrative action, in order to make public the conflict over the city development plans for the areas. "Squat Tempelhof" was the motto and the performing act of dissent that some citizens expressed against what was being reported to the public, as another real estate speculation which would have guaranteed a high profit for a few and rising rents to the detriment of many. The counter-proposal was to leave free access to the area.

To prevent the occupation a large number of police officers (approximately 1.800) were mobilized to oversee the entire perimeter of the area and suppress any attempt of occupation. The demonstrative action ended with violent clashes between thousands of demonstrators and the police and 102 people arrested. The organizers of the "Squat Tempelhof" action, after accused the police of "massive use of violence against demonstrators" with use of batons, pepper spray and water cannons. Christian Ströbele, an MP of the federal government from the Green Party, said: "what the police staged here today, is the theatre of the absurd" (Spiegel Online, Tempelhof-instrumentation: Katz-und-Maus-Spiel um den Flughafen , 20.06.2009). The event had strong media coverage and got the result of informing the public of the presence of a conflict on the future use of Tempelhofer Feld. The proposal to define a space that was not "just a park" but a place

[267] http://www.planestupid.com/content/have-you-ever-squatted-airport
[268] https://vimeo.com/11002899.

free from barriers (both tangible and intangible), (re)appropriated and self-managed by the people, was deemed radical and inadmissible by the administration. The development of this area represented a "huge opportunity" for the strategies of urban development in Berlin. A great opportunity to be competitive and attract capital and investments, as well as international initiatives, on a huge area near the city centre. This led to the radicalization of the conflict, since the public administration had refused to negotiate, initially, the conflicting positions with citizenship. This is linked to the radical opposition of local institutions to all forms of appropriation radical (albeit demonstrative), as well as a non-negotiability of the expected construction of the outer belt of the area.



Call per una squatting action il 20.6.09

Squatting action

Some demonstrators in front of the former airport protesting against the fences - the poster claiming "Nicht alles so eng sehen" (we do not want to see it all so closed)

Demonstration against the development plans of the area - "let us plan!" Says the banner by the students of the TU Berlin

The 1,800 police officers mobilized to monitor the area of the former airport, put the barbed wire around the entire perimeter (8.6 km) to prevent access to the demonstrators

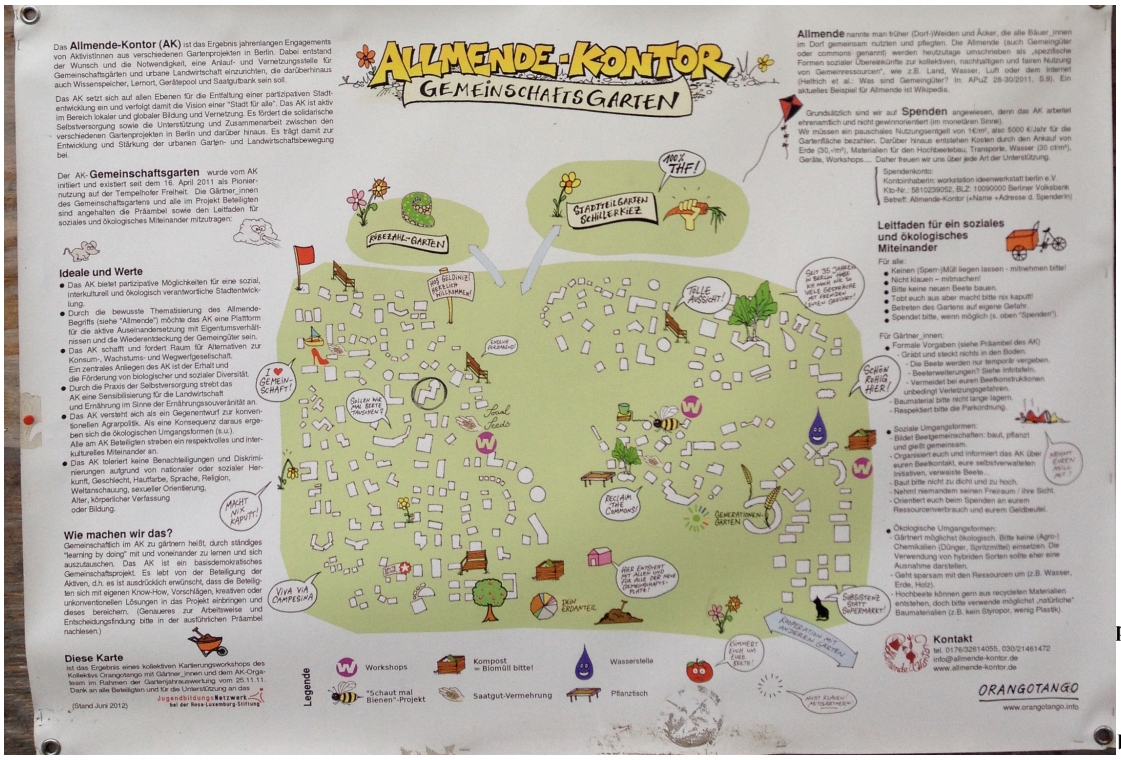
Clashes between police and demonstrators – photos by http://tempelhof.blogsport.de/

The Berlin Senate chose the path of repression. This could possibly reflect a will both economic and political, to complete provisions for the development of the area and to demonstrate (to potential investors) a power of control over the area and on forms of insurgent citizenship. The area of Tempelhof in Berlin has managed to attract a major

international event, the "Fashion Week", which was held in the area the month following the attempt of occupation. This international event, backed by the mayor Wowereit, would have brought to the city a great visibility and a major boost in economic terms - with expected revenue for around 120 million euro.

3. The creation of a large urban park and the experimentation of temporary uses

Despite the strong interests at stake, possibly because of public pressure or because lowered forecasts of revenue, the development plans of the area were suspended and 8 May 2010 Tempelhofer Feld was opened to the public as a park (*volkspark*): maintenance of the park was entrusted to "*Grun Berlin*" (outsourced company that handles many of the public green spaces in Berlin) and 60 million euro were allocated for its management. The first weekend registered a great success, with a affluence of around 235,000 visitors but also the re-emergence of contrast with the insurgent citizenship: the opening day was organized a directed demonstration against the closure of the area after dark and against the sale of lots in the site. The statement of the protest action said: «We want to start to realize our wishes and ideas concerning the Tempelhofer Field and we want to attack the neoliberal plans of the Senate in a practical way.» ("Action day at the Tempelhofer Field", 8th May 2010). Pending the implementation of the development plans for the area the project "*Templehofer Frieheit* [269] " was initiated for the experimentation of "temporary uses" (*Zwischennutzungen* – see File 2), activating a participated contest of ideas that would have allowed to explore various uses of this big "empty" space - the emphasis is on projects that are in line with the natural/leisure/sportive dimension of the park and the development of initiatives in the field of creative industries. The park is now home to many temporary uses: an association that manages an area for urban gardens, a "Mini Art Golf ", a barbecue area, an area for the reproduction of birds, meditation courses, the "Fashion Week" which is held every year in the hangar, as well as the "Berlin music festival" and many others more (http://www.thf-berlin.de/). The Tempelhof area is crossed by thousands of people on an every day base who come here for play sports, relax or take care of their garden.



The Almende Kontor association who organized a public temporary garden in Tempelhof (Source: photo by Luisa Rossini)

For this purpose, the Senate of Berlin have provided a website that exposes the idea of "lab for interim use". The web platform facilitates the aspiring "pioneers" and encourages them to propose new ideas and uses of space (http://www.thf-berlin.de/en/get-involved/); through the "get involved" the user can become aware of "projects pioneers" already in place on the area, the "pioneer fields", available areas to propose new projects and the "pioneer process" that is, how to bring a new project. In April 2011, among other projects, "a group of Berlin launched the organization Allmende Kontor who took the dealership from the municipality part of the park to turn it into a vegetable garden and a garden. More and more people joined the group and they have planted more than 300 species of plants, fruit trees and flowers. The organizers have obtained a three years concession for the area for which all plants must be able to be removed easily in view of the end of the contract and are arranged in raised flower beds surrounded by frames of plywood (see the photos above).

[269] "Tempelhofer Freiheit" ("Tempelhof freedom"): note the emphasis on the concept of freedom (free space, freedom of movement, etc.) that seems co-opt the claims of insurgent citizenship for a space free from barriers.

Different uses of the space, from sports, to organic farming to temporary events in the cultural, artistic and creative industry

Area managed by the organization Allmende Kontor for urban gardens (Source: il Post, 2011)

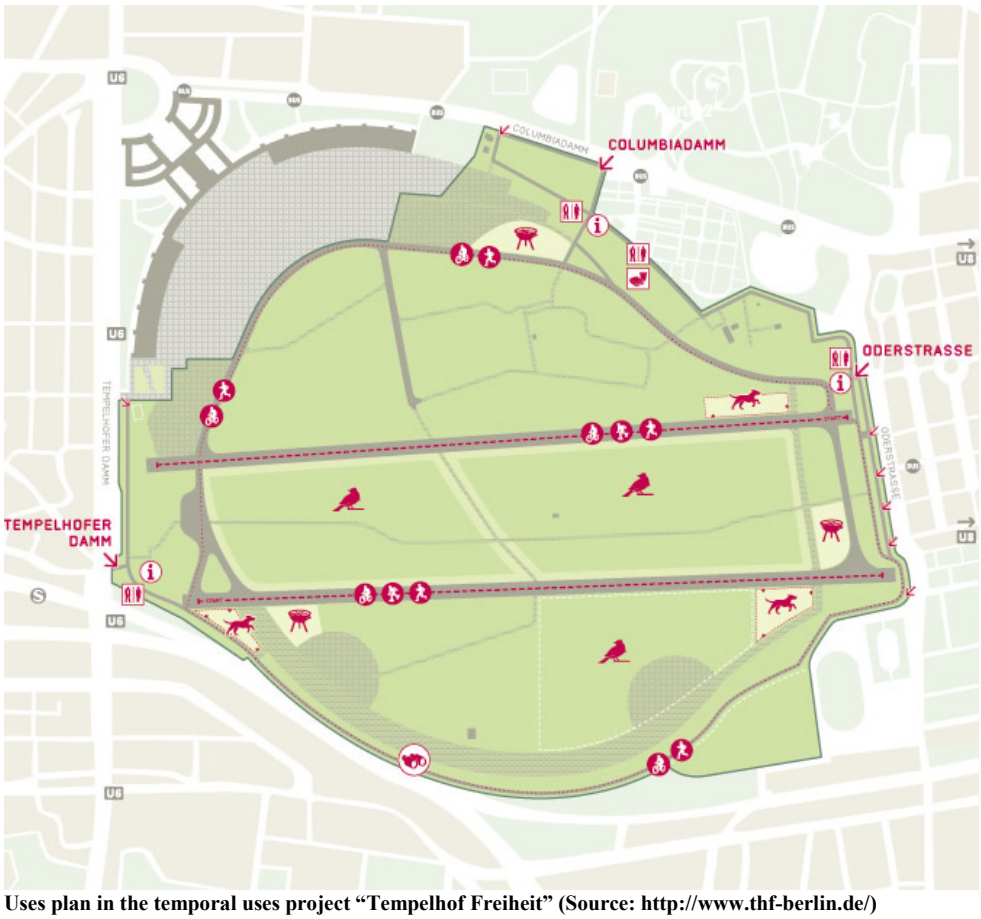
Airstrips used as bike paths or areas for running (photo on the left wikipedia "Tepelhof"; photo on the right by Luisa Rossini)

Video projections on the main facade of the former Tempelhof Airport terminal (sorce: wikipedia) [270]

[270] https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/6/61/Tempelhof_Festival_of_Lights_2011.jpg

Urban garden managed by the organization Allmende Kontor (photos by Luisa Rossini)

«Urban gardening recently become both a trendy practice and an act of protest: the lack of confidence in politics, the economic crisis and increase in food price have convinced many people to produce their own food and to redefine their own urban space» (il Post, 2011). Indeed, 16 groups have are actually managing parts of park in order to develop their projects for experimental use of the urban space.



MANAGEMENT/ FUNDING

+ Berlin Senate
+ Grun Berlin
+ "Urban Pioneers"
+ Citizens Association

USES

1.HANGAR (initiatives in the field of creative industry)

+ Berlin festival
+ Fashion week
+ etc.

2.PARK

+ Urban garden association
+ Mini "art"Golf
+ BBQ area
+ Bike lane/Jogging
+ Birds reproduction area
+ Dog area
+ etc.

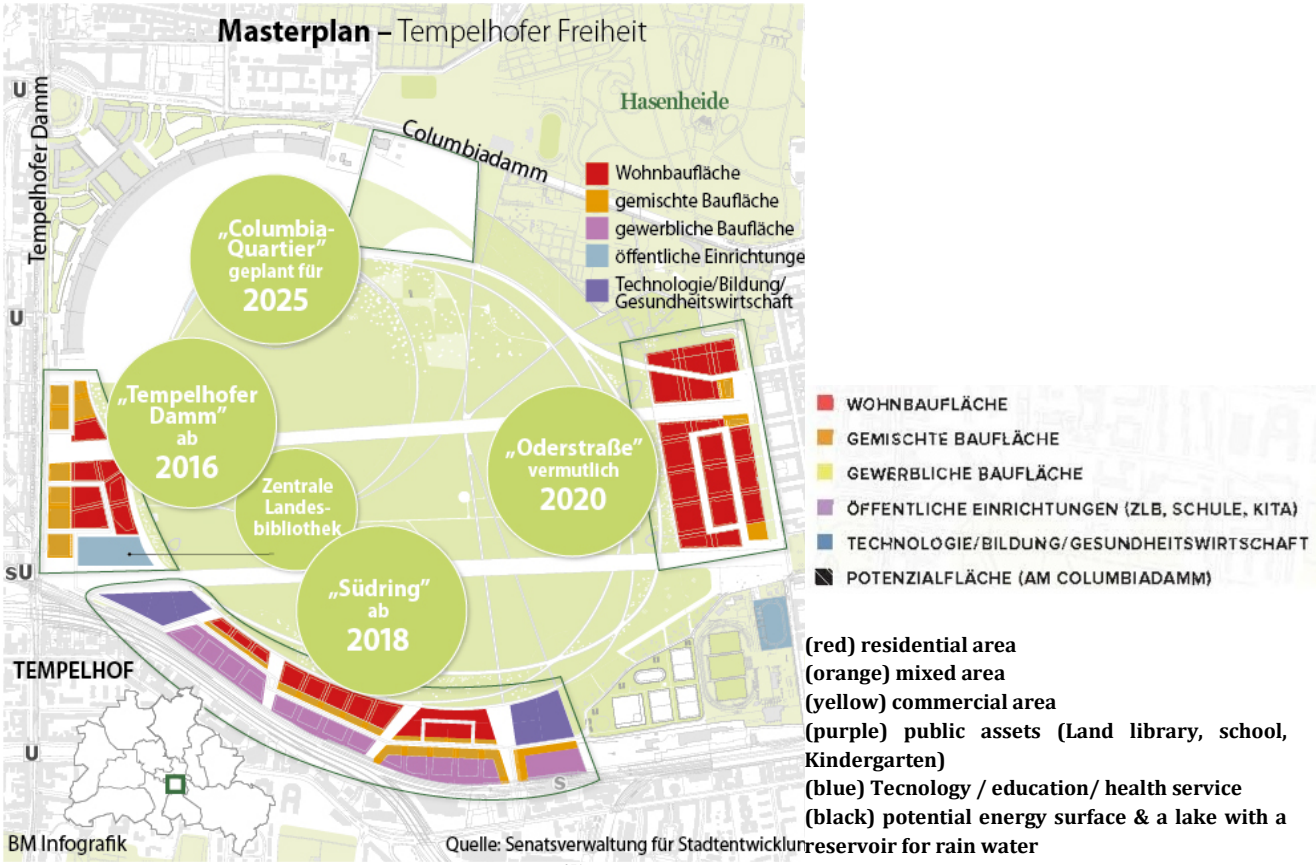
Uses plan in the temporal uses project "Tempelhof Freiheit" (Source: http://www.thf-berlin.de/)

Facilitating experimental temporal uses within the area allowed the citizens to take possession of the place and transform it through different uses, maintaining, at the same time, a high level of flexibility. Yet, it allowed the Berlin city council to reduce the costs of management of the area also making it more attractive for investors and giving it to a central role in the territorial marketing strategy. The Senate web site says "Tempelhof Freiheit is one of the most important urban development projects in Berlin" and "pioneers and interim users bring new life to Tempelhofer

freiheit". These sentences perfectly fit in the "creative city" framework described by Richard Florida and Charles Landry (Novy, Colomb, 2013) and recently adopted by the Berlin Senate. «The paradox here is that the 'authentic', if not displaced by gentrification, is a candidate for appropriation by the market.» (Shaw, 2005, 156). «Incentive to explore strategies capable to protect the city "alternative" space is growing with the increasing of the symbolic value of the culture diversity.» The cities that nowadays try to compete on the *world economy* are looking for a distinctive characteristic that could give them a great attractiveness and common interests are rising between cities with affirmed and relevant alternative culture and the actors of the alternative culture itself. (Ibid., 2005, 150). At this regard, it is interesting the emphasis on the concept of liberty, as highlighted by the title of the project for the park temporal uses: "Tempelhof Freiheit" ("Tempelhof Freedom"), that in fact claims it as barriers free space and free participation in the definition of its uses.

4. New development plans and last referendum

In September 2013, the Senator for Urban Development Michael Müller (SPD) presented the plans for the development of the outer ring of Tempelhofer Feld (*Pläne für die Randbebauung des Tempelhofer Feldes*) to the citizenship. It is expected to create over this area a total of four sites that, among other things, will include the creation of 4,700 new apartments, a sports centre, a shopping area, a reservoir for rainwater harvesting and various public facilities, as a state library, a kindergarten and a school. Implementation phases have been divided by objectives and areas. «For the first site of the district Tempelhofer Damm (west side) was signed on Thursday (12/09/2013) a protocol agreement between Müller, representatives of municipal housing companies (*Städtischen Wohnungsbaugesellschaften*) "degewo" and "Stadt und Land" as well as the cooperative IDEAL (IDEAL Genossenschaft). In the district it is planned to build 1500-1700 housing units with associated infrastructure. Construction is expected to start after the completion of the planning process in 2016.



(red) residential area
(orange) mixed area
(yellow) commercial area
(purple) public assets (Land library, school, Kindergarten)
(blue) Tecnology / education/ health service
(black) potential energy surface & a lake with a reservoir for rain water

Masterplan Tempelhofer Freiheit and implementation phases[271]

They agreed that at least 50 per cent of the apartments will be offered, after the completion of the allocation of rents at market prices, at an affordable price between 6 and 8 Euros per square meter to ensure a "social mix" in the new districts. In order to let private actors a corresponding gain the Senate will award the lots to the current market value, thereby losing the additional revenue that would be gained in a regular process based on the principle of price and demand. Moreover, Müller stated the funds provided in the budget for 2014 for the expected Housing fund. Müller He pointed out that the core of Tempelhofer Feld with an area of 230 hectares is not affected by the plans. The area has become a meeting place for those seeking relaxation as well as for sportsmen and recreational athletes, since it opened

[271] http://www.thf-berlin.de/en/about-tempelhofer-freiheit/planning-development/construction/.

three years ago, and so it should remain. The measures envisaged, as the layout of the park and the construction of a large water reservoir, will only serve to make the area more attractive. Maren Kern, Executive Director of the *Berlin-Brandenburgischer Wohnungsunternehmen* (BBW - Berlin-Brandenburg real estate companies) welcomed the plans "for a socially responsible development belt placed at the edge of Tempelhofer Feld". These areas should offer the ideal conditions in a central location. Therefore, it is good "that these areas can be developed quickly even with regard to the interests of potential tenants to find an housing supply adequate and socially balanced". Resistance to the project, however, is opposed by the "Initiative 100% Tempelhof Field", which will begin on Saturday with the collection of signatures for a petition against the development plans. The aim is to prevent any development of the area and fully Instead maintain its current configuration as a recreational area. The initiative is supported, among others, from the *Bund für Natur und Umweltschutz* (BUND - Association for Nature and Environmental Protection), the *Naturfreunden* (Friends of Nature) and local citizens' initiatives (*lokalen Bürgerinitiativen*).» [272] (MieterEcho, 2013).

Campagna per il referendum "100% Tempelhofer Feld"

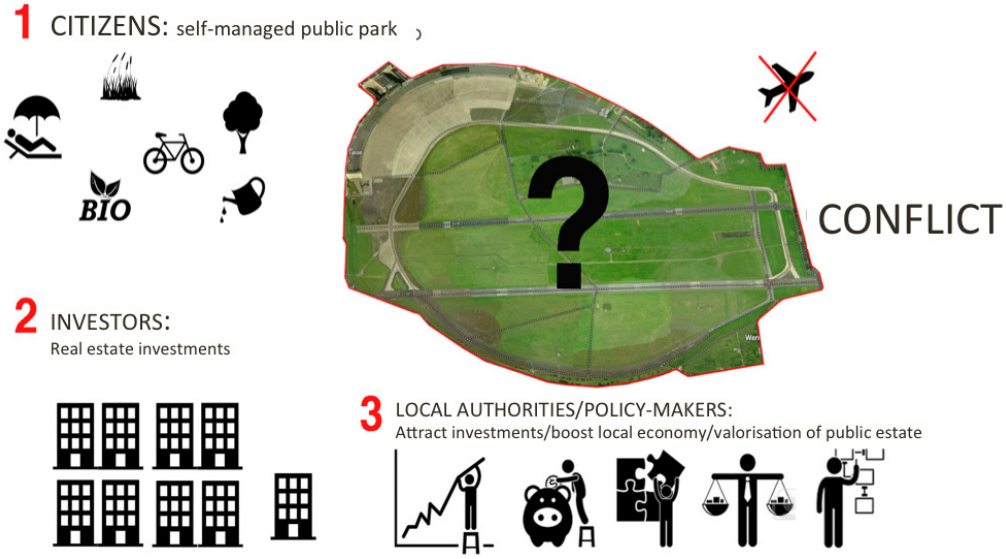
For its part, the Senate, not only acknowledge the development of this area as an investment, a great opportunity for urban development and enhancement of the southeast sector of the city, but also the need to recover the expenditure incurred for the purchase and for the design of the area. The Senate, in fact, has spent the past few years, according to Senator Michael Müller (SPD), EUR 9.8 million for design services for Tempelhofer Feld: € 2.6 million has been invested, according to "Bild" and "BZ "only in the design of the park with the tank rainwater harvesting, further € 2.5 million was spent on the project of the National Library, 1.9 million for the design of housing and € 475,000 for the participation of citizens (Berliner Zeitung, 2014).[273] In fact, during the presentation of the new development plans of the area, the Senator said that a dialogue with the citizens on the fate of the area was carried out through the organization of conferences, workshops, an Users' Advisory Committee via web for the participated definition of the project for the park areas.[274] According to citizens, however, it was necessary to prevent the realization of the project that threatened to reduce the space available for the users of the park, to contribute to the loss of biodiversity and to initiate a process of gentrification that would have limited future accessibility to the park for all . Last but not least, this intervention would transform the area by hiding the painful memory of what had once been the main airport of the Nazi Germany. Moreover, the political forms of austerity and sale of public assets that the local government had adopted since its establishment have fuelled distrust of the quality and the effectiveness of housing policies proposed.

Proposals for the referendum: enable (*erlaubt*) leisure, sport and gardening activities and those connected to the natural dimension of the area; fordibbed (*verboten*) constructions, speculation on the area and e alteration of the natural dimension (Source: FeldGesetz)

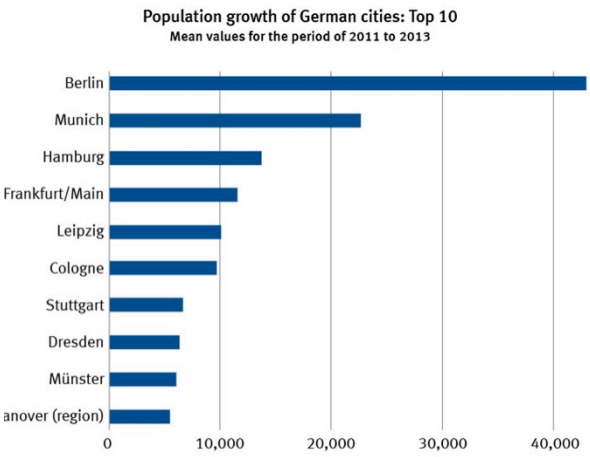
The reaction of the inhabitants was immediate. The association "100% Tempelhofer Feld" launched a "Bürgerbegehren" ("citizens' initiative"), a new campaign to collect signatures for a referendum and thus allow the citizens to express themselves directly over the fate of the park. For the occasion were collected far beyond the number of signatures required by January 13th, 2014 (185,000 in total). The national referendum which was held May 25, 2014 ruled that the area should remain indefinitely at 100% for public park use and opposed any plans for development of the area, with 65,053 votes in favour (65% of the votes). The proposal approved by the citizens' initiative, allows all uses that do not involve permanent constructions or alterations of the park (recreation, sports and connected to the natural dimension) and forbids any permanent alteration, construction or form of real estate speculation (see File 3).

[272] Translation of the MieterEcho' article (13/9/2013) by the author.
[273] http://www.berliner-zeitung.de/berlin/wohnungsbau-in-berlin-wohnen-auf-ungenutzten-friedhofsflaechen,10809148,2-8091246.html
[274] http://www.stadtentwicklung.berlin.de/aktuell/pressebox/archiv_volltext.shtml?arch_1303/nachricht4915.html.

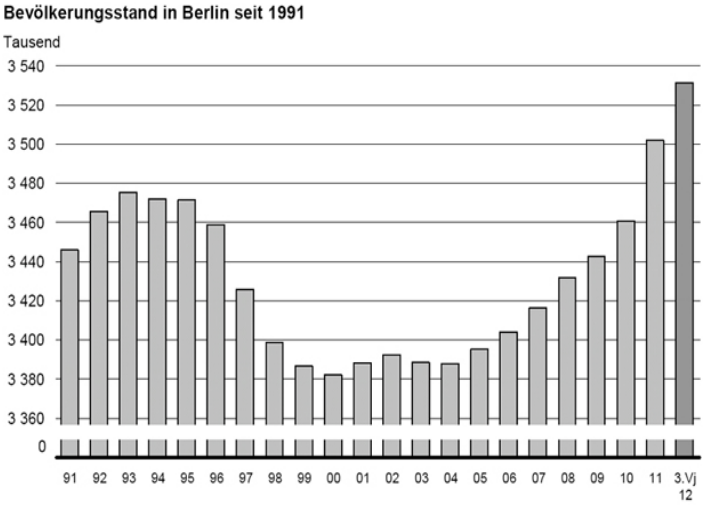
Remarks: Why the conflict between citizens and local government?



This new development plan has sparked new controversy around certain issues. Housing policies proposed on the area of Tempelhof seem, to the many "committees of tenants" (including "Wir bleiben alle", "Mieter Echo", etc.), **insufficient to meet the growing demand for social housing rents**. The proposal to offer accommodation in 6 or 8 euro per square meter (to which should be added an average of 2.42 €/sqm for expenses), would, according to Andrej Holm (professor of urban sociology at Humboldt University Berlin), a offer that won't be accessible to the poorer segments of the population, including, according to his calculations, the **growing segment of the population at risk of poverty**[275] (ie families with an income below 60% of the average of Berlin). Among the numerous committees of residents, who are fighting against the unsustainable increase in house prices and the consequent dislocation of the population with low incomes, many believe that these people have access to a rental market with rents that come to a maximum demand of € 5.42 at € 5.90 per square meter (Wir bleiben alle, 2014)[276]. There are many people in Berlin, according to Holm and tenants committees' data (Wir Beiben Alle; Kotti & CO.; etc.), that today are not able to enter the rental market. The reasons: the high number of people experiencing poverty, about 260,000 (the highest number among the cities of West Germany) and a total of 214,971 people registered as unemployed (Hartz IV data in January 2014). In fact, rents for social housing that are around € 10,42 per square meter would be far beyond the limits approved by the public assistance program Hartz IV, the system of state subsidies granted to the unemployed or those who can not or may not have access to the labour market. In addition, the number of people who can not afford rent in the city is constantly growing because of low wages and the low supply of new housing, which compared with a steady growth of the population, it produces an uncontrolled increase in house prices, further exacerbating the situation.[277]



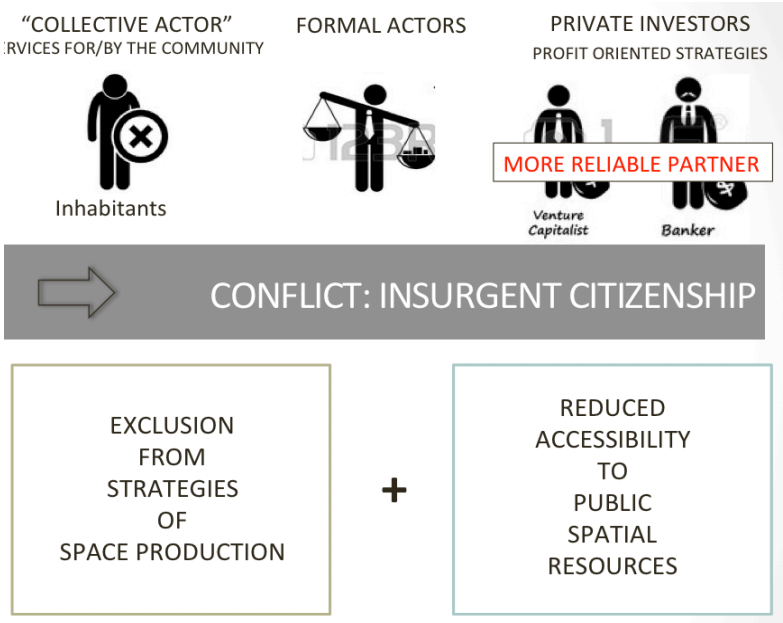
"Berlin has gained about 43,000 new residents each year from 2011 to 2013" [278] **(Source: Federal Statistical Office; calculation: BiB)**



Berlin population change between 1990 and 2012 [279]

[275] https://gentrificationblog.wordpress.com/2014/05/31/berlin-volksverdummende-egoisten-fur-soziale-wohnungspolitik/
[276] http://wirbleibenalle.org/?cat=69
[277] http://www.nichts-laeuft-hier-richtig.de/#wohnungsnotbericht_berlin
[278] http://www.bib-demografie.de/SharedDocs/Meldungen/EN/TopThema/2015_01_19_migration_german_cities.html

The Senate on his part states that the stoppage of work, (as we read in the manifestos of the SPD in the whole of Berlin), due to the outcome of the referendum for "100% Tempelhofer Feld", prevents the construction of new social housing and worsens the housing crisis. «But is it really so? For years, the Berlin Senate has privatized public property and now, immediately, everything should become social?» (Wir bleiben alle, 2014).[280] For this reason citizens complain about a lack of confidence in the housing policies of the local government (SPD), which, since 2002, made the sale or disposal of 120,000 public housing units - 57% of the total units privatized after reunification (data presented by Andrej Holm[281]); in particular, in 2004 the Berlin Senate proceeded to the "fire sale" of the municipal company GSW assets (about 70,000 apartments of the public housing for which have been collected 405 million euro while the potential market value of the assets was calculated between 800 and 900 million euro), to the companies Whitehall (which is part of the investment bank Goldman Sachs) and Cerberus (Der Tagesspiegel, 2009). This has contributed to the growth of the speculative market in the real estate sector in Berlin and the rapid growth in house prices mainly social rents, causing numerous evictions for rental arrears. Yet, it contributed to the emergence of phenomena of gentrification in neighbourhoods affected by the sale of these assets and strategies of urban regeneration and valorisation processes. The government in Berlin said it was forced to resort to strong cuts and austerity policies both to reduce the debt contracted with banks that in 2001 nearly brought the city to financial default (debt reached 63 billion euro in 2013) and by demand of the central government to reduce state subsidies to local government. Since 2002, Thilo Sarrazin, finance minister between 2002 and 2007 under the Berlin Senate Worwereit's government (SPD), then proceeded coth to severe cuts and to the sale of 110,000 social housing, and has deleted the financing program for the creation of 28,000 new units of subsidized housing (Spiegel Online, 2011). «This leaves Wowereit lacking an important tool toward preventing city segregation. According to a recent survey by research institute Forsa, one in four Berliners affected by rent increases plans to move soon. This January, meanwhile, Wowereit declared rising rents were a good sign. Residents simply need to get used to the fact that the city -- which has long been famous for its cheap rents -- is no longer as inexpensive as it once was, the mayor said, although he added that income levels should also increase.» (Ibid., 2011). Meanwhile, the adoption of these policies made further problematic situation of the weaker social classes (as confirmed in the 'Poverty Report for 2013 "presented at the "National Conference on Poverty and various welfare organisations"). In 2011, Ellen Haussdörfer, member of the state parliament of Berlin for the centre-left Social Democrats (SPD) warned: "**If we don't address the problems, the resulting costs will soon be so high that we won't be able to get the situation back under control**." (Spiegel Online, 2011).



Wowereit's SPD and the Left Party promised in their 2006 coalition agreement to "preserve the social mix," and to "counteract tendencies toward exclusion and segregation." Moreover, it declared that rent prices should remain "consistent with their social mandate." «The state-level SPD even talked of a "new era" in urban planning in a 2010 paper.» (Ibid., 2011). Actually, some parts of the city have seen their populations completely replaced since reunification to now due to the formation of small "ghettos" for the rich· According to Wolfgang Kaschuba is an urban anthropologist at Berlin's Humboldt University "City centre residents want a high degree of conformity," explaining that they don't want to be confronted with other social milieus. "But when it's just Prada rubbing shoulders with Armani, then a city doesn't have a mixture anymore -- it has a problem.»

«Diversity and difference have always been important principles in European urban planning. But what happens when a city is left to its own devices - when the market rules and politics takes a back seat?» (Ibid., 2011). This introduces the second point. The distrust of citizens is also evident on the impact and benefit agreement reached with private investors. Who is benefited from the development of the area? While the Senate promises 50% of new homes on rent control, it would seem that there are no guarantees that this promise will be maintained and currently the agreements signed provide only about 50% of the 1,700 apartments on the west side of the Tempelhofer Damm social rent, i.e. 850 units, 18% of the total housing provided by the plan (4,700).[282] Moreover, in many question, especially after the sell-off of public assets, the commission for the construction of social housing to private investors. According to some, the social

[279] http://www.demografie-portal.de/SharedDocs/Aktuelles/DE/2013/130130_Berlin_waechst.html;jsessionid=285B9ACF8414985EA59E96E46651-3-8DE.1_cid389
[280] Cit.
[281] http://www.bmgev.de/fileadmin/redaktion/downloads/privatsierung/konferenz-dokumentation/praesentationen/praesentation-andrej-holm.pdf
[282] http://www.avanti-projekt.de/news/warum-die-pl%C3%A4ne-des-berliner-senats-auf-dem-tempelhofer-feld

housing realized by private actors causes a demand for higher rent, to meet the profit expectations of private investment, which also would enjoy to superior advantages since it gets the public lands at lower prices. While, in this conditions the public actor would get a much lower advantage than giving the task to a public company.[283] In addition, the neighbours are afraid that the new housing units rented at market price, which are expected to achieve high rents values given the central location and proximity to the park, could possibly lead to the increase of rental costs in the surrounding areas, and further phenomena of gentrification (as occurred in the Mitte and Prenzlauerberg neighbourhoods, and, increasingly, in the district of Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg)[284]. Finally, the majority of citizens did not feel represented in the choices of the Senate, lamenting the ineffectiveness of participatory processes both in the design of the project for the area, the definition of strategies and identified cooperative partners and in public spending decisions. Then there are those who wonder, as the committees for the protection of the environment, **why continue with traditional strategies of urban development based on land consumption, in a city characterized by a high number of vacant and abandoned spaces (both buildings and lands)**. Build in that area also means endangering plants and animal species that have settled in the area.

The case of Tempelhof, beyond contextual considerations, it is interesting for the high number of citizens involved in the mobilization against the development plans for the area. The strategies of re-appropriation of space (the attempts of occupation, the protests, the temporary uses, the referendum[285]) against the commodification of the city and in defence of "the commons", have collected adhesion and shared objectives of a large part of the citizenry. This former airport, once lost its function and become a big “urban void” located close to the central districts, it is identified by the public as a “common good” to defend and to reappropriate/reclaim collectively. The forms of conflict enacted, from the most radical to the most “institutional”, embodied the strong reaction against the neo-liberal urban policies implemented since the 1990s, and especially against the significant influence and control that the market exerts on public policies and urban agenda (producing effects of commodification of all the levels of experience of urban space and everyday life). The urban regeneration in advanced liberalism, within the framework of major reductions of public spending and budget problems, encouraged strong privatization of public spaces and goods and have placed the local governments in a subordinate position to the private actor. New urban development strategies based on the model of "creative city" have harnessed the cultural, alternative, spontaneous and autonomous dimension of creative forms of re-appropriation of abandoned spaces within the city.

The policies of conservation of the "cultural and alternative value" of these alternative spaces have often ended up turning them into attractors of phenomena of gentrification (Shaw, 2005; Colomb, 2012). Policies strongly aimed at attracting private investments for the increase of human capital and tourism, have produced an invasion of new inhabitants of middle/ upper classes, who seem to appropriate of the city, increasing the housing demand and thus contributing to transform it from a "poor but sexy "to" rich and unaffordable” (Spiegel Online, 2012). This has resulted in the emergence of a demand among citizens: “*Wem die Stadt gehort?*” (who does the city belong?). The growing mistrust by citizens in the policies of the local government, especially in relation to what concerns the public agenda and strategies of urban development, has highlighted the urgent need to bring back to the centre the debate over the "right to the city", concerning the right to participate and "appropriate" the city (Purcell, 2002) – as recite slogans claiming of Tempelhof protesters: “*Nehemen wir uns die Stadt zurück*” (“take back the city”). Finally, citizens, self-organized and supported by some political groups, mainly the green, thanks to a campaign to raise awareness of all the townspeople, have got to impose the will of the majority on the expected development of the area. In addition, the disposal of the assets of the area and its partial privatization, took place after a series of disposal and privatization of public assets, which characterized the central pivot of the austerity and budgetary policies of Berlin from the 1990s to today. This phenomenon has produced a growing resistance on the part of citizens to institutional strategies, increasing number of urban conflicts and increasing resort to the use of the referendum. Some say, however, that the frequent recourse to referendum, considered an instrument of direct democracy, actually flattens the debate between the parties on a power of the majority. This leaves no room for negotiating of positions and interest held by minority. Nevertheless, this reclaiming experience from the bottom of the right to participate in decisions affecting the development of a great spatial resource, a symbolic space for the citizenship, has “stand the chance of altering existing planning prerogatives” (Groth & Corijn, 2005) for Tempelhofer Feld. The conflict is not solved, but at present this big empty space remained a "white paper" where «clashes in ‘urban meaning’ manifest themselves, since different pathways of urban development are envisaged» (Ibid., 2005); on which to invent and negotiate every day new uses, new practices and forms of everyday urban living through temporarily limited activities. This question the limited notions within current discourses that conceive the relationship between public and private space and planned and non-planned spaces as binary would have eliminated the possibility of negotiating from time to time a "liquid" dimension of private/ semi-public / public uses and spaces, that the daily construction of a "common" space permits to experiment. These are the places where is possible to experience the agonistic dimension of conflicting visions projected on the public space (i.e. conflicts between space and society, between different interests and desires and between power dynamics).

[283] http://kottiundco.net/2012/05/28/camp-programm/
[284] https://gentrificationblog.wordpress.com/
[285] I argue that the referendum, being a means for radical democracy, could be considered a form of reappropriation of the right to participate and thus, according to Lefebvre, radical participation is a symbolic form of reappropriation of the space itself.

4.b LAGHETTO EX-SNIA

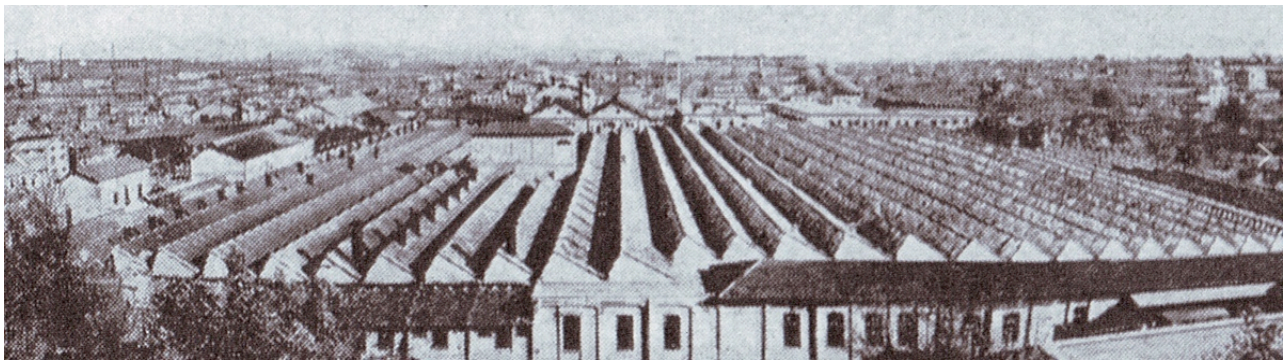
Localization of the area:	Located in the South-West of the city centre, near the city's central station, in an ex-working class neighbourhood (Pigneto-Prenestino) where are localized important rail infrastructures and former industrial areas. Due to decades of estate speculation, the district is fully urbanized and is characterized by an high density of population (one of the highest within the city) and lacks in public areas, such as gardens and public assets more in general.
Space typology:	Ex industrial area – Snia Viscosa factory (big empty area)
Property owner:	Public/private (Private property with public use destination; it has been expropriated by public in three phases between 1994 and 2014)
Reason for vacancy:	Industrial area decommissioned since 1954; between 1954 to 1991, included in urban project for the localization of public assets (never activated); since 1992 became an abandoned construction site (due to lack of legal licenses)
Planning destination:	Industrial production area; public assets (government assets/public assets); public assets + a mall and parking spaces. Split of the area: public side intended to be a public park and public assets for social and cultural activities; the private side intended to be university assets; infrastructures for the World Swimming; four towers for housing. Todays destination: a public park and public assets for social, cultural and sport activities
Reclaimed space as:	Self-managed public space
Typology of users:	The neighbourhood's committee and associations, neighbours and city population
Nationality:	Mostly neighbours (the neighbourhood: high presence of immigrated population)
Legal status of the area:	Regularized public park after have been expropriated to the private owner
Actual use:	Public park

Conflicts over ex-Snia lake's park due to:	• public areas kept as urban voids precluding the access to citizenship • the need to stop building and consuming land in a district densely built • critics to formally public regulatory practices that emerge to be substantially informal and connected to political clientelism – planning rules often not respected • critics to substantial top-down approach in defining planning prevision for public spaces - exclusion of citizens from the participation in public-decision making processes • unbalanced power between the private investor and the informal actors in negotiating with formal actors
Citizens' claims:	• Access to public green areas – lack of public assets in the neighbourhood • Access abandoned spaces in the economically inaccessible city, for social, cultural and leisure activities – particularly for areas of the city on the verge of falling into a physical and social degradation; • Enable public open and "free of bans" spaces; • Create or individuate tolls for citizen empowerment in self-management and co-production of public spaces to activate big abandoned areas and take them away from private speculation and privatization; • The right to the city: the right to participate and appropriate the spaces where the active citizenship can develop alternative ideas for the use and management of public spaces.
Stakeholders involved in the conflict:	• Rome City • VI District of Rome administration • The real estate developer Antonio Pulcini • Neighbourhood committee Prenestino/Pigneto • Self-managed Social Centre "Ex-Snia" • Forum Territoriale Permanente del Parco delle Energie • Various associations (preservationists, environmentalists, etc.) • DAUHAUS university collective (students/professionals in urban planning/architecture/engineering) • Citizens (mostly neighbours – like children from the local schools - but also from the whole city)
Strategies adopted by informal actors:	• Constitution of a Neighbourhood Committee and local associations • Initiatives proposed from the bottom • Squatting/ Reclaiming processes • Protests • Self-management of part of the area • Self-organized participation processes and project proposals • Public information over the conflict
Strategies adopted by formal actors:	• Introduction of the "Regulation for institutions of participation and citizens' initiatives" (res. 101/1994) • New City's resolution (res. 26/1995) for the regularization of squatted public spaces • Neighbourhood committee's empowerment: assignment of the management of a public park in the area to the citizenship • Participation to European calls for funding for urban regeneration projects • Expropriation of the area for public interest • Call for a participated project for the development of a public park

EX-SNIA'S LAKE HISTORY

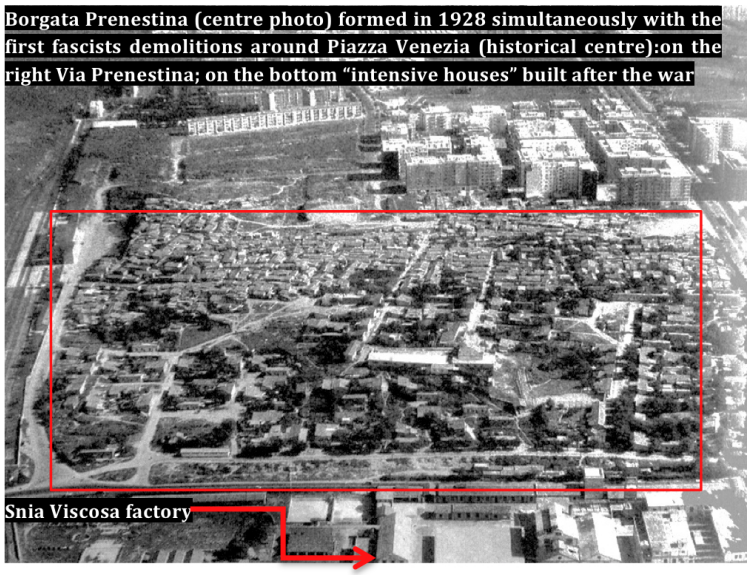
In Rome, in the district Pigneto Prenestino - once working-class neighbourhood, now densely populated – emerged a conflict over a large abandoned area. The area was left vacant for decade, after the factory Snia-Viscosa was demised in 1954. The area was left hidden behind the wall, letting the vegetation recover its spaces, giving life to a spontaneous urban park, where in 1994, during excavations, a natural lake was formed.

1. The history of Pigneto-Prenestino neighbourhood and the Snia Viscosa factory area



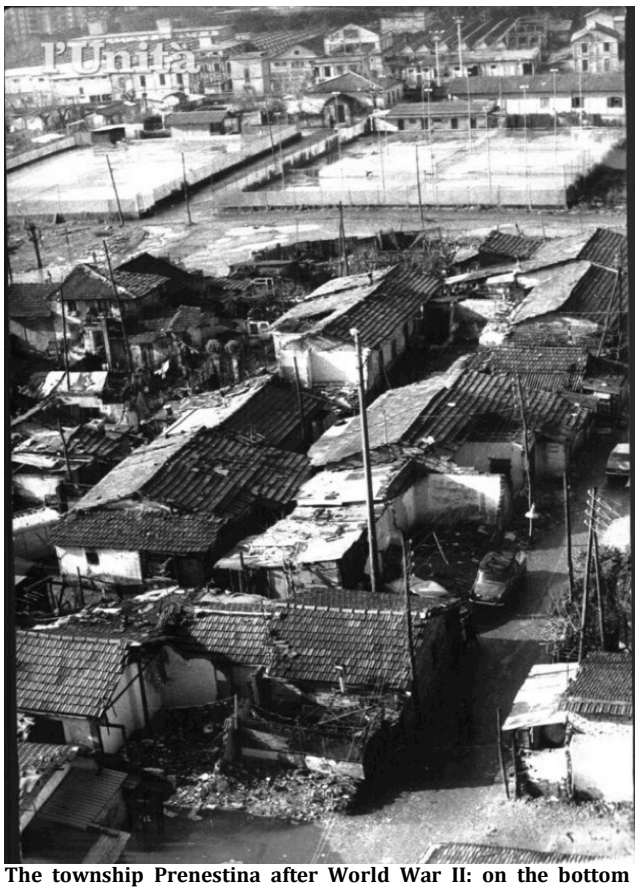
Snia Viscosa factory – Rome 1938 (Source: www.archivioviscosa.org)

The Pigneto district is located in the east of Rome. The neighbourhood. Triangle shaped, extends between *piazzale Labicano*, the consiliar roads *Prenestina* (north) and *Casilina* (south-west), and *via dell'acqua Bullicante* (east). The neighbourhood is located near the student's district San Lorenzo. It was considered a peripheral and degraded area for decades. Since the 2000s, thanks to its affordable prices and its new centrality (due to the expansion of the city) it was increasingly inhabited by students and migrants, that mixing with its historic social fabric, have created an interesting social mix. In connection to that and due to successful little urban regeneration projects in the area (e.g. the pedestrianization of its main street, where the market is held) the neighbourhood became very popular among young generations, for its "alternative" dimension. This has produced a strong increase in rental prices during 2000s, in the area interested by urban regeneration. The neighbourhood extends to the left of the Via Prenestina up to Rome-Pescara railway, where since the twenties of the XX century, in an area of 14 hectares, were located the premises of the historic factory Snia Viscosa (which for the entire first half of the XX century, produced a type of artificial silk). From the beginning of the twentieth century, the presence of this factory was very important for the development of district-Pigneto-Prenestino.[286] The district was formed at the end of the XIX century due to settlement of a group of factories including the railway goods yard, various industrial plants, large deposits of refuse collection and trams, and countless artisan workshops (Insolera, 1993). Thus arose a group of public housing that quickly became a real suburb whose population was constitute by railway workers, workers, bus drivers, artisans, street cleaners. In 1928 the Borgata (working-class suburb) *Prenestina* arose near the factory, almost simultaneously with the construction of the Borgata *Gordiani*, but the former was placed a little further north than the latter, along the consular road Prenestina, near the settlement of the Snia factory, near the station Prenestina (Rossi, 2012, 7).



«The shacks that for decades had arisen here and there in the wasteland of the countryside close to the city, increase greatly after the war. Groups of poor houses were arranged along the main consular roads: *Centocelle* and *Torpignattara* on Casilina […]. Very distant from the borders of the master plan these first roman "borgate" arise favored by the presence of the railways to Fiuggi and the Roman castles, reducing the gap with the nearest part of Rome, the area outside *Porta Maggiore* where less difficult could be to find a job in freight yard, the tram depot, the refuse collection and some factories.» (Insolera, 1993, 104). In this area Pier Paolo Pasolini set the film Accattone (1961), an important example of the material and social misery of those peripheries.

[286] http://www.archivioviscosa.org/la-fabbrica/



The township Prenestina after World War II: on the bottom the establishments of Snia Viscosa (Source: archive *l'Unità*)

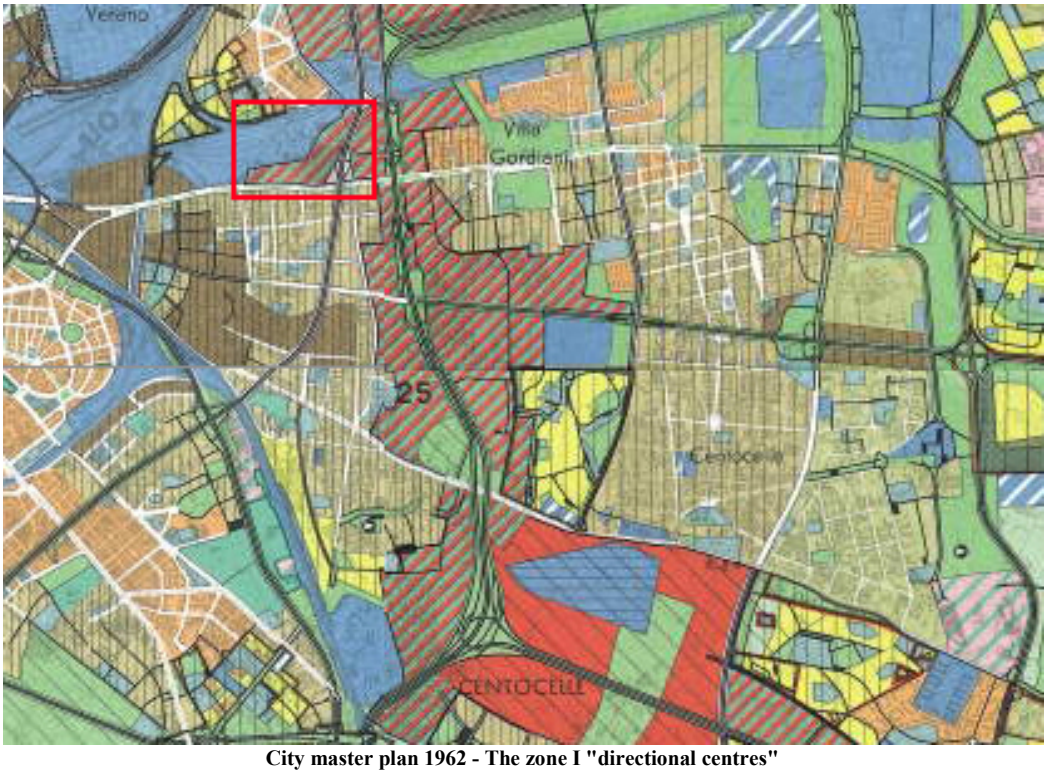
After World War II the city was subjected to strong growth especially with regard to the eastern sector of the city, and particularly in areas adjacent to roads Casilina and Prenestina. In addition to the large Borgate, new slums (especially arranged along railway lines and along the Roman aqueducts) and phenomena intensive illegal building are settled along the main roads. The borgate were then replaced, since the 1970s, by large projects for public housing districts (ERP), such as the *Casilino 23*, slums and illegal subdivisions were either demolished or regularized by subsequent building amnesties (many in the Italian history: 1973, 1982, 1985, 1991, 1995, 2003, 2009). This varied accumulation of settlements, welcomed the influx of immigration, from central and southern Italy during the demographic boom and urban sprawl phase and, from foreign countries in the last two decades, (Mudu, 2014a). The district results, from the beginning of its formation, with a serious shortage in the localization of public services. In fact, its intense construction took place initially without a master plan to define the rules. Following the inclusion of the district in the master plan, the rules imposed were often not followed and the public spaces were never created or activated. Today the district is one of the most densely populated of Rome (9,132.67 inhab. / Km²) - the result of a century of real estate speculation that left no room for the creation of public spaces and green areas.

2. Abandonement of the area, project SDO and lack in site planning & designed services in the district

The ex-Snia area –covering more than 14 hectares- is located in the core of an highly built district. After its dismantlement it remained "empty" and abandoned for about 40 years since it was included in the *Sistema Direzionale Ortientale*, SDO project (Oriental Directional System) in the Rome master plan of 1962. The SDO was planned to contain –along the entire arc of the city eastern suburbs- a new "off-centre directional area".
Since the early 1950s important Itaian urban planners hypothesized this SDO projected inspired by the model of the *Central Business District*, which, in those times, was becoming progressively more popular in Europe. The aim of this project was to re-balance spatial organization of the city of Rome, by creating an *"Asse Attrezzato"* ("Equipped Axis") located in the eastern city district (Ajmonino 1966). This "program" planned to transfer all the offices of the historical city centre –including Ministries of *Via XX Settembre*, general headquarters and offices of public goods and authorities- to the eastern side of Rome (Cuccia 1991). Real state speculations and illegal building had attacked this eastern area since its formation –due to the huge and disorganized immigration flow to Rome from the end of the II World War and still running during the early 1960s-. In this framework, the SDO project had a double function: to give new vitality to and create a city plan for the working-class peripheral area on one side and to relieve the pressure on the historical centre by diluting on a city larger area daily commuting fluxes. Unfortunately, this SDO project was not realized due to several reasons (Casabela 1996). The master plan (PRG) prepared by the *Comitato Elaborazione Tecnica*, CET (Technical Development Committee in 1954) and signed by *Piccinato*, dominant figure in Italian planning under the Fascist regime and later (Di Biagi & Gabellini, 1992; Malusardi, 1993), was approved on December 16th 1965. The total area involved in the SDO project included a 46 million-cube meters of new buildings (Camarada 2007). The PRG was including the new "Zone I: Directional centres" on the areas where the SDO was going to be realized. For the realization of the SDO project were initially selected the Pietralata and Centocelle districts, but finally included also the Tiburtino and Casilino districts. In the meantime the national Government had licensed a law (no. 167/1962) introducing plans for the public housing districts on those areas classified in the zoning as "167". In 1967 the city hall adopted and approved a variation of the 167/1962 law, which –amongst many other things, allowed a high density of building in the "D zones". Such "D zones" expanded progressively partially occupying the land planned for the SDO realization, therefore contributing to the final failure of the SDO project. Moreover, in the 1974 master plan's variation there was a remarkable reduction of the initial cubature of the SDO (from 46 to 14 cube meters spaces) in order to introduce some public green space and to provide services to the adjacent city districts (Camarada 29007, 96-97). Another variation of the 1978 introduced the "O zones" (illegal building settlements), quite numerous in the eastern

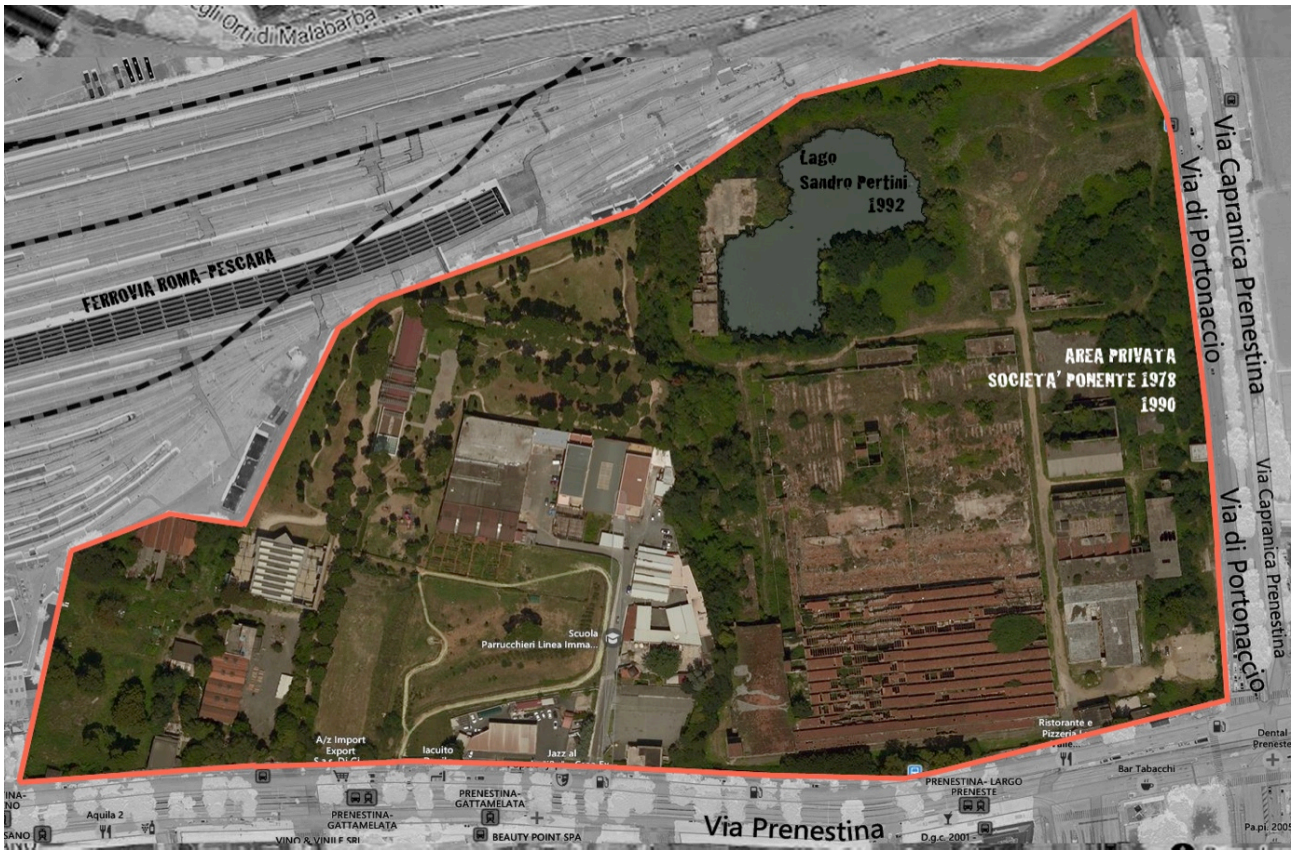
city. This provoked a further decrement of the SDO cubature (down to 669.000 cube meters – Ibid 2007). In 1985 the city hall, by acknowledging of the progressive delay and difficulty for the SDO realization, requested a specific technical/financial analysis to identify the reasons for the SDO program failure. Sabino Cassese, Gabriele Scimeni and Kenzo Tange were put in charge of proposing a Director Project based on: relieve of the city historical centre from administrative and directional functions, improvement of the population mobility and regeneration of the eastern city areas including the realization of integrated services centres and urban parks (Rossi 2012). In the meantime, the national Government released the Law no. 396 (Dec. 15th 1990 during the world soccer championship held in Italy, *"Italia '90"*) that created a special financial fund for Rome Capital of the Italian Republic. The article 8 of this 396/1990 law establishes a multiannual expropriation program for the remaining SDO project areas.

Perimeter SDO on the INU plan (National Institute of Urban Planning) 1967 - The area of the former factory Snia Viscosa (in red) is located in the compartment "B" Tiburtino



City master plan 1962 - The zone I "directional centres"

Actually, the SDO project progressively failed due to illegal building, bureaucratic time-planning errors and the little volume of land finally available: «[…] change after change, the Fiumicino highway has become the *Sistema Direzionale "Occidentale"* ("Western" Directional System) of Rome. In this way, while for several years architects and urbanists struggled for the *Sistema Direzionale Orientale* (Eastern Directional System) project realization, with a series of disorganized decisions –mainly triggered by business- the western *Sistema Direzionale (Occidentale)* was created. This means that the urban master plans are no more useful: the "market" does not need them in order to realize its domination without obstacles […]" (Insolera, 1993). Moreover, several areas included in the SDO project have been used as areas stocks to create public services dictated by the Law in the new peripheries of the Eastern city districts. This was not the case of the ex-Snia area, which was never expropriated and was abandoned for about 40 years, invaded by vegetation, which transformed it in a hided enclosed urban park. In 1982, the *Società Immobiliare Snia* obtained the ownership of all the premises included in the area (ownership transferred by the *CISA Viscosa* and *Snia Viscosa* societies) in order to sell them.[287]



Former Snia Viscosa factory compound

3. The neighbourhood committee struggling against speculation: the formation of the lake

In the early 1990s, a real estate developer, Antonio Pulcini, bought through his company, *Ponente 1978*, the warehouses of the ex-factory Snia Viscosa and the surrounding area. At that time, the *Pinciana 188 srl* company (headquarters in *Frosinone*, a town near Rome) purchased the industrial complex from the real estate company *SNIA*.[288] Once the building department of Regione Lazio released the building permit (council member Paolo Tuffi, Christian Democracy party, with constituency in Frosinone), the company *Pinciana 188 srl* merged into the company Ponente 1978. The building permit allowed building a 8 floors over ground complex (100.000 m^3, 25m tall), 2 floors for commercial structures, 6 floors for offices and 60.000 m^3 of underground garages (la Pigna, 12th March 1995).[289] The neighbourhood committee and the citizens were not aware of the project. «The neighbourhood committee *Pigneto-Prenestino*, […] immediately faced a problem: the acquisition of the ex-Snia Viscosa park in Largo Preneste. Some citizens warned us that many trucks entered in that area where they planned to create a public park. During an inspection we immediately discovered that the area was sever damaged: a "crater" in the ground, bulldozers, trucks and concrete mixers coming and going in a confused and dusted manner, soil mounds as height as hills. Our neighbourhood lack in any green zone and lose the only chance to get one gave us the impetus for the mobilization of all those who were aware of what was going on. » (Ibid., March 12th, 1995). Indeed, in the 1992, the construction works of a shopping

[287] https://lagoexsnia.wordpress.com/2014/07/25/644/
[288] https://lagoexsnia.wordpress.com/2014/07/25/644/
[289] Newsletter of the District "La Pigna" is distributed free to newsstands zone since 1994 to inform the neighbours on its initiatives and to raise awareness on issues concerning the district.

centre and of Local Health Care (ASL) building began in the areas that were not occupied by the old factory warehouses. Short after the works started, a 10m deep hole was dug in the construction site (needed for the underground parking area). During the excavation, the historic natural aquifer called *"Acqua Bullicante"* was accidentally pierced and the construction site flooded.

The abandoned construction site after the formation of the lake

In the meanwhile the company Ponente, beside to propose a variation to the project (since the site of the parking area was originally planned to be settled in a pinewood under conservative order), tried to drain the construction site pumping the water in to the sewer. A heavy storm caused the overload of the sewer that exploding caused the *largo Preneste* flooding. The entire neighbourhood had no water for many days.[290] The local newspaper *"La Pigna"* titled "Destroyed a public heritage". « Industrial archaeological buildings are destroyed without permission, a hill has been completely dug, the aquifer, essential for the pinewood survival, has been damaged, [291] green part are razed and, a 6 meters deep lake is formed in the shopping centre foundations.» (La Pigna, March 12th, 1995).

In the 1992 following private investigation, citizens and neighbourhood committees denounce the fraud of the false building permit. From 1992 to 1993 appeals to the Regional Administrative Court (TAR), press conferences, collection of signature for a local petition, denunciations, public demonstrations and major interpellations, were enacted. Since then, a real movement against illegal developments emerged (Ibid, 1995). Someone within the public council committed a big "mistake" colouring a green area with the colour of building area: pink instead of blue –i.e. Zone for district assets- (Il Fatto Quotidiano, 2012). The court determines the falsification of the plan[292] and with a regional decree (n1402/1992), it ordered the cancellation of the building permit. [293] On the ex-Snia case investigated also the judiciary during the *Tangentopoli*[294] judicial investigation. The citizenship resistance against the project for the right to have a public park in the area and for the stop of illegal developments and speculation, it is articulated through different strategies: demonstrations, appropriation of parts of the area, a constant citizen's information and the request of transparency for the decision-making processes from public administration. The struggle was intended for the defence of what is meant as a historical and naturalistic heritage, very valuable for the neighbourhood.

The Neighbourhood Committee (*Comitato di Quartiere*) Pigneto-Prenestino, formed officially in 1991 by some citizens in the area that, independently met to discuss and address the most critical problems of environmental degradation in the area. «**The will not to resign ourselves to this degradation, not passively delegate to the institutions, our democratic practicability, created soon a layer of common interests, which now includes the most diverse experiences**. From this was born a heterogeneous neighbourhood committee, which has have treasured of the diversity of individuals turning it into an element of strength […] presenting itself as a new representative reality in which the needs of citizens could find a direct channel of claim. […] However, often we met up against a **delegator mentality** of people who take refuge in **complete political disengagement,** holding back the Democratic Action of the Committee.» The committee gets widespread support to the struggles and events promoted for the park of the former Snia factory. «**Single piece of green surrounded by concrete, in an area among the most polluted in Rome, it had become prey to speculators building speculators who, thanks to mafia-style clientelistic relationships, were building with illegitimate license** a large shopping centre.» (from the editorial "The freedom is participation" - la Pigna, March 12th, 1995). The opposition of the District and citizens actually helped to bring out the unfeasibility of the planned project on the area and the inconsistency of the decision-making process that led to the issuance of licenses. These decision-making processes concealed latent interests and fuelled «what in Rome, can be defined as the example physiognomy of a category of power, the one linked to construction industry and land ownership, which has been the engine of the secular economy in the city, and which is still powered more by the propellant of ground rent than by company profits, and it is interwoven with finance» (Erbani, 2013).[295]

[290] This is a note from the Urban Planning Department of the Lazio Region sent on 14.07.1993 to the City Council in order to give notice to the Company in charge of containing the damage assessed.
[291] By Ministerial Decree of 23.03.1968 (Law 1497/1939), it was given the Restriction "Pineta Ex-snia 1968" to protect the pine forest planted in late twenties between boarding school and the services, located on the hill of the factory CISA Viscosa.
[292] https://lagoexsnia.wordpress.com/cronistoria-della-lotta/
[293] The company (Ponente 1978) contested this cancellation with an appeal before the Regional Administrative Court (TAR) and then to the State Council. Both appeals were rejected, the first in 1996, the second in 2007.
[294] Tangentopoli or "Mani pulite" (Italian for "clean hands") was a nationwide Italian judicial investigation into political corruption held in the 1990s.
[295] Translated by the author.

4. The struggle and the reappropriation of the park and the creation of Ex-Snia self-managed social centre

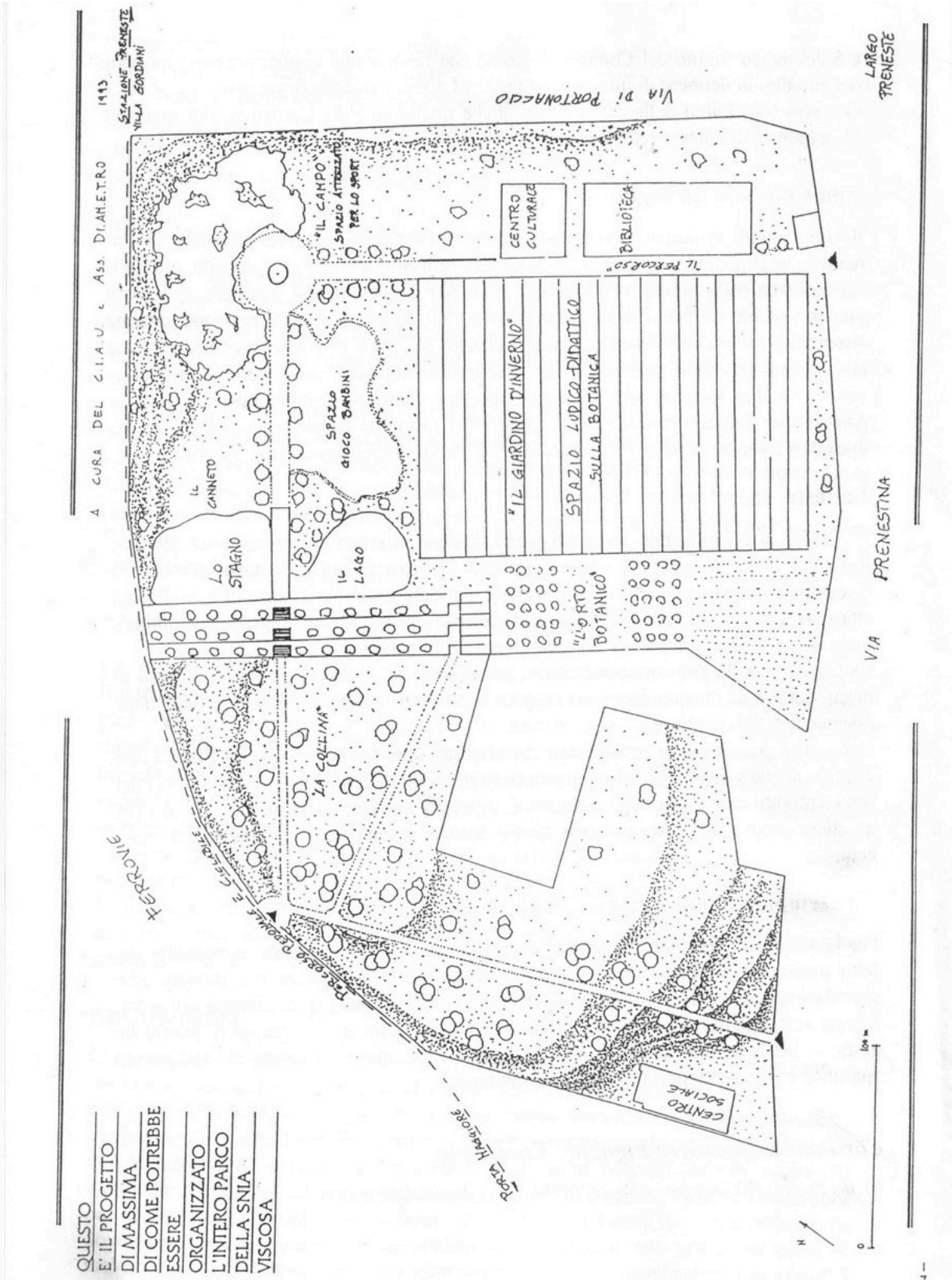
In 1993 citizens of Rome voted for the change of the municipal government and the new city administration (led by the new centre-left mayor Rutelli) adopted a more open approach to the negotiations with bottom-up practices in contrast with the repressive ways of the previous administration. It is in this context that the committees active in the area asked the municipality to designate part of the former SNIA Viscosa to Public Park and to be given the management of the park. For this reason the municipality suspended the planning permission to build a new mall in the area and issued the order to demolish the structures illegally built and now abandoned (already six floors high). Meanwhile, the neighbourhood groups fighting illegal development collected thousands of signatures to present resolutions of popular initiative and "Popular Queries and Petitions" as per Articles 3 and 5 of the new Code for the participation of the municipality of Rome approved in 1994 (see File 1, "Rules for participation and institutions of popular initiative"). This Code was introduced by the first council directly elected by citizens in order to fight against the corrupt practices between politicians and reckless developers set up by the previous city administration before it was investigated for wrongdoing with the legal trials of "Tangentopoli." For a long time the citizens of Rome claimed the right to participate in decision making that directly concerned the transformation of their city with their central concern being adequate services and public spaces up to this point undersized due to the speculation and illegal construction. Drawing a comparison with European countries this Code was a change of methodology toward the opening of negotiations from top-down to bottom-up, which was taking place in those years in many North-Western countries.

The fact that participation remained more on paper than in practice due to the not very inclusive practices of administrations in central and southern Italy and to the people's cultural attitude to passively delegate its own democratic power to the institutions. However in Rome this mentality of delegation affects only a part of the population while a large minority is organized and active and has always fought to resist the exclusion of citizens from the decision-making processes that concern the "production of space" in the city. This was the case for the district committees Pigneto-Prenestino: «The District Committee under the slogan "In 1994 the SNIA has to become a park " presented the project of a park designed by a group of architects which proposed the preservation of the pine forest along side the creation of proper social spaces for the neighbourhood; when the project [as illustrated by the map on the following page] will be completed it will include the existing buildings, a lake where you can go by kayak, a newly formed youth cooperative that will manage a nursery/botanical garden that children can visit; moreover sports fields, senior centres, playgrounds and trails for biking will be set up.» (Ibid, 1995). Also the children of the local primary school (E.Toti School) participated to the project via the initiative, called "neighbourhood Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow" that allowed the children to exercise critical judgment and express their desires for the neighbourhood, through researches, essays and poems. **This initiative was linked to the key objective of the district committees to improve the participation and contribution of citizens and make the neighbourhood more liveable for its inhabitants**, returning it to their needs. On 28.12.1994, the resolution 314 of the Rome City Council approved the plan of creating an equipped public park in part of the SNIA Viscosa and started the procedure of necessary expropriation for the park that was finally opened in 1997.
«The neo administration of the centre-left expropriated three industrial sheds to the developer Pulcini and opened for the first time to the inhabitants of the neighbourhood park of the former SNIA creating what is now called the *Parco delle Energie* (Park of Energies), the first green area of the district» (Reporter Nuovo, 2014).

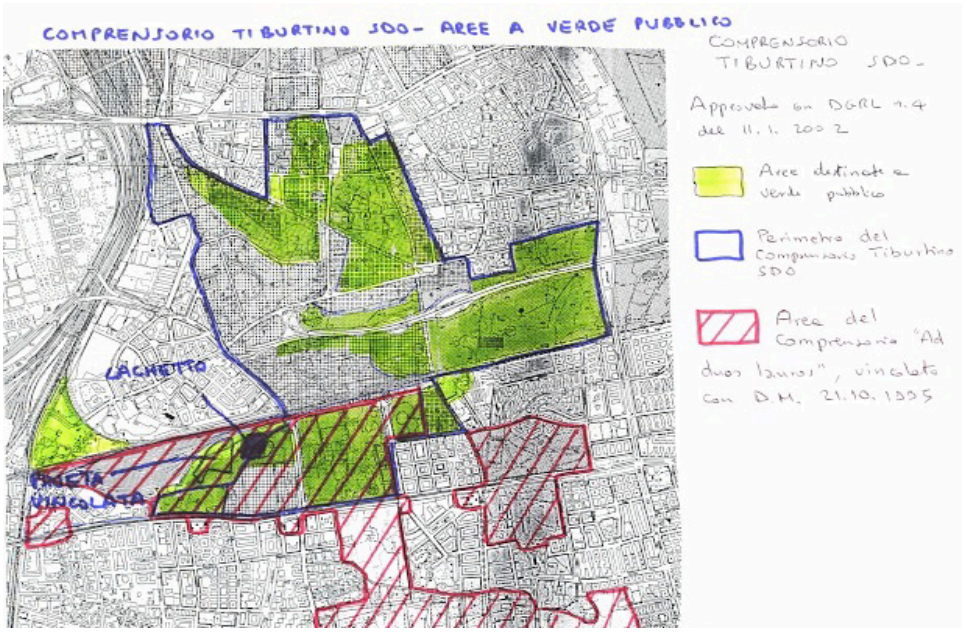
After four years of struggle for the re-appropriation of the former SNIA, on 02.12.95 a party in the new park took place, with the presence of Mayor Rutelli and delegated to the green Loredana De Petris, to celebrate the victory and to initiate a discussion on the plans of future expropriations of the eleven hectares necessary to realize the entire project. In fact, park built occupies only 2.5 of the 14 hectares of the factory in the area bordering the Prenestina station where a pine forest was planted in the late 20s', situated on the hill factory CISA Viscose (despite being constrained in 1968 the pine forest was threatened by speculative plans of the developers). The area expropriated for the park didn't included neither the lake nor the 12 industrial buildings of the SNIA, which were (and still are) in state of complete abandonment. «The party was attended by several thousand people curious and excited to see the park, and to bring their children. [...] After four years, we are aware that our struggle for the conquest of the park is not over, we enter another phase, to manage the pine forest and expropriate the remaining eight hectares, looking especially for gatherings of young people of the district interested in turning this space in an area managed for the common good.» (La Pigna, 1995). In 1995, the entire area of the former SNIA was further protected by archaeological restrictions "Ad duas lauros."[296]

[296] Decree of the Ministry of Heritage and Culture (published in the Official Gazette on 02.10.1996). District "Ad duos lauros": listed archeological areas art.1, letter. m Law 08.08.1985, n. 131.

Plans to create a directional centre in the area were definitively scrapped and the variant of the urban plan development (PRG) of 1997 assigned services, sports facilities and public spaces to the area ex SNIA. The citizens, who had already fought for the conquest of the Parco delle Energie, also decided to occupy the same area, the old warehouses as permanent garrison of the park that was to be born and to start an experience of self-management and self-culture.



Project submitted by the committees of citizens to the City of Rome for the redevelopment of the ex-Snia (la Pigna, 1995)



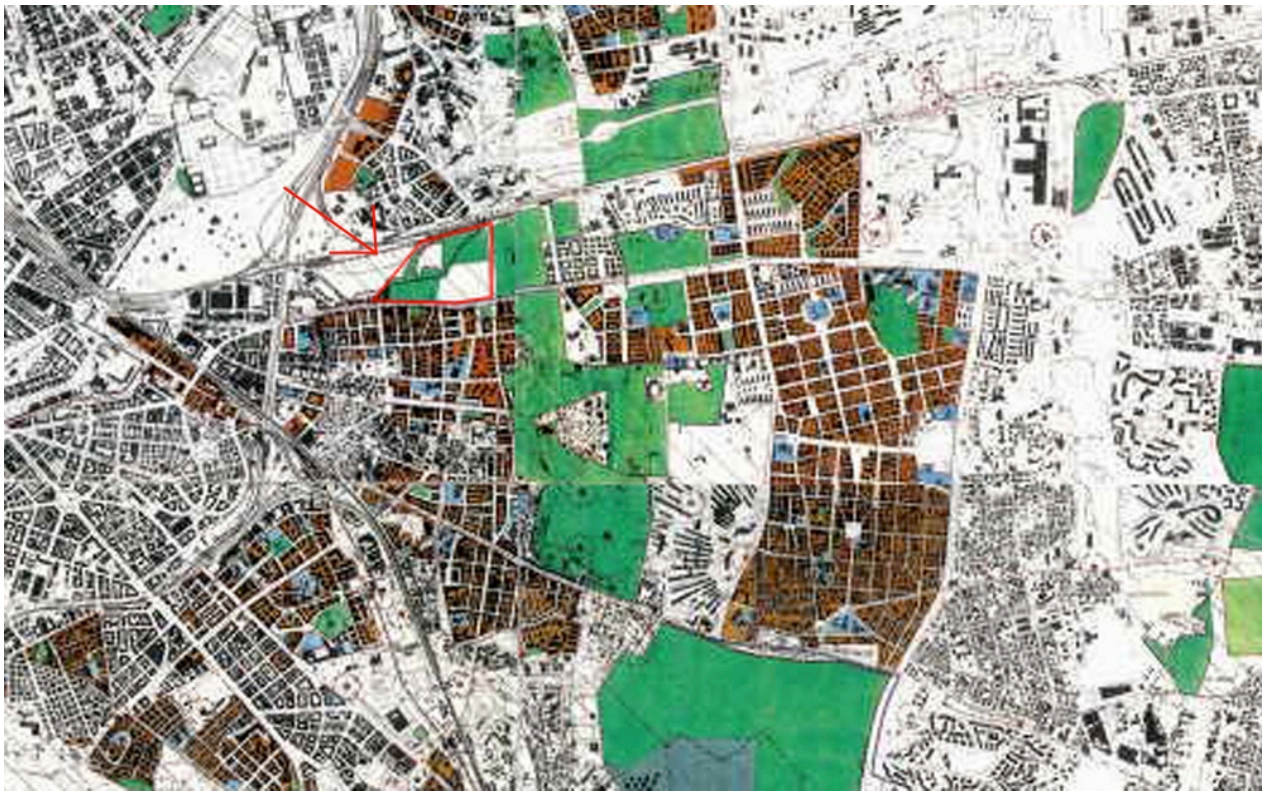
DISTRICT TIBURTINO SDO

Approved by the Dgrl no. 4/2002

(yellow) Green public areas

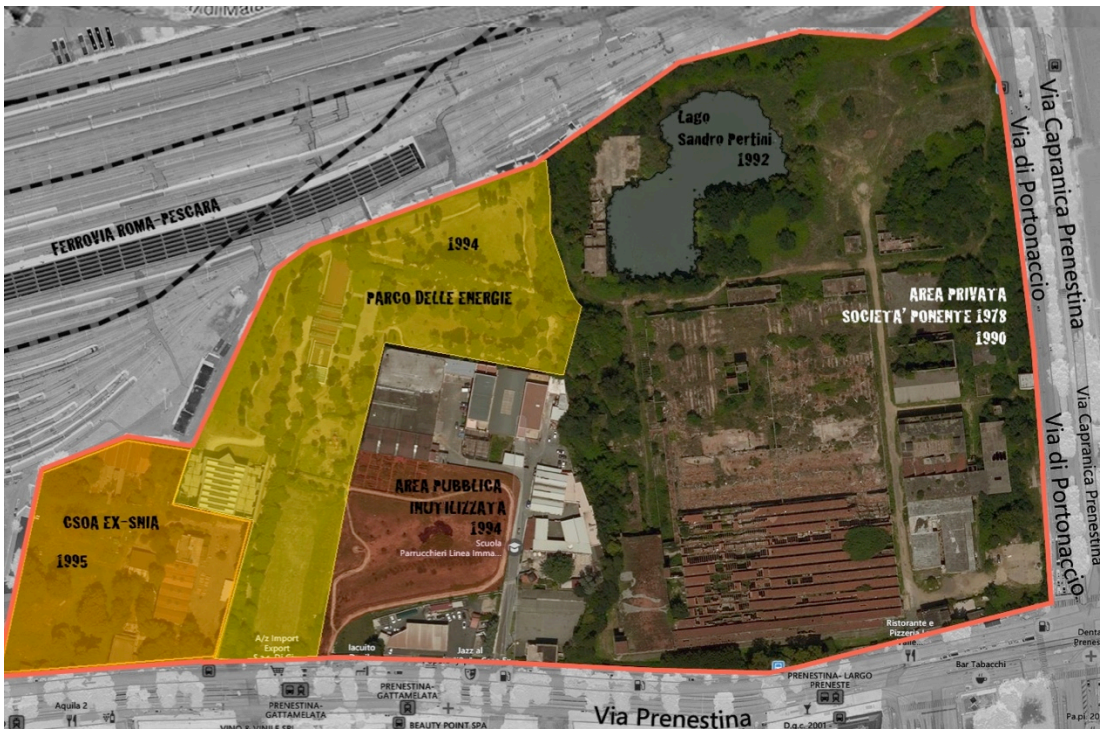
(blue) Perimeter of the district Tiburtino SDO

(red) Restricted area "Ad duos lauros" (1995)



Variations of the master plan 1997 – zone N "public parks and sports facilities" green)

Some young local residents along with the local Committee also decided to occupy the old warehouses in the same area, where establish a permanent garrison for the future park and to start an experience of self-management and indipendent cultural production. In fact, the District Committee proposes the objectives to operate in the cultural field «being aware of its importance and of the absolute cultural desert in which we operate,» and with the dual purpose of socialization and enhancement of local cultural resources (la Pigna, 1995). From that occupation came, in 1995, the Occupied Self-managed Social Centre (CSOA) called "ex-Snia", named after the former factory, located in a part of the large industrial complex adjacent to the Via Prenestina. The space was then regularized thanks to the Resolution 26/1995 (see File 2). The Resolution approved in 1995 was the result of a long political struggle, supported by the coordination of the Roman social centres, which reaffirmed the principle that public property abandoned and underused should be exploited for social purposes. "The need for a definition of criteria for the social use of public real estate, was represented by the associations that have submitted a draft initiative under the Statute of the City of Rome for the social use of public and private properties, for assignment and self-management of the spaces used by the Social Centres and grassroots Associations, for a policy of support for their activities." (point 7, "Preconditions and motivations", Res. No. 26/1995).



First and second phase of reappropriation expropriation of part of the area for the creation of a public park and a social centre ex-Snia

The approval of this resolution for the allocation of public property occupied without formal title, resulted convenient from the point of view of the public formal actors and informal actors. In fact, as indicated by the resolution in the chapter "Preconditions and motivations": 1) The present resolution is aimed at **achieving the primary objective of using the means available** in the "available" and "unavailable" **property assets** of the **City of Rome**, to **allow initiatives that enrich the social and cultural fabric of the city to exist and carry out their activities**, as well as for rationalize the location of offices and communal facilities proceeding with the overall burden reduction for rental expense.

The resolution then at the same time allows the use of public space resources, otherwise abandoned, valorising and recovering them (in the resolution is expected the self-recovery of the facilities by users), turning them into an annuity (with the regularization of the municipality were established rental fees) and enable social, cultural, sports, welfare activities/services in areas that were lacking in that. All of this, at no cost to the administration. At the same time allows the **(re)activation of abandoned public spaces for the development of self-managed activities based on various needs**, and a form of empowerment of citizenship through the re-appropriation of public spaces. "8) It seems necessary, though, **a reorganization of the volunteering and *privato sociale* (no-profit social sector) competing with the City Council to a program of interventions, and taking the role of promotion and initiative connected to an overall assessment of the social issues**.

In this context, where the activities play significant social value and be an effective service to the community, the City may, on the basis of specific agreements, finance them; 9) Consistent with these lines the city administration must strive to establish useful contacts to the **granting of real estate facilities with private entities and other institutional bodies** in areas where it is impossible to meet the needs of socialization repeatedly invoked in municipal properties; […] 13) In addition, the need to program at the district level, **the use of the heritage requires that in pronouncements regarding the use of these assets should have a primary role the Districts responsible for the territory**».

The resolution presented (and still has) some critical points. For example related to the definition of new criteria capable of defining the legitimacy and public benefits for local communities of proposed temporary projects for the allocation of public spaces, indicating, "the many occupations without permission existing on December 31, 1993 [...] do not find definitions under the current regulation." In fact, the points 2-6 state: 2) "By resolution of the Extraordinary Commissioner n.103 and 104/93 have been, among other things, set up two commissions in order to prepare the lists necessary for the allocation in favour of associations, including sports, community centres, social cooperatives and similar, of non-residential properties ascribed to the available assets of the City of Rome, that are vacant, as well as entrusted, pre-assigned and/or occupied without permission by December 31st, 1992, that are not included in the public auction procedures pursuant to Resolution of the City Council N244 / 92. 4) the aforementioned Commissions have carried out the determinations of uniform criteria and undifferentiated for all different types of regularization provided and, therefore, these criteria laid down by resolution of the Extraordinary Commissioner 323 of 26 October 1993 were not meeting the objectives of socio-institutional nature of the Administration. 5) Consequently, **the application of these criteria was not eligible to carry the regularization of non-commercial uses**. In such a situation must be added the

many occupations without permission existing by December 31, 1993 that are not defined by the current legislation; 6) It was found, therefore, that the **criteria** contained in the mentioned commissarial resolutions **must be updated and integrated** in consideration, among other things, to the regularization applications submitted by the various associations, including Social Centres, social cooperatives and Sports Associations, to situations actually existing, with particular attention to the District's realities most lacking in terms of presence on the territory of services and aggregation points that, as such, are more exposed to environmental and social degradation and processes of potential alienation and social exclusion of the age brackets of youth and the elderly" (Resolution 26/1995).[297]

In fact, the social centre "ex-Snia" was born in a time when the episodes of radical re-appropriation of abandoned spaces for youth creativity, leisure and sociability were increasing in Rome, especially in the peripheries of the southeast sector of the city. Particularly in the areas between the Via Tiburtina and Casilina, where, in those years, drugs, social and spatial degradation of the city were increasing. In those years dozens of autonomous spaces were reappropriated, by the young and the Roman radical and autonomous movements organized in a coordination of social centres (see the case of the "Forte Prenestino"). From there arose the need to respond to the institutional, cultural, social, economic "void" of peripheries, appropriating spaces for the creation of collective activities of entertainment, leisure and sociability. Among them was the social centre ex-Snia that offered self-managed activities and courses: the bar, the affordable tavern and gym, space for music rehearsal, language and music courses, the cinema, the cycle-repair workshop and the vegetable garden, and much more, which proposed a more sustainable lifestyles in opposition to the dominant culture.

Finally, the resolution that allowed the allocation and the regularization of some of these spaces illegally occupied indicated the need to establish a more innovative regulation able to include the new bottom-up practices emerging in the city, and linked it to the importance of giving a more central role to the Municipal Boroughs: «11) For the foregoing reasons it is **necessary**, therefore, **to proceed to issue a new Regulation to govern the regularization of occupations** without formal title ascertained by 31 December 1993 as well as the assignments to social uses of spaces and structures ascribed to the unavailable and available public assets in instead of the rules dictated by the resolutions n.5625 of 27 September 1983 and n. 104 of 25 May 1993 […]; 12) **There must also proceed with the establishment of an appropriate and permanent Commission** that would undertake the investigative function in the examination of requests for allocation and regularization and expressing opinions binding in nature towards the City Council called to assume its formal measurements; 13) In addition, **the need to program at the district level the use of heritage** requires that determinations regarding the use of these assets should have a primary role the Districts responsible for the territory».

The neighbourhood committee as well as the collective that runs the self-managed space, now claim the "rescue" of the area, which is an important testimony to the history of the neighbourhood, from speculation that wanted to erase its history.[298] In 2004 it was launched the second expropriation in the area -the area where the lake is located-, leaving the area where the buildings of the former factory are localized to private property. Early on September 9, 2003 (the Resolution 533 of the City Council approved, as part of the detailed plan Directional District Tiburtino, scope 2a) the unitary project for the Park Prenestino -ex SNIA Viscosa- was approved. In this resolution is recalled that "the area devoted to green of local interest between Via Prenestina and the railway Rome - Sulmona, including the former industrial plant SNIA Viscose, represents an adequate area unitary both in terms of morphological, vegetation, and landscape aspects." The project planned the settlement of some faculties of the University "La Sapienza" in the ex-Snia area, through the recovery of the existing industrial structures.

Thanks to the **European program URB-AL LA.DE.S**, between 2007 and 2008, was established the "*Forum Territoriale Permanente del Parco delle Energie"* ("Permanent Forum of the Regional Park of Energies") committed to the protection of the existing park, the definition of the participated plan for the extension park to *via di Portonaccio*, and to the creation of a park system that included the management of two facilities: the *"quadrato"* (the "square") and the *"Casa del Parco"* ("House of the Park"). The project LA.DE.S. -*Laboratorios de desarrollo sostenible* (Workshops of sustainable development)-, presented in 2006, lasting three years, It is part of the program URB-AL II – thematic network "Urban Environment" (EuropAid/113113/C/G). This is a **program of cooperation designed to European and Latin American cities with the aim of improving the socio-economic conditions and quality of life of urban populations, by creating lasting partnerships between cities**. The project La.De.S., consists of a Phase A and Phase B. The first one, entitled "New models of integrated urban development for the enhancement of environmental and cultural heritage", aims to analyse and enhance the environmental and cultural element in urban development policies. The second is aimed at promoting sustainable development and social cohesion in the partner cities, where the City of Rome - Department XV - V UO for Economic Policy and Development - had to be the leader of the project, while the two Spanish cities (Alicante and Malaga) and several cities in three different countries of South America (Peru, Mexico, Argentina) were partners in the project.

[297] Translated by the author.
[298] Today, these documents have been recognized as heritage by the Superintendent and are kept in the House of the Park at the Rome-East Territorial Documentation Centre, Historical Archive Viscose.

The "Square"[299]

The "House of the Park"[300]

Specifically it intends to regenerate and enhance the Park of the former Snia factory, realizing, in line with the provisions of the Plan for the regeneration of the Directional district Tiburtina, an outdoor theatre.[301] The "Theatre Space Polyfunctional" (the "square"), planned and co-financed by the URB-AL LA.DE.S (60.53% EU funding - 18,99% of the budget of Rome: € 250,954.55), that consists of a high square roof covered with solar panels. In fact, in the spirit of the project, the structure has been realized by the use of techniques of bio-building and installing a photovoltaic system that allows energy savings and less pollution. Even the "Park House" was born from a "Building restoration of communal property of the ex-Snia Viscosa", it was "designed with ecological design methodology by the National Institute of Bioarchitettra of Bolzano". [302] The Permanent Territorial Forum brings together all the organizations working in the area, the Committee of the park, the social centre ex-Snia, the Neighbourhood Committee. In autumn 2011, started the management of the activities in the "House of the park" and the "square" by the Permanent Territorial Forum coordinating, in these new spaces, cultural, music and sports activities, the Historical Archive on the former factory Snia Viscosa and the *LudOfficina*. The Forum meets every first Wednesday of the month in the "house of the park".

5. New speculative attempts and citizens' oppositions

While Rome was going to host the 2009 World Swimming Championship, the Delegate Commissioner authorized the company "Larus Nuoto" to build swimming facilities in a portion of the area "Ex Snia". The area was public property and the Muncipal Council had appointed it to the Company in November 2008. In four months the Company communicated the beginning of works on the area to the technical office of the VI *Municipio* (Municipal Borough). The municipal officer communicate to the Delegate Commissioner an "error" occurring in the redaction of the municipal deliberation (n. 354 del 29.10.2008): in the act the area was located in the V Municipio instead that in the VI Municipio.[303]

In the meantime in march 2009, the news that the works for the construction of a new swim centre in the lake area were about to begin, spread among the Pigneto-Prenestino neighbourhood's inhabitants. Since years, residents asked the administration to gather the area – which planned destination is public green area- with the adjacent "Parco delle Energie". Since it was impossible to get more information about the development project, an heterogeneous group of citizens (coalition made by the C.S.O.A ex Snia, the neighbourhood Committee Pigneto-Prenestino, the Parco delle Energie Committee) decided to mobilize to inform the public about the project envisaged for the area. Successively they occupy the offices of the XX Department of the Municipality of Rome, in order to denounce the attempt of speculation over the area[304]. «The news is confirmed. The junta Alemanno gave the "ASD Larus Nuoto" more than a hectare of land, to build a mega swimming facility with pool, gym, bar, restaurant, guesthouse and parking lots: a layer of cement on an area designated by the Plan to public green.» (Webpage[305] "lake ex-Snia").

The first press is informed about the news (L'Unità / La Republica). The articles stresses the speculative nature of the operation included in the overall framework of the works for the World Swimming Championships, emphasizing the

[299] http://images.newspettacolo.com/files/media/media_item/file/thumb/495x330/eclettica_2012.jpg
[300] http://www.pigneto.it/public/upload/users/image/comitato%20parco%20exsnia/110720111034_casa_esterno.JPG
[301] The project aims to redevelop and enhance the District of San Jerónimo in Cusco in Peru (partner city) through flood management and recovery of 2 km of the river Huatanay; the creation of an ethno-botanical garden; the study for the rehabilitation of the wastewater plant that currently exists and it's not working.
[302] This project was provided since 2003 by resolution 275 of the Rome Municipal Council.
[303] http://www.exsnia.it/comunicati/2009/giu-le-mani-dalla-exsnia/
[304] On the webpage https://lagoexsnia.wordpress.com/2014/07/25/644/
[305] https://lagoexsnia.wordpress.com/2014/07/25/644/

unfairness of the City, which, they claim, did not inform of the project the VI Municipio. For years (until June 2014), the institutional representatives of the former VI, now V Municipio, claimed to ignore for sure if the compulsory purchase order (which goes from the lake via Portonaccio) had ever took place.

The conflict over the construction of the swimming facility ended in favour of the opposition brought by the citizens: the concession to "ASD Larus Nuoto" issued by the Delegated Commissioner at the World Swimming Championships was cancelled. In March 2012, the City was once again interrogated about the resolution 107 of 2010, which would implement the variations to the *Piano d'Assetto Generale*, PAG (a specific master plan) wanted by the Dean of the University *La Sapienza* in Rome. The significant element is contained in a Variation, which provides the building permission to private developers for the realization, on the area of "ex-SNIA", of students' residencies, on the basis of an agreed rent (instead of the initially provided university campus). The neighbourhood committees - which since years defended this space from any attempt of development that could deprive them of the green areas of the spontaneous park, opposed this proposal as intended as a new attempt of speculation. The sit-in held in *Campidoglio* square and organized by the Permanent Territorial Forum, obtained that the discussion of the resolution was postponed several times, up to the point that it never took place.

Meanwhile, the company Ponente 1978 (which still owns much of the area), thank to the resolution *"relitti urbani"* ("urban wrecks", approved in 2010 by the right wing city council led by the Mayor Gianni Alemanno)[306] presented a second development project, which provided buildings for 55,000 cubic meters in lake area. In 2012, the Company owned by the real estate developer Pulcini presented this project to the City of Rome, this included: the silting of the lake and the construction of four towers 100 meters tall. When the Forum found out of this new project, started organizing together with the WWF, active in the Parco delle Energie since 2010, numerous protests to protect the entire area of the park of the "lake".

Manifesto for the demonstration against the speculative attempt to build four towers over the are of the lake and the participated project

6. The "struggling lake": resistance against speculation and the expropriation of the lake

Between the end of 2013 and the beginning of 2014 several initiatives were implemented to make the conflict over the lake public. The group DAUHAUS (Autonomous Urban Discourses) together with the Forum organized the first tour held to familiarize the lake to citizenship and a "Laboratory of participatory imagination". In 2013, the Permanent Territorial Forum of "Parco delle Energie" officially asked the convocation of an open municipal council about the "ex-SNIA" area, to analyse potentialities, critical points and the possible enhancement of an environmental and cultural heritage, located in one of the most polluted and densely populated areas of Rome. Meanwhile, in 2014 the mobilization in defence of the lake spread like wildfire: the issue of the former Snia was not more a concern of the most active neighbours and local committees, but it become of a wider concern, since citizens are informed about the existence of the lake. In late January, the Municipal Council of the V Municipio, passed a resolution which asked "the Mayor and the Councillor responsible for Town Planning Department to put in place the necessary arrangements to achieve urgently a comprehensive picture of the urban situation and a graphic of the property that insist on 'area ex-SNIA in order to start a fruitful discussion about the future of the area with the involvement of citizens."

The investigations carried out by the Forum showed that the area of the lake, bordering *via di Portonaccio*, was public since 2004, but it risked to be fully privatized: the expropriation which had taken place in august, 2004 would be

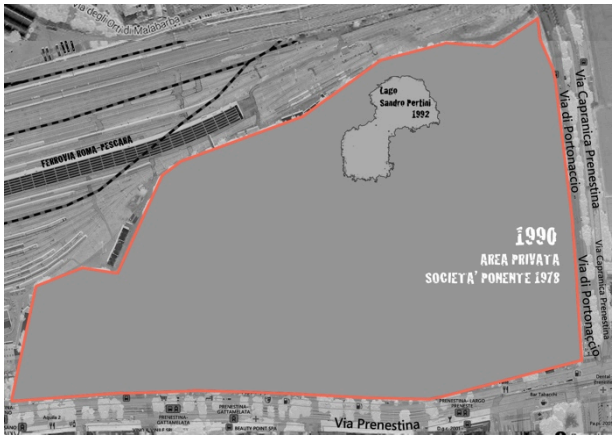
[306] "Invitation to the identification of cognitive areas and derelict or abandoned buildings"

cancelled if envisaged works were not realized within the term of ten years (03/08/2014). Since that, the Forum asked to proceed to the delimitation of the public area, separating it from the part that was still in the hands of private property, and then to proceed to the implementation of the safety measures, construction of infrastructure and completion of the expropriation. On August 2, 2014, the expropriation was made operational and the area became a public park, enhanced by an upcoming participated project. The neighbourhood committees, the Forum of the Park and thousands of citizens celebrated the victory of the "struggling lake" - to use the expression created by the musicians "Muro del Canto" and "Assalti Frontali" which dedicated a song this event (Pigneto Today, 2014). Today, pending the completion of recovery and securing of the new park, the Permanent Territorial Forum of "Parco delle Energie" organizes free guided tours to the lake to allow citizens to know a public resource of their territory and to discover its natural dimension. The real estate developer Pulcini was recently involved in the scandal Mafia capitale for pending agreements about "residence for housing emergency " he owns.

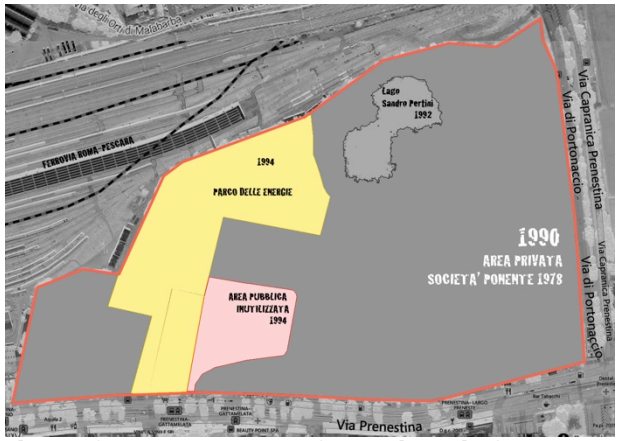
Flyer made for the open competition of ideas for the design of the furniture and use of the park

Banner of the entrance of the new "park of the freed lake" ex-Snia Casalbertone; *"Informati-Comunica- Comnbatti"* ("Be informed-Inform-Fight")

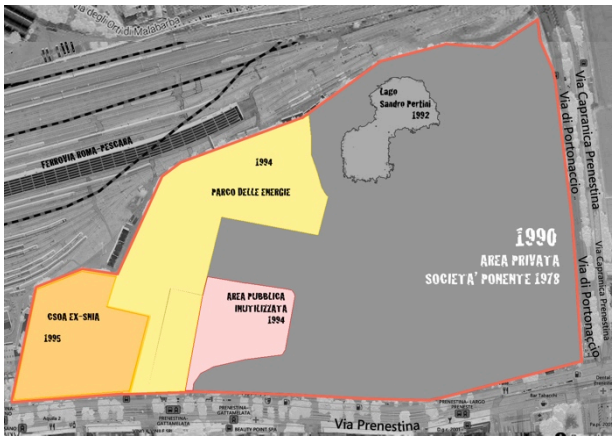
Gradual phases of (re)appropriation of the former Snia Viscosa factory area



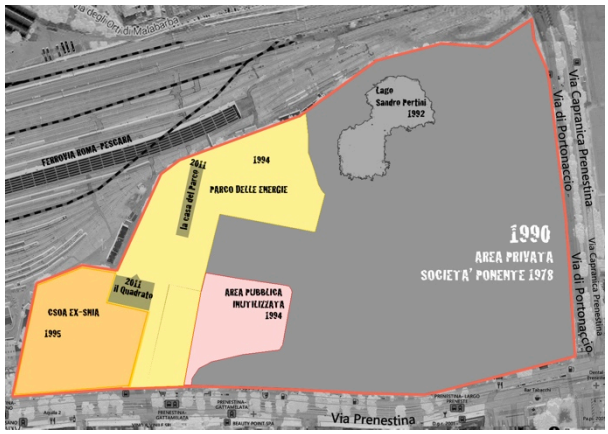
Phase 1: the area is entirely private



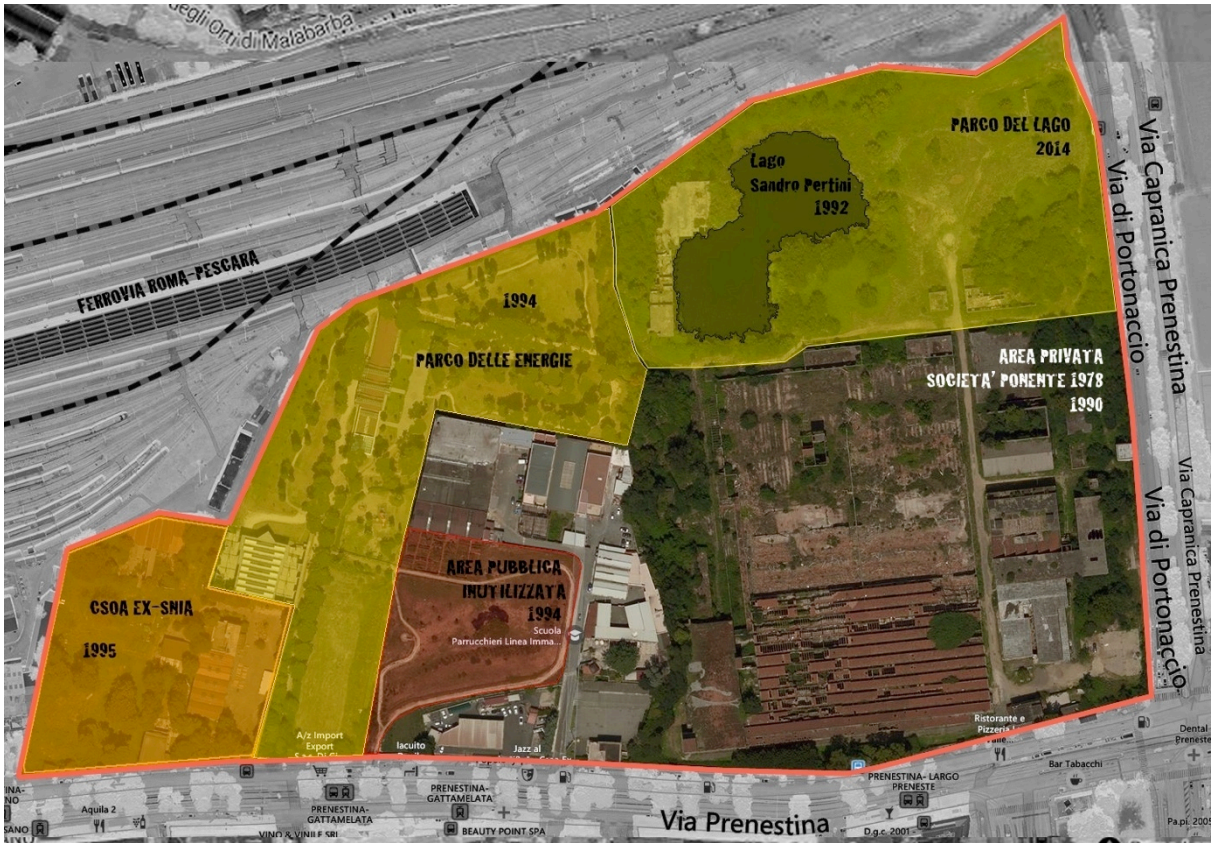
Phase 2: first reappropriation of space, the park of energies



Phase 3: second riappropriation of space, the park and the social centre

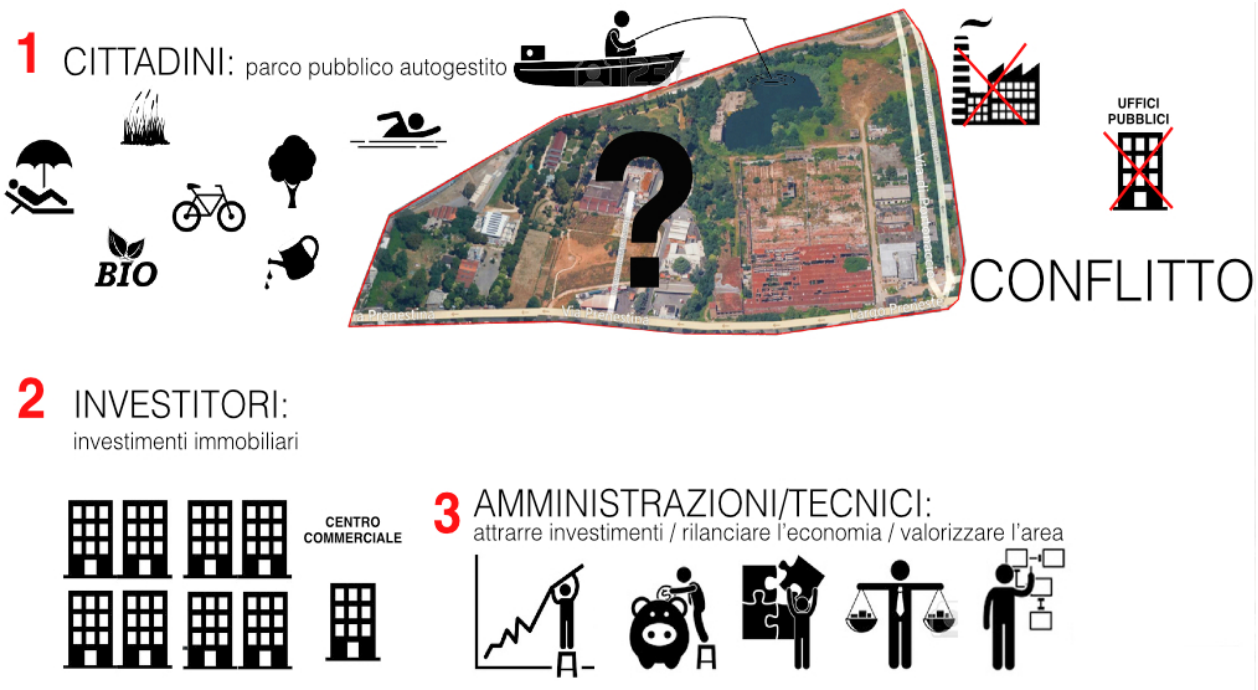


Phase 4: third reappropriation of space, the formation of the "house of the park" and the "square"



Phase 5: the current status after the expropriation of the area of the park of the "Lake"

Remarks: Active and insurgent Citizenship, what the issues at stake?



This story was told with a journalistic style as the lack of transparency of the planning processes and the marked presence of latent interests it poses some difficulties in maintain a detached observation of the reasons that led to the identification of certain development strategies of the space and dynamics played over a contested space. In addition, the available documentation relative to this story comes mainly from newspaper articles, related to the corruption scandals, newsletters and notices of the neighbourhood committee, as well as short interviews I conducted with some members of the collective DAUHAUS. The large time interval between the first and the second plan of the city (1962-2008), from the post-war period to the present, it tells the same process of transformation of the plan dictated by continuous variations that have distorted the objectives and prevented the development of the most strategic parts of the plan (see the SDO). In addition, the introduction of instruments such as "program agreements" or compensanzioni, since the 90s, has helped to make the predictions of the plan uncertain and subject to on-going review and negotiations with the economic elites. These have become increasingly powerful, under the shrinking of the public domain and resources to local authorities. In fact, "development awards" or strategies of valorisation of areas increasingly appear to be the only tool in the hands of the public administration for the obtaining of necessary resources for the implementation of strategies of urban governance On the other hand, the disordered growth of the territory and the gradual privatization of public space, that these strategies produce, reduce the capacity of the local governments to implement a complex programming that can give real answers to the city urgent problems. Finally, the lack of power entrusted to the Districts, despite the reform of local authorities, has prevented to manage the conflict in a more continuous and democratic way constantly informing the inhabitants of the area and creating space for confrontation between stakeholders. Moreover, the Districts in Rome, given its size and large population, appear to be the more efficient platforms in terms of the democratic representation and a representative reality in which the needs of citizens could find a direct channel of claim.

In the case of the development plans provided for the former industrial area of the Snia Viscosa, it is difficult to understand when the choices made by the administration have been dictated by the needs to refer to strategies that favour economic elites interests, as listed above, and when to clientelism and corruption. What is certain is that the non-implementation of the plans for the development of public functions in the area and those for its construction, from the 90s onwards, would have transformed the area in a place of contention. In addition, the mostly unregulated development of the district has fuelled the emergence of a conflictive citizenship that, against a large number of wastelands in the area, contested the almost complete lack of green areas and spaces for the community. This citizenship, really active, has proven over time to capacity for self-organization and self-management of public space, through phases of (re)appropriation of the ex-Snia's area, creating over time a self-managed social centre and a public park with collective facilities. The political willingness to dialogue, which resulted in some episodes of negotiation during the long story about the former industrial area, and the provision of tools able to introject this planning capacity from below, have allowed defining the legitimacy and public benefits for local communities of the proposed temporary projects for the allocation of public spaces and consolidate these realities in the district. Especially the energy park succeeds today to be a meeting point for many associations in the neighbourhood and has proven to be a positive example of subsidiarity between the public sector and citizens and between the inhabitants of the same District. In

addition, the social centre "ex-Snia", born of an illegal occupation and then regularized by the resolution 26/1995, gave space to minority groups in the district, becoming a important meeting point for youth groups, not only those linked to alternative culture and independent political groups, and for the many immigrants who live in the area and that feel accepted in this place. Indeed, in the neighbourhood live many migrants, who often are excluded by the official job opportunities and by the house rental market and, thus, live in situations of extreme precariousness. Many of them live in housing occupations, numerous in the area (Mudu, Rossini, 2016). The exclusion from the home/work system also means the exclusion from the recognition of the rights of citizenship that leads them to suffer a strong real and perceived exclusion. «**These episodes of illegal occupations can be regarded as important detectors of the deep difficulties affecting some in the neighbourhood (i.e. housing crisis) and the lack of meeting places**. […] In the management of a territory of a municipality it is important the maintenance of public spaces, but in fact, what makes a neighbourhood are its spaces but the people who live there and their ability / opportunity to be part of a cohesive, strong and supportive community. Thus, also a community that can imagine its own neighbourhood in a dimension that is not only the present but which is also a dimension in a future perspective: about what the changes, which should be guided by the public body, may bring. It is a matter of fact that, in recent years, opportunities for aggregation, exchange of culture and experience has declined significantly going to add up to this crisis that is experiencing the country and its society as a whole. This is **leading to the penalization of many public policies sectors but in particular those relating to cultural policies** (one of the first financial statement items that has been substantially reduced to zero under the cutting of public funding to local authorities), has **challenged what it should be central and essential element of social cohesion of the territory: the development of a sense of belonging and the idea of community**. This was a political decision, which effectively led to the progressive reduction of "community spaces" and in favouring, therefore, **the withdrawal of daily life into the private and the atomization of society**; this is a problem that we face today and that we have to solve. […] **I think that these phenomena are the sign of a cry and demand from the bottom, caused by the inability of institutions to give the answers citizens expect**. With this I am not saying that the occupation is legitimate in itself, because I think that they are not able to create a real inclusion that it should be given to public spaces. We as a government we should have the task of considering all citizens: even individuals, even those not associated in political, representation or interest groups. However, there is a clear institutional responsibility: if citizens have self-organized or have sought support in the self-organized networks is because the public sector has not been able to meet their needs.» (semi-structured interview to Giammarco Palmieri, President of the V Municipal Borough of Rome which includes the area of Pigneto-Prenestino).[307]

The set of all these forms of majority and minority interests, needs and desires of a varied community yet politically active, in the absence of institutional responses, resulted in gradual and articulated forms of appropriation of the abandoned former Snia factory area, seen as the physical space in which self-organize solutions to local problems from the bottom. These realities have finally come together to fight together for the achievement of another important part of this area, hiding a natural lake. Here, the violence of the land rent, the blind speculation, made possible by intensive development plans in the suburbs of Rome and by progressive amnesty -which led to land consumption for hundreds of thousands of hectares of land from the post World War II onwards (Legambiente, 2011)- it has been denounced starting from the emergence of a natural lake that has emerged in response to the attempt to exploit a natural area that do not have the suitable characteristics for building. The lake has become such a symbol in a neighbourhood defined as "a concrete jungle". Once made public the existence of the lake, if the public actor would have allowed the privatization and building of this "natural" area, the governance system biased towards the interests of economic elites and large private investors would have become clear: **as unable to protect and give voice to the collective interest, ensuring the objective of redistribution of space, as well as economic, social and natural assets**. In addition, the presence of a natural lake has legitimized the claim of protecting the area as a natural asset collective, as an inalienable "commons" (Ostrom, 1990). His physical repossession through the unauthorized use of the area (with tour held to familiarize the lake to citizenship, public events of "days at the park's lake", etc. in the area still closed to the public) and symbolic (through the organization of self-organized participatory processes with the schools of the district for the design of the park, the creation of the song "the lake that fights", the slogan "Lake for all - concrete for anyone," the press articles) made it possible to bring the make the conflict public. This meant a rescaling of the conflict, that increasingly found supporters in a heterogeneous population (which was not just about the present associations in the district but the whole citizenship). **Public pressure and media have created the conditions for the government to operationalize the expropriation**, before the expiry of the time required by law and the consequent re-privatization of the area. This has forced the City to find and set up the necessary resources for the expropriation and the creation of the park. As we talk about limited resources, that will be sufficient for the reclamation and safety of the area, was initiated a call (actually unofficial) for participatory planning of the area and is expected to identify strategies for co-management of the park through the subsidiarity between formal and informal subjects (the associations of the district and individual citizens). Citizens celebrated the expropriation as a victory: as a symbol of the ability that active and informed citizenship can have in the preservation of its territory and in the resistance against speculation affecting the privatization of public spaces, the exploitation of natural resources and the appropriation of "the commons".

[307] President of the V Borough (formerly VI and VII), the municipality with the highest number of illegal occupations and autonomous spaces per inhabitant (the ex-SNIA and the CSOA Forte Prenestino – the "fortress" category - self-managed social centres are located in the V Borough as well as the former housing occupation in via delle Acacie 56, which are analysed in the Rome case study "Angelo Mai").

Final remarks

A. Comparison of the two stories

Picture 1 and 2 - The former Tempelhof Airport in Berlin today a public park and the park of the "lake" in the former factory Snia in Rome

In comparing the strategies implemented by "informal actors" and the formal ones in these two events, it shows the **central role played by groups of "active citizens"**. These not only offer themselves as potential partners in the implementation and management of strategies for the creation and maintenance of public spaces (SenStadt, 2007), but also hold the important role of informants of the citizenship and "formal actors" with regard to the reality of conflicts related to portions of territory.

In order to enable these processes to become generative of new approaches and tools, a comparison between practices implemented by the bottom and the **strategies developed by the top** is needed: the former confronting social problems through the development of conflicting and temporary solutions; the latter **creating the conditions to give voice to the issues and proposed solutions from the bottom, both negotiating the conflicts in their interpretations, and combining elements of openness and "unpredictability" with instruments traditionally used to control or to drive change**. The different way of combining these elements is highly influenced by the institutional context in which they take place. In both cases we can observe how the conflict is being developed in three stages. The first relating to the resort to practices arising from (re)appropriation of space by an insurgent citizenship claiming their right to the city. The second relates to the construction of a symbolic dimension linked to the radical gesture of insurgent reappropriation and to the same place that is reclaimed, which occurs when the conflict is made public. The third phase corresponds to the integration and institutionalization of practices. The phase of the institutionalization of the practices is that which differs between the two local contexts, and at the same time presents a common basis.

In Berlin, the introduction of the law on "temporary use" and the emphasis placed on the dialectics "urban pioneers" and their practices seen as "catalysts" of urban development (SenStadt, 2007) is in complete continuity with the strategies of regeneration urban strongly linked to policy for the "creative city". This led to the development of new inclusive tools able to co-opt the cultural dimensions, "self-entrepreneurship" and individual / collective initiative embodied by these alternative practices from below. At the same time, in the case of Tempelhof, to produce forms of empowerment of citizenship (Arnstein, 1969) and co-production and management of public spaces with the citizens.

In Rome, the Municipal Resolution (26/1995) for the allocation of spaces for social, cultural and collective activities and the adoption of the European program URB-AL (a line of credit from the EU Commission that aims to develop decentralized interventions of cooperation between cities and local authorities, to identify new ways of managing urban communities) allows the citizens to participate in the "production of space". At the same time, it follows in the wake of disinvestment in the public sector; the restructuring of welfare policies more "community-based"; the privatization of services and public spaces.

The need to "reflect on alternative forms of democracy and the consequent participatory practices in urban planning" (Lo Piccolo, Bonafede, 2011) is expressed in the two cases both in the introduction of the law on "temporary use" for Tempelhofer Feld in Berlin, and in the call for the participated competition of ideas for the park of the "lake" in Rome (delegated to the group DAUHAUS). The introduction of an instrument of direct democracy in Berlin, the referendum seems to tend, on the contrary, to a low level of democratic debate, as it tends to deny the comparison between the negotiating positions of minority interest. **The emergence of the conflict and the frequent recourse to the use of the referendum, in Berlin, is due to the absence of a real democratic space for negotiating not during the**

communication phase of the plan processes but in the previous phase of definition of its objectives and methods. On the one hand, the adoption of these strategies, policies, and inclusive tools by institutional actor can be read as an attempt to include the instances from the bottom and to create democratic experiences of real empowerment of the citizenry. On the other hand, it can be understood as the capacity of the neoliberal system to define its legitimacy through the profound influence on building policies and practices that are able to colonize specific contexts, both through political techno-managerial consensus (Swyngedouw, 2011), both through the ability to adapt to specific contexts and demands. In conclusion, today, the emerging needs in the field of urban planning to define processes of self-organization and co-management of public space, as important new principles for urban development practices, has grown along with the belief that cities complex phenomena are almost impossible to predict and control from above. This falls within the framework of a critical shortage of public resources and the consequent need to redefine where to find economic resources; what tools taken to facilitate and enable the use of local resources; to who refers, as potential "cooperative-partners" in the process of governance. These stories tell how through the implementation of participatory processes, tools for the empowerment of citizens, opportunities for self-management and "caring" of the public space, not only can produce the definition of a more democratic definition both in the communication phase of the plan processes and in the phase of definition of its objectives and methods, but could create new strategies for more sustainable social and economic maintenance, production and management of public spaces.

CHAPTER 4

GENERAL FINAL REMARKS

A. Final remarks for the research

The general scenario emerging from the experiences hereby presented could be summarized in “fundamental” (Gualini, 2015) and growing conflicts on the neoliberal strategies which force towards an urban development dictated by the imperative “growth & competition” far away from a need-oriented re-distribution of resources towards an offer-oriented competition. Moreover, in a frame of cyclic and systemic crisis and of progressive decrement of public investments, the market and private interests pressure (in a condition of severe indebtedness of public administrations) made progressively more difficult to utilize an important resource like the public spaces. This has heavily reduced the possibility for negotiating the legitimate processes of physical and symbolic reappropriation of the city space.

Meanwhile, in the last 30 years, we witnessed the context of the neoliberal rework gave impetus to the pre-conditions which led to the inclusion of such practices -bottom-up practices- in the urban policies agenda. Among them: community-based services and self-management of public properties; forms of flexible urbanisms and temporary uses; entrepreneurial spirit of citizens; economic self-determination and citizenship empowerment. All these ingredients gave rise to an institutional & political space towards the development of tools for inclusion/co-optation of such spontaneous practices. From this confrontation between “strategies” –namely dominant policies and practices adopted by the “formal actors”_ as well as “tactics” -reflecting bottom-up practices pushing for alternative solutions both conflictual and transient- has produced a process of action/reaction has been triggered constantly producing new strategies/tactics in a co-evolutive and continuous confrontation between conflictual positions which is a fundamental for democracy.

This highlights the importance of reasoning on the efficacy of the present normative and regulative tools capable to negotiate and include these practices and on the possibility of making them more efficacious and democratic, as well as on the development of more innovative approaches. On such bases let us briefly speculate:

- Definition of tools capable to regularize or promote **temporary projects for the allocation of public spaces that emerge from forms of radical reappropriation**, when considered legitimate since produce public benefits for the local communities;

<u>To date, in Rome and Berlin have been developed few tools to regularize temporary projects.</u>

In Berlin are mainly two: the self-help programmes -suspended in early 2000s (Selbsthilfe)- provided precisely the maximum allocation of funds for renters joined together in cooperative or company; or financing up to 70% of the material costs for upgrades made by individual tenants (see Bethanien case File 1 in appendix); the secondo one, is the one related new regulation on temporary uses that facilitates the temporary assignment of public/private spaces to the so-called ‘urban pioneers’ at no cost or very affordable lease. The tool also contains a simplification of rules on licenses useful to promote the development of various activities on vacant areas -on which there are no immediate development plans- without the need to alter the urban prerogatives (SenStadt, 2007). Finally, in the case of Bethanien, it has been individuated a intermediate body to entrust a public property to be assigned for medium term uses (e.g. the South wing no-profit association have obtained a 15 years contract, on the basis of a 5 + 5 + 5 years contract) for socio-cultural use and provision to services to local communities.

In the same way, in Rome, in these decades, have been basically developed two tools to regularize these unauthorized occupations. The first is the Resolution 26/1995 for the allocation of unused public assets for social purpose and regularization of occupied self-managed social centres. The Resolution “aimed at achieving the primary objective of using the means available in the “available” and “unavailable” property assets of the City of Rome, in order to allow initiatives that enrich the social and cultural fabric of the city to exist and carry out their activities”; at the same time allows the (re)activation of abandoned public spaces for the development of self-managed activities based on various needs; reorganization of the volunteering and *privato sociale* (no-profit social sector) competing with the City Council to a program of initiatives, connected to an overall assessment of the social issues, where the activities play significant social value and be an effective service to the community (Resolution 26/1995, see ex-Snia Lake story, pg. 321). The second is the Law for *“Autorecupero”* (Self-recovery) or Self-help housing programs (approved by the Lazio region in 1998) that had resulted unsuccessful considering the data: today, 17 years after its approval, there are only 11 cases of "self-rehabilitation" implemented in Rome. In this framework, some housing movement (starting from the *Comitato Popolare di Lotta per la Casa*) implemented, and proposed from the bottom a new strategy the "Self-construction" (Autocostruzione) in the attempt to propose some fundamental transformation to the "Self-help" programs, that could overcome the elements that make it unsuccessful.

The underlying problems that have caused the failure of these programs would lie in three fundamental errors, according to the CPLC.

The first, the cooperative formed for the implementation of the "Self-rehabilitation" program needs to apply for a bank loan; this means a significant economic commitment for people involved in the program, a commitment that often they fail to comply with, so that the City is nominee guarantor in case of insolvency. Moreover, it provoke two side effects: the time for the implementation process became longer due to the time needed for the request and approval of the mortgage, plus it put in a situation of potential problematic economic situation the people involved in the project (often people with serious economic problems), as well as the City, that have to face additional financial responsibilities, in a framework of dramatic lack in economic resources.

Second, the property to be allocated to the program of "self-recovery" must be identified from the City and this process takes very long time, both because until a few years ago, the City did not have a clear and complete picture of the public properties at its disposal, both because of the never occurred devolution of powers to the districts, which led to an overload of responsibilities to the offices of the City, often understaffed. Although, actually, this program is designed and implemented to formalize existing housing occupations and make them legal (then "selecting" properties previously "selected" by the occupants). The fake formal step of identifying properties suitable for the implementation of the program results in the dramatic lengthening of the time, given the reasons described above.

Third, the "Self-Help" programs are not always designed to produce more public housing assets. The alternative proposed by the bottom is an ambitious project, experimented in the *Acacie* occupation, was implemented in the Hertz school housing occupation (see Angelo Mai case study, pg. 266). This innovative approach proposes to: self-recover abandoned public assets, in order to create new public housing unites. The public administration have to assign the property to the community that is intended to recover it and live in it, for free and as for the *Autorecupero* Law maintain the burden of the interventions affecting the structural parts and the facades of the building, leaving to the tenants, expenses related to renovation, conversion in housing unites and maintenance of the internal part of the building and retrofitting of the facilities. The economic resources required to implement the renovation project, are collected through the family is "self-taxing" (*sottoscrizione*) and put into the common treasury his share consisting of EUR 100 per month; with the help of professionals supporting the cause (such as architects and technics), families implement shared renewal and construction work activities involving complex masonry - as electrical and plumbing - that permit to divide the space into real housing units, each with its own bathroom and its own kitchen. The final idea is to produce new housing units that remain in the disposal of the public, therefore producing new public housing unites at no cost for the public administration.

What is still missing by these normative tools is:

- The definition of **new criteria capable of defining the legitimacy and public benefits for local communities of proposed temporary/medium/long term projects for the allocation of public spaces**;

The absence of eligible criteria capable to identify public benefits for local communities of the proposed temporary projects makes the decision about legalization or suppression of these practices somewhat arbitrary. Often, the application of these criteria is not eligible to carry the regularization of non-commercial uses. These criteria are absent, not sufficient or have to be updated through an “agonistic” participated process that could allow to redefine the categories of legitimacy and illegitimacy overcoming the simple categories of legal and illegal, that often exclude the necessary complex understanding of such phenomena.

- Development of tools for quality measurement of current practices

What might be proposed: to dispose the request of communication to the public of objectives and respect of the aims proposed, and implemented transparency on the management of real estate these temporary uses or long term programs of self-help for housing. To this, it would be necessary to add a yearly monitoring of the activities by the actors formal, as well as of the number and type of users who benefit from it. Moreover, (as already envisaged by Resolution 26/1995 of the Municipality of Rome) provide public funding for the activities of greater social value.

- Mapping of a set of vacant public assets or even abandoned private spaces (when needed for urban regeneration through agreement with public bodies) that can be used to address housing crisis or the need to access collective spaces for cultural, social, leisure activities and the political activities, more in general addressing activities of greater social value;

- **Definition of a intermediate actor** (between formal actors and citizenship), for the individuation of the suitable public spaces for the implementation of **temporary/medium/long term projects proposed from the bottom or for the evaluation of the feasibility in utilizing assets radically reappropriated;**

These intermediate actors could be: district administration, which have a more detailed knowledge of their territories and can monitor more effectively the presence of unused properties and the evaluation of any proposed projects from

the bottom; associations of planners and practitioners (see Temporiuso, 2014), who perform the outsourced functions for public administration.

- **Rating of the ability for triggering regenerative processes on the social & urban tissue**

As results from the analysis of the four categories in the comparative analysis over radical/grassroots reappropriations, in some degraded areas -due to lack of planning, erroneous or superficial planning-, some experiences of "active citizenship" through spontaneous and autonomous activation of community-based services – partly implemented by the same citizenship- have been able in these decades to trigger regenerative processes. How could one classify such practices as "good" or "bad"? And by means of which rating procedures? This can produce the **recognition and enhancement of the Added Values (AV) produced by these practices.** What is needed then is the identification of measuring instrument for identifying AV in the territory including services and "informal" services which are actually useful to the community.

Moreover:

These "spaces" reappropriated have shown in recent years a **programmatic capacity and a proactive potential in suggesting and implementing "Public Policies from the Bottom"** (Paba, 2010): e.g. "banking and financial policies" through the activation of forms of microcredit; "training and educational policies" offering a wide range of free or very affordable courses; "policies of management and recycling of waste, housing policies, policies to support youth and women entrepreneurship, policies addressing the problems of immigration, cultural and sports policies"; "architectural heritage renewal policies", and others. Significant for the development of strategies based on "insurgent appropriation of space" was the presence of many "urban voids", or "wastelands" (Doron, 2000), the product of the expansion and transformation of the capitalist city.

1) Recognizing the need for strategies for the identification of alternative urban development policies: in an epoch of systemic crisis and progressive loss of public investments, that produce growing difficulties of the local authorities in managing the public properties and implementation of public policies for welfare, such bottom-up practices represent a possible alternative to privatization/replacement of the public spaces and for the implementation of public policies from below. In fact, they prompt a set of strategies able to revert the privatization trend and allow and open discussion on innovative welfare systems and of public heritage management. To this we can also link the need of formalizing forms of co- and self-management of the public property as we found in the two cases-study and the two stories. These were selected since were particularly appropriate to demonstrate a fair financial sustainability in developing public policies at the local level.

In the case of Bethanien the radical appropriation of a symbolic vacant public space have permitted to re-discuss its privatization. It has been possible thanks to the assignment of the public property to the cooperative of tenants and operators involved in the reappropriation project aimed at: the economic and operational self-management of public space and the creation and supply of various activities within it useful for the communities (housing, social, cultural, artistic and political activities). This has allowed us to eliminate the full costs of management and maintenance of public property to the municipal government, thus eliminating the reasons for the sale of public property. Thanks to the identification of an intermediate actor, now GSE urban development (to whom the property has been entrusted), the municipal government has been able to overcome the sceptical position towards the direct assignment of the asset to the association of citizens, considered a cooperative and reliable partner from an economic standpoint but not from the legal one.

In case of Angelo Mai, The opposition participated citizens expected privatization of the public good has triggered an institutional process of negotiation with the state that led to the assignment of the property to the municipal administration. The element of agreement among stakeholders was the provision of a public school for the district funded by the administration. In this case, the forms of "institutional reappropriation" (with the petition, the project participated, negotiation) led to the blocking of privatization but have not been able to innovate the approach to the regeneration and management of the public good, which today remains abandoned. Instead, concerning the radical reappropriation of space, this triggered a negotiation between the formal and informal actors for the award of a public abandoned space (Resolution 26/1995), which has been restructured and is managed autonomously by an association of citizens (activists).

This allowed: regenerate an abandoned public space; to eliminate the full operating costs for public administration; carry out alternative and independent cultural initiatives affordable for citizens; provide services to the district (such as after school for the adjacent public school and some courses for the children). Concerning the occupations for housing purposes, however, these have not been able to trigger a discussion on the definition of alternative and innovative strategies of self-help housing.

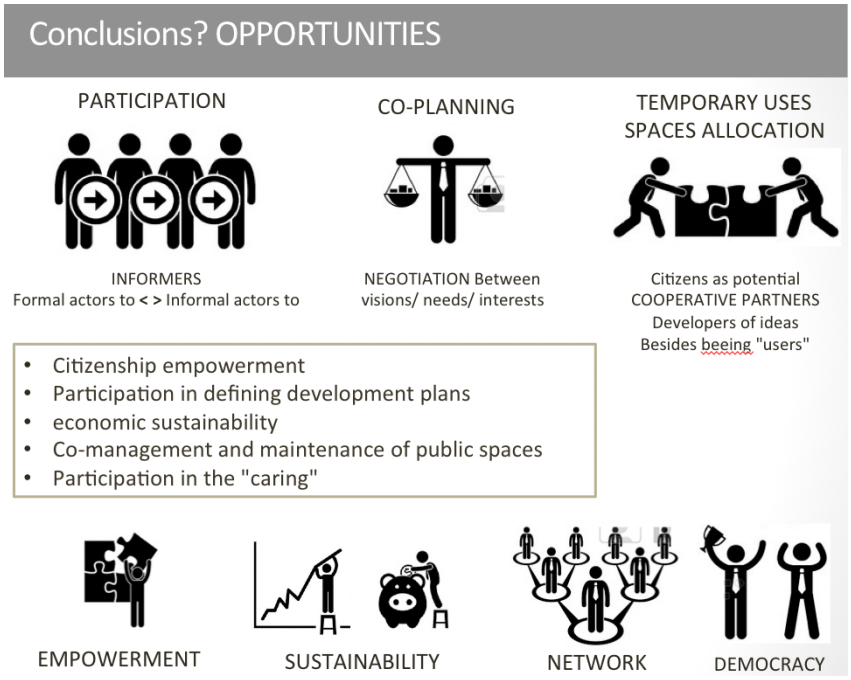
In the Tempelhof "story", fair financial sustainability in developing public policies at the local level, was possible thanks to the assignment of portions areas of the park for temporary uses mainly devoted to small activities managed by the citizens. It has produced limited financial costs for park management for the public administration. Moreover, it has fuelled a positive sense of "caring" of this public space in users and visitors, which feel themselves as potential pioneers for innovative public space uses. The only building present in the area –the historical terminal of the Templehof airport- thanks to the regulation for temporary uses allocations, it is hosting today big events (i.e. the fashion week or the Berlin Film festival), attracting huge private investments allowing eliminate the management costs (otherwise quite large due to large size of the building). Moreover, this space is now coupled to a world-renowned experience of urban regeneration and provides a significant visibility to the city of Berlin. Otherwise, it would be nearly impossible to convert the Terminal to more conventional uses without a dramatic reworking of its structure. Financial resources have been locally identified thanks to EU funds including the URB-II and LOS FUNDOS projects. The final result is that this urban vacant public space, despite its peculiarity and dimensionality, has momentary reached economic, social and environmental sustainability becoming an interesting example of alternative politics of public space/property via the implementation of innovative forms of subsidiarity with citizenship. Despite this, it is worth reminding that the partial hybridization between a top-down planning of spatial strategies and the bottom-up spontaneous requests/proposals occurred mostly due to relevant social pressure.

In fact, in the Bethanien case and in the Tempelhof story, both the conflict against the partial privatization and the local referendum strongly impacted on subverting plans prerogatives on this area and forcing the confrontation with the local administration –since existing participative tools have not been able to prevent the conflict-.

For what it concerns the ex-Snia factory story, in Rome, the Park of the "Lake" was only the final dowel of a large mosaic of struggles that sustained by the neighbours on this large and abandoned public space. The city of Rome has a long-lasting difficulty in managing its huge and unrepeatable heritage that until recent times (year 2000) was largely unknown even to the City authorities. In fact, besides the historical heritage, which is worldwide renown in the city centre, the city properties include a vast list of non-utilized areas particularly in the peripheral areas (actually previously sub-urban, but now relatively central). Reasons for that include the oversizing in the peripheral areas of standards, often never "activated" due to economic resources lack, or incorrect planning programs, and due to productive/industrial dismissed areas. Moreover, there are numerous enclosed public/private wastelands that become contested and disputed space since these districts suffering from heavy shortage of public spaces and services. Because of the financial impediments, such spaces, like the one described in the story, were destined to remain abandoned or to become fully privatized. Along recent years, the gradual re-appropriation of the former Snia Viscosa factory spaces, by the active citizenship, allowed the launching of a bulk of socially enriching initiatives, maintain such areas alive and significant in the urban geography.

The Resolution 26/1995 has been the first and unique normative and regulative tool developed by the city administration for the alternative management of the public properties, to be to allocated to no-profit associations, for social, cultural and recreational purposes. This Resolution –important since the first official normative tool for the regularization of not-authorized occupation- for the allocation of spaces to temporary initiatives is not considered sufficient in solving problems which are linked to the inability of the public authority to promote more inclusive and "agonistic" public spaces, since such "radical" experiences do not reach the same inclusion level as from institutional public spaces. Moreover, those activities presently governed by the resolution #26 represent transient solutions not having the same permanent character of a traditional public space. Last but not least, these experiences do not identify themselves as "public spaces" since, often, they do not identify in their experiences such institutional character.

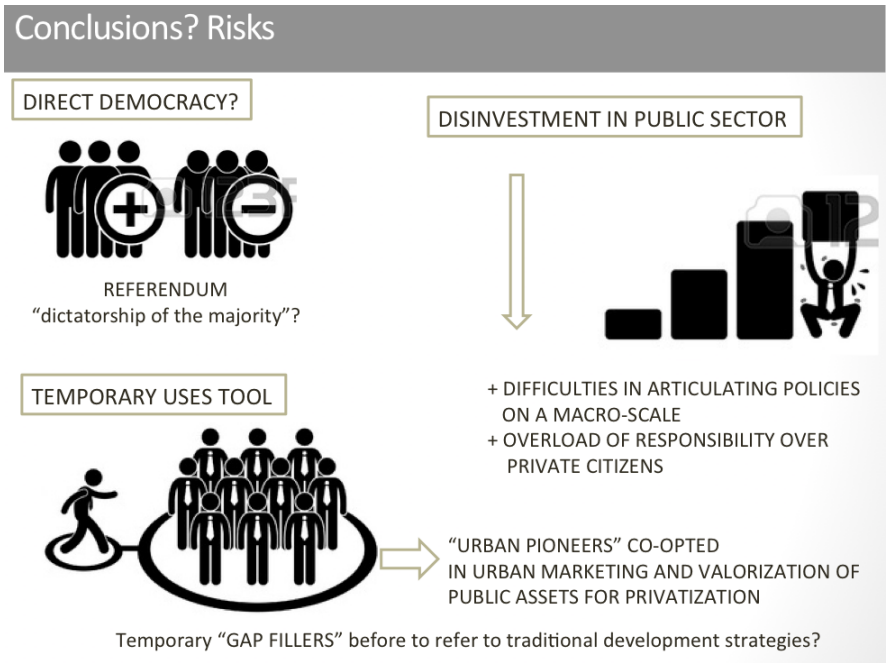
The story of the "Parco delle Energie" –on the other side- is interesting for the subsidiarity levels reached between public administration and citizenship. Park maintenance –like for the Tempelhof- has been entrusted to an outsourced company -maintaining public green areas for the Rome city-; while the "casa delle energie" and the "square" management has bee entrusted to citizens (even if maintenance and utilities costs are covered by the City administration). It is therefore necessary to remind that these two spaces -planned according to high levels of sustainability- allow a zero-level cost for electricity and heating (e.g. the "square" is completely covered by solar panels). For what concerns the project design, the park project results in a more traditional approach of technical department hall offices, while the "casa delle energie" and the "square" are both the product of a participated project. For the "parco del lago" the underlying idea is to proceed, since the first steps, with a participated project both for uses and designed furniture. A call for application has been launched. The coordination of this call has been given –for the first time- to an intermediate actor (third subject), the DAUHAUS collective. The collective has followed in the recent years, the lake struggle and issues providing ideas and technical support to the community, through the organization of participated projects with local schools. It is not clear yet whether it will be possible to drain the financial resources needed for the park maintenance and management (the city hall did not succeed in accessing to EU funds like for the URB-II project).



The implementation of normative tools like the "temporary uses", face some difficulties in Rome. Few starting initiatives have been implemented in such direction, which –by the way- are still closely linked to the dirigiste system of the Rome authorities, which identifies areas to be enhanced through competitive proposals for temporary uses (usually the vast majority of such areas have been privatized like the ex-Dogana, described in pg. 161). On the other side, are still partially successful platforms allowing third subjects, that are appointed to define strategies for the inclusion of the citizenship in the implementation and proposition of initiative for temporary uses on public/private abandoned spaces (see Temporiuso, 2014).

Contrary to Templehof in Berlin, this area is not particularly attractive for private investments for its maintenance and enhancement. This could be one of the reasons why the public administration is not fully motivated towards searching new solutions. An interesting experience to which Rome might look for are the recent experiences of Bologna for the "*bella fuori*" project stemming from the "caring" approach for self-management and maintenance of public spaces. In these experiences the local administration is experimenting new management forms of public properties almost eliminating operative costs, thanks to subsidiarity between formal and informal actors, the sustainability and energy self-production criteria, self-management of space by associations or territorial groups (i.e. senior centres), self-recovery provided by citizens, where the administration only provides funds of material costs for upgrades.

There are several opportunities emerging from normative and regulative tools defining strategies of subsidiarity (a principle established by the Italian Constitution at the 118 article) and having an open mind towards proposals coming from the citizenship including: citizens empowerment; participation to the definitions of strategies for the use and management of public spaces; economic sustainability; co-management and co-maintenance of public spaces eliminating unsustainable costs for the local administrations; involvement of citizenship in taking care of the public spaces. Within this theoretical frame, it is important to define the role of the public actor for the control and coordination towards common and collective benefits and as a guarantee that all the resources (economic, social, natural) are going to be re-distributed in a proper and balanced way.



The risks could be the further motivating the public disinvestment with an overload of responsibilities over 'private citizens' pushing for the liberalization, deregulation and privatization of formerly public authority tasks. This could produce the neutralization of social transformation instances from the bottom more than a real hybridization between bottom-up practices and institutional strategies. This results particularly evident when the temporary uses and the "urban pioneers" are intended as instrumental to enhance the economic value of a given area to which only an "exchange value" instead of a "usage value" is recognized.

2) Definition of the "permanency" versus "temporary" concept: There is a clear scarcity of standards for the definition of the conditions in which to implement temporary or permanent strategies. This is probably due from the two different approach levels: the first linked to programming of plans, the second fully independent from these.
In fact, in both the analysed "stories" the end use of Public Park as suggested by the citizens, it is a prerogative of the two cities' master plans and is connected to an idea of a stable and permanent solution. On the other hand, the temporary uses for those areas –due to their large dimensions- allow a more lively solution via the progressive introduction of new cooperative partners, supporting the role of the local authorities in promoting and managing public spaces and, finally, creating a more flexible model able to acknowledge and include the growing body of different needs from the population. This solution does not need any modification of the planning prerogatives and is settled in its transient and flexible dimension.

Meanwhile one might argue that these two levels are often considered to be independent each other or that the traditional planning –linked to the permanent and stable space uses assignment- is prevalent on the temporary uses, that should be only considered as "gap fillers" in all those conditions where the traditional permanent solutions are not viable. This is even more evident if one looks at the decision of the Berlin Senate -after many years of temporary uses of the Tempelhofer Feld area which was considered fully successful by the vast majority of the citizens- has proposed to switch towards more traditional forms of planning and development of that city area. Fortunately enough, this was not the case due to the local referendum in which the vast majority of the citizens opposed to such a proposal. In the case study of Rome, the temporary uses experiences are hard to be implemented mainly because of a lack of cultural approach of the Institutions towards innovative forms of participated decisions-making procedures, addressing public space uses, including the temporary ones. Moreover, the excessive and diffused application of a flexible legislation and of a short-term and transient view for future territory development might undermine the real goal of urban planning prerogatives. This has already happened in Rome since the introduction of the so called *"Accordi di Programma"* ("program agreements") and the several variations that affected the city master plans, along the time, where private interests often ended up replacing the original planning prerogatives -as exemplified by ex-Snia Viscosa area story-. One possible solution might be represented in a pragmatic evaluation of the various needs, interests and visions coming from the bottom. This needs the rediscussion of means for participation platforms identifying third subjects independent from official local authorities able to monitor the evolving claims coming from the citizens.

3) Definition of "common goods" as unalienable public spaces: This aspect emerges by evaluating the analysis produced over the RAW Tempel, the e-Dogana, the Tempelhof airport area and the Snia Park mentioned categories of reappropriation. The cities today are facing the challenge to constantly individuate new strategies capable to fuel "growth and competitiveness" of their urban areas. In connection to that, many have theorized the need to activate processes of valorisation of the city, transforming it in a possible source of income for the penniless administration, through the sell of disused public properties or the tax burdens produced by awarding of building permits, both connected often to processes of financialization of the urban space.

It would though worth to argue that not all the public spaces do have the same value and that citizens should be constantly involved in the evaluation procedures on which one of the assets, could be privatized/replaced. Due to the absence of these inclusive decision-making processes, many conflicts have emerged. These forms of conflictive citizenship were based on the contestation of the privatization of spaces with a real and symbolic value for the local community: their privatization would result in the exclusion from access to a key space resource for the collective life. In the Tempelhof conflict story, for instance, it results evident that the active citizenship in Berlin, is increasingly opposing the urban planning and policies objectives proposed by formal actors, due to a growing distrust towards institutional urban development strategies. It has produced the opposition against any kind of big urban project concerning urban renewal strategies. In Rome, today, the relationship between the local administration and active citizens results also conflictive. The reasons for that are profoundly different, but the common element is again a general distrust towards institutional processes, considered as solely influenced by the interests and demands of the political and economical elites, ultimately neutralizing the demand for social justice that comes from the bottom. For instance some public spaces -as for the Tempelhof former airport and the Snia park- are perceived by the population as a symbol to be fully identified as a "common good".

The "Zwischennutzung" (temporary uses) normative tool -as implemented in Berlin within the frame of a EU-funded project (Urban Act) and now proposed as a model to be reproduced in several cities around the world- has an inner contradiction in the sense that it does not specify when such temporary uses might allow or not the sale of the involved properties (when public). It results particularly evident in both the RAW Tempel and ex-Dogana reclaimed processes analysed, where, albeit from different circumstances, a conflict emerged in a contestation over the strategy to co-opt the alternative practices and imaginary (such as the street art to regenerate abandoned spaces) as capable to produce a symbolic Added Value (AD) useful for valorisation processes and the financialization of the urban space. This added value has not been recognized, though, in the pro-active capacity to propose alternative and participated uses of the public spaces. Instead, both spaces have been privatized and now traditional planning prerogatives have been approved for the development of the area (apartment blocks, offices, malls, etc.).

For the sake of truth in the Introduction of the "temporary uses" document, "Urban Pioneers" by the Berlin Senate (2007), it is stressed that such an instrument should be used not only for the management of parts otherwise abandoned the city but also for their valorisation aimed to profit. Along with the transition from government to governance models, by means of instruments of flexible urbanism, the public actor plays the important liaison function between the local citizens –who claim to have free access to spaces to develop new initiatives- and the landlord of vacant areas (regardless it is public or private) allowing to the former (citizens) to have access to very convenient rentals, and to the latter (the landlord) to valorise the property without any investment. Citizens, like in the case of the RAW Tempel and Tempelhofer Feld, despite initially participating in such strategies considering it convenient, became than opposed to them aiming to claim their right to maintain it as a public space, opposing its privatization. Paradoxically enough- their initiatives were the final trigger to enhance the value of these areas, transforming it in "commodities" (see the ex-Dogana file, pg.165) that attracts the interest of private investors (Shaw, 2005).

Moreover, this type of approach might help in neutralizing the subversive/radical character and in co-opting the innovative dimension of such practices within the neoliberal mainstream strategies (which, by the way, they aim to criticize and contest). Contrary to this model, the regulation for the allocation of the available and unavailable public property for socio-cultural, political and sport initiatives in the city of Rome does not provide any instrument aiming either to produce the valorisation aimed to profit of public areas, while they only work in obviating scarcity in services distribution and in facing the chronic inability (due to lack of planning and resources) in activating urban regeneration policies in peripheral areas. Despite the good perception of the experiences carried out within the spaces allocated thanks to this normative tool, and the willingness to protect them as valuable assets, nowadays, due of the crisis, the city of Rome has ordered to clear out of some of these autonomous spaces. Today, their "exchange value" is more relevant for the public administration than their "use value". Within this frame of progressive privatization of public spaces and goods (which started since the early '90s), several associations for the definition of "common goods" on the urban scale, have been launched. They tried to propose a *third* model of property (collective and participated) as an alternative to the binomial public/private in the attempt of preserving a general access to fundamental resources (natural, cultural, collective services, public spaces etc.). The same is true for the case of the natural lake in Rome where the main claim was "Lake for everybody! Cement for Nobody!" in agreement with the Berlin's claim "Houses for few, park for nobody!".

4) Maintenance of the "undetermined territories" together with the commitment for making inalienable the public spaces for temporary assignment: following the above mentioned remarks, it would be quite appropriate to include the commitment to make inalienable those areas for temporary uses (namely for those having a high public interest as identified by the community). The central concern would be to identify modes to support the local administrations in promote and manage public spaces through their allocation for temporary initiatives. This results central for managing the public properties in order to overcome periods of financial crisis, but without significantly impairing (and therefore depriving the community) the public resources.

Another proposal suggests maintaining a percentage of public spaces as "undetermined" in terms of their planning prerogatives. Actually, the "urban voids" plays a pivotal role because being undetermined it might become a productive element in the urban public space, being free from a unique interpretation or planning intention (Borret, 2009); this is where the competing interests trigger a continuous negotiation without any definite and final solution; this "sustained instability" is essential to democracy.

This is the remarkable element of interest for the experiment presently carried out in the Tempelhofer Feld area as reflected in the interview released to me by Andrej Holm «the attractiveness of "Tempelhofer Feld", I think, of this free space, is much more visible and sensible for people living in Berlin thank for tourists, considering that it is just a green field. It is a visible value for those who suffer a lack of green, a lack of free spaces and a lack of places where you can decide what happens. In fact, a lot of local groups and initiatives are using this space in a real sense of creativity: bringing their own ideas into this place and then being able to shape a part of the city in their own way. Of course it's attractive to see that such a big space inside the city is free, but there are no spectacles for visitors. What it is spectacular is for the people to experience it, this feeling that we can shape the space. Until now, this has been a form of appropriation of the city, on the idea of "shape the city by your self"; a small kind of commodification in the broader sense».

Indeed, Tempelhof might be considered as a positive model of negotiation for a progressive process of appropriation having started as a space for temporary uses which stand the chance to be included in the local urban policies agenda and finally leading to the exclusion of permanent uses and partial privatization of the area. The 'referendum' was the tool to drive this change of target; however, all the political parties –including those supporting the referendum- are now troubled by the idea that the instrument of referendum might be utilized in the near future to constantly modify the decisions and choices of the public administration. Despite the conflictive visions over the space are still struggling its future definition, this huge public space, results today in a "white sheet" exactly reproducing the undetermined

characteristics of the "sustained instability" of space, that I argue, could be envisioned as essential for democracy. Today, everybody can think, live and transform this space, as he/she likes more, including proposals concerning minorities and/or conflictive needs/interests.

5) Citizenship participation/responsibility and the inclusion in "agonistic" practices: By assigning public spaces for temporary uses to be managed and maintained by informal actors, one can test different types of community empowerment via the physical/symbolic re-appropriation and via different forms of active citizenships in "taking care" of public space.

This pushes us to «think more about alternative forms of democracy and to the consequent participative practices in planning» (Lo Piccolo, Bonafede, 2011), an idea mainly applied in north and nearly absent in south European decision-making approaches. In both "stories" such practices were not efficacious being mostly linked to "informative" and aiming at "manipulating" or "pacifying" the consensus instead of producing a real citizens' empowerment (Arnstein 1969). This is linked to the double character of the conflict: on one side these two experiences show that some conflicts are based on the radical contraposition between interpretations which do not allow to identify points of agreement on which a negotiation might be carried out. In fact, in the Tempelhof case, the request of maintaining a large public space free of devices of space control (i.e. fencing), where people and animals could move freely without links and inhibitions was not accepted as a negotiable request by the administration.

Similarly, the citizens' continuous raids in the ex-Snia area, started with radical re-appropriations organized by the social centre and the district committee and tolerated when the area was not fully managed by the city hall, have been prevented by the City authorities once the area became fully public. **For what it concerns the urban planning, it is not clear the level of freedom, which will be left to the citizenship in order to make proposals on alternative uses**. On the specific topic of re-appropriations the difficulty in bridging planning and emerging practices is also linked to the dimension of the ethical/interpretative conflict which renders this argument not easily commensurable at the 'systemic' and –mainly- 'ideological' levels. The growing difficulty in understanding properly the different "interpretative frames" often triggered erroneous approaches by those dealing with planning. They were unable to face with bottom-up proposals/practices, to solve conflicting situations as those emerging from the re-appropriation practices and to endorse their democratic value as a source for negotiation.

This is evident both in the Berlin story (where the administration choices were opposed by two local referendum) and even more by the Rome experience where the citizens requests needed several years to find out the appropriate channels for influencing the local planning previsions. The inability of identifying points of agreement to negotiate is mainly linked to the lack of new criteria for the non-prejudicial evaluation of the "quality" of bottom-up proposals in view of their public advantage. It would be necessary to rethink the criteria capable to open to intercultural approach, provoking contamination with a tendency towards a "positive discrimination" of models for self- and co-management of the public property. New criteria for negotiation would favour help in discriminating the "agonistic" potential of these practices. The definition of models of participation favouring the real citizens' empowerment represent essential pillars to democratically legitimate such practices and alternative instruments for urban policies, namely in this historical frame where the "right to the city" (including the right to participate) is claimed as a fundamental right.

6) Creating and coordinating territorial micro-policies (triggered form bottom-up practices) within the frame of urban macro-policies: It should not be forgotten that the above described approach might hide some risks including an excessive opening to the individual/collective initiative, which might represent an alibi for a progressive disinvestment by the public sector and a growing difficulty in developing macro-scale policies. It is therefore important a full governance of the bottom-up practices within a general frame of urban policies, by taking into appropriate account the public actor role. Such practices re-scaling was properly, managed for the Tempelhofer Feld where, the precise definition of "temporary uses" strategies did include/co-opt in the "main-stream" strategies the "indi-stream" practices (i.e. independent and from minorities). Similarly, in the case of Milan with its experience "Space, Time, Re-use" (Temporiuso, 2014), the micro-tactics which were independently developing in the territory were properly channelled into the system for common property management.

In the case of the "lake park", despite the long experience of active citizenship in that district, the local administration was unable to render systematic such experiences at the large-scale level. Both in the Berlin and in the Milan cases, these experiences were utilized as a "buffer solution" but not to implement macro-scale and permanent strategies.

7) Careful evaluation of the devolution of the local authorities jurisdiction in developing urban policies and managing the public property: Within the two urban scenarios hereby considered, the responsibilities for territorial governance move on quite different planes. In Berlin, within the frame of a national context characterized by a strong federalism, the municipalities are largely independent from the town hall government (The Berlin Senate) and share

about the same jurisdiction and responsibility of the City Hall in Rome concerning the management of the public assets and areas, except for deciding on the definition of the master plan prerogatives. This allows on one side to manage a relatively restricted territory in a more efficacious way (also due to the direct availability of the resources on the territory of jurisdiction), on the other a higher level of democracy due to the smaller population sample. However, this model is amplifying the difficulties in property management and implementation of macro-scale urban policies having limited resources.

During the time length of this experience such a difficulty triggered the need for valorisation processes aimed to profit of public spaces and goods and the final decision of awarding building permits. In the Tempelhof case, we have a city hall property (not managed by the district council). This property is translated from a national property to a municipal one, a transfer which is based on a consistent expenditure for the municipal budget which was afforded as an investment for future back-income.

Once again, the transfer of responsibilities to more territorial authorities without the needed financial support produces the cumulative result in transforming the local authorities in a real estate agency for the public property. However, in the case of Rome municipalities represent an important contact point with the community, able to probe at a more territorial level the social mechanisms and needs of that specific district, even if in some cases they merely played the role of liaison-office between the community and the city hall because of the lack of decisional power and of financial resources for promoting independent urban policies on their territory. In the case of the “park lake” if the property had been under the direct municipal responsibility a direct negotiation with the community would had been possible taking into due account the different requirements emerging from a complex social mosaic -like the one characterizing the Pigneto-Prenestino area-.

Because of all the above motivations, it seems necessary a full evaluation of the roles and responsibilities of the different local authorities for the development of urban policies and public property management, including a higher decisional and jurisdictional involvement of the municipalities combined to the appropriate financial support in order to implement both micro- and macro-scale strategies.

Advantages deriving from such policies might result manifold:

- **Larger citizens participation** (active citizenship participation in common goods production). By assigning the "taking care" role of the places where they live, all citizens would develop a stronger sense of belonging which has been lost in recent decades and which is one of the reasons for peripheral areas degradation.

- **Higher sustainability of the proposed projects from the viewpoint of local integration**: inhabitants of a city district when becoming active community become suddenly able to make clear some needs/lacks and advance documented proposals to solve them. It can be hypothesized that such "insurgent practices" «might play an important role in defining the regeneration urban policies: they might represent a 'local solutions for global problems'. It is therefore necessary to channel such spaces in an urban plan not degrading them, but integrating them in a process of on-going transformation within a frame of rules and safety » (Nigrelli, 2005)

- **Higher sustainability of the interventions from the economic point of view:** such practices –as a by-product of active citizenship through agreements between citizens associations and city authorities for the co-managements of public spaces- might significantly lower the costs of management and maintenance. Because of this, such models might become an additional reference for the city governance, where the administration could maintain only the burden for micro-interventions for maintenance.

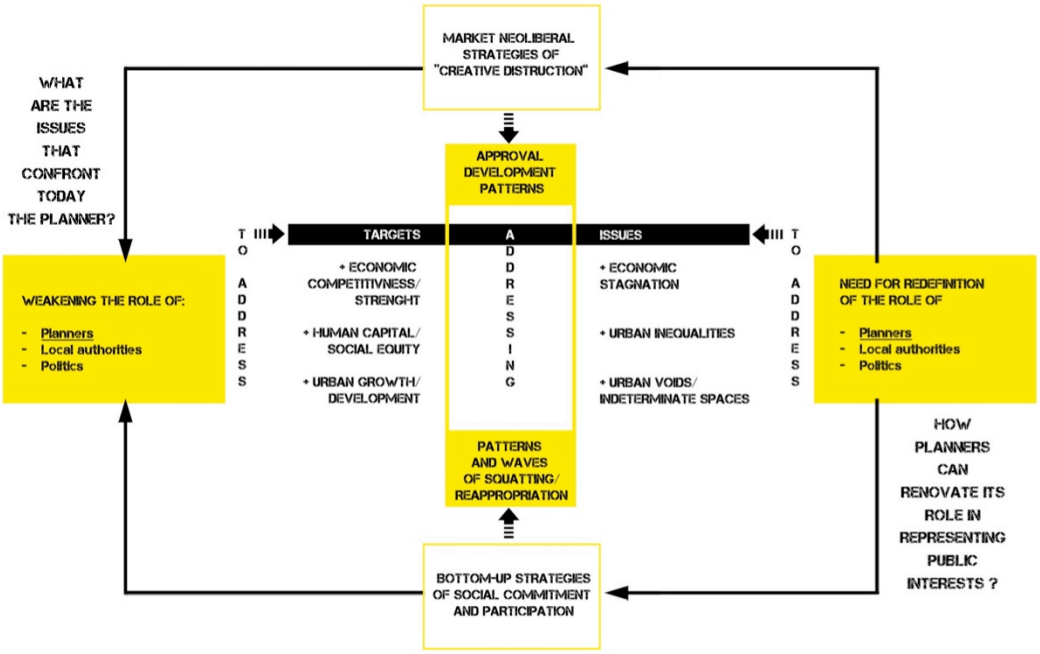
- To develop policies for the real inclusion of these practices would represent a **valuable occasion for the re-opening of the debate on possible alternatives to the present 'servility' of the public administration with respect to the private market and of the local, national and international economic and political Elites** (related to policies for the activation of urban transformation/regeneration policies), mainly due to the severe budget problems.

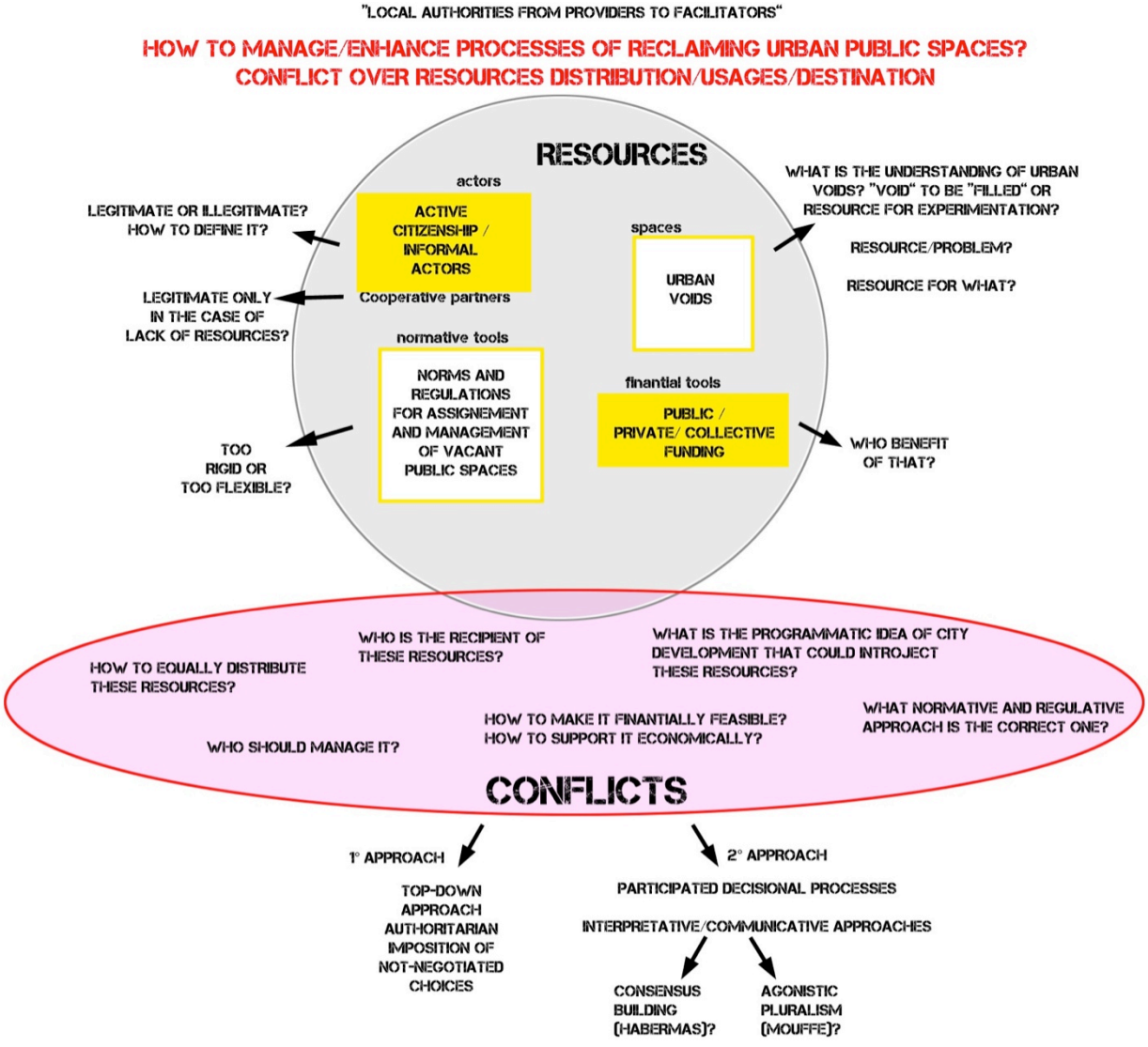
- **By formalizing the presence of such practices** on the territory (referred as developing plans, prescriptions and rules) would avoid the transition towards illegal activities, which are amongst the most important factors provoking social and urban degradation.

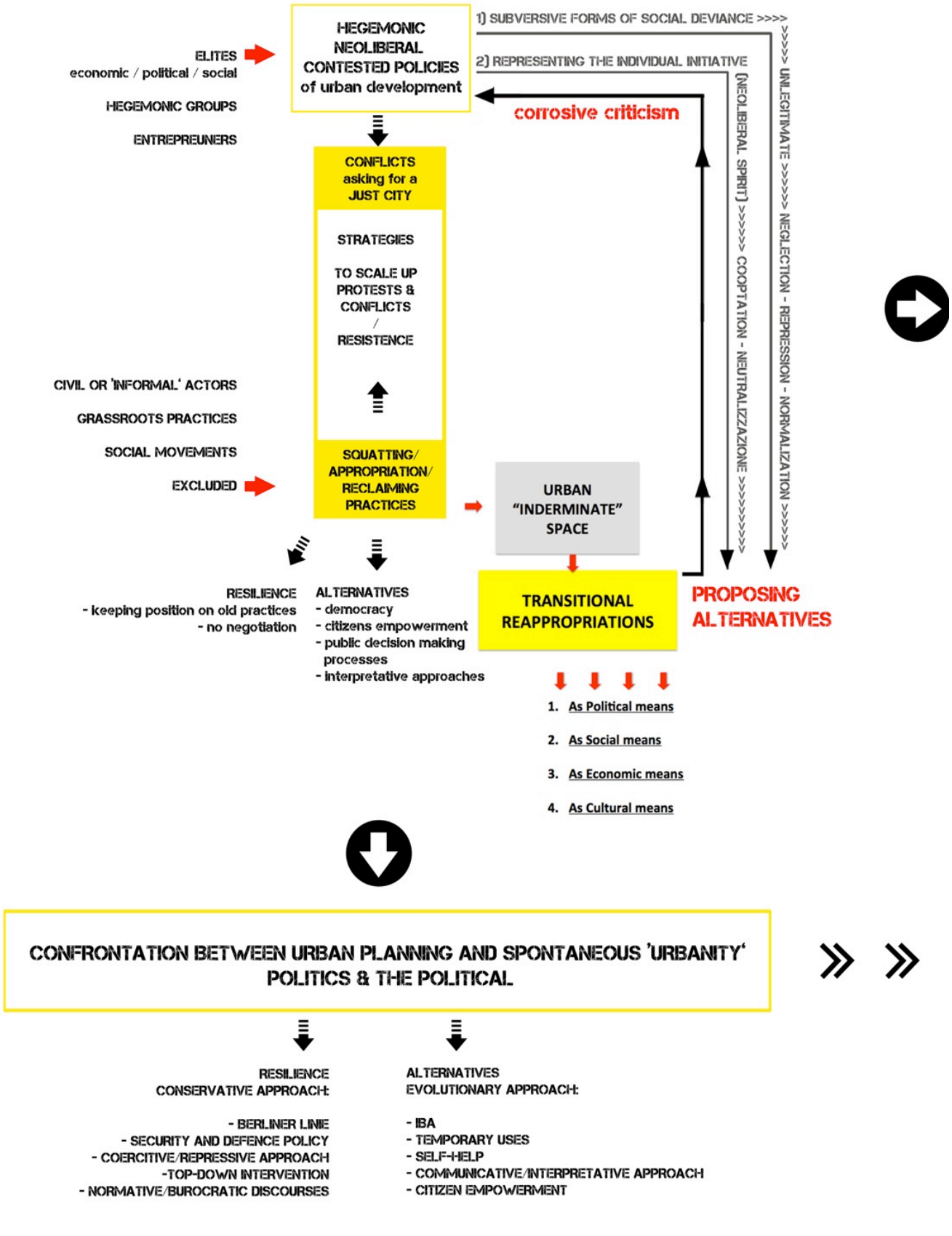
- Finally, by promoting the development and proliferation (within the frame of a planned developmental matrix) **would significantly facilitate the debate and democratic confrontation on the 'right to the city' and on the roles of the dominant understanding of controversial phenomena and the state power in definition of concepts of legitimacy and illegitimacy, towards a more agonistic understanding.**

B. From providers to facilitators: the role of planners and local authorities – Berlin and Rome

The following diagrams, through the schematization of some remarks over the research topic, represent the attempt to analyse the changing role of urban planners in the actual era of increasing urban protests, some of the reasons behind the emergence of such conflictive practices and the open questions that have to be addressed in order to deal with such conflicts.






ELITES
economic / political / social
HEGEMONIC GROUPS
ENTREPREUNERS
HEGEMONIC NEOLIBERAL CONTESTED POLICIES of urban development
1) SUBVERSIVE FORMS OF SOCIAL DEVIANCE >>>>
2) REPRESENTING THE INDIVIDUAL INITIATIVE
corrosive criticism
>>>>> UNLEGITIMATE >>>>>> NEGLECTION - REPRESSION - NORMALIZATION >>>>>>
(NEOLIBERAL SPIRIT) >>>>> COOPTATION - NEUTRALIZZAZIONE >>>>>>>>
CONFLICTS asking for a JUST CITY
STRATEGIES
TO SCALE UP PROTESTS & CONFLICTS / RESISTENCE
CIVIL OR 'INFORMAL' ACTORS
GRASSROOTS PRACTICES
SOCIAL MOVEMENTS
EXCLUDED
SQUATTING/ APPROPRIATION/ RECLAIMING PRACTICES
URBAN "INDERMINATE" SPACE
TRANSITIONAL REAPPROPRIATIONS
PROPOSING ALTERNATIVES
RESILIENCE
- keeping position on old practices
- no negotiation
ALTERNATIVES
- democracy
- citizens empowerment
- public decision making processes
- interpretative approaches
1. As Political means
2. As Social means
3. As Economic means
4. As Cultural means
CONFRONTATION BETWEEN URBAN PLANNING AND SPONTANEOUS 'URBANITY'
POLITICS & THE POLITICAL
RESILIENCE
CONSERVATIVE APPROACH:
- BERLINER LINIE
- SECURITY AND DEFENCE POLICY
- COERCITIVE/REPRESSIVE APPROACH
-TOP-DOWN INTERVENTION
- NORMATIVE/BUROCRATIC DISCOURSES
ALTERNATIVES
EVOLUTIONARY APPROACH:
- IBA
- TEMPORARY USES
- SELF-HELP
- COMMUNICATIVE/INTERPRETATIVE APPROACH
- CITIZEN EMPOWERMENT

HUGE FINANCIAL SPECULATION ON

- HOUSING
- PUBLIC REALM
- NATURAL RESOURCES/ENVIRONMENT

HEGEMONY OF THE MARKET RULES
+
ELITES

"CITY FOR PROFIT"

Vs

"CITY FOR PEOPLE"

ACTIVE CITIZENSHIP
&
INFORMAL ACTORS

NEW SUSTAINABLE IDEA
FOR NEW MORE SUSTAINABLE POLICIES:

- PROGRAMMATIC NON-UTILITARIAN ALTRNATIVES FOR THE USE & MANAGEMENT OF PUBLIC SPACE
- SUGGEST URGENT ISSUES
- PROMOTE POLITICAL TO UNDERSTAND POLITICS
- INDIVIDUATE NEW DECISION MAKING PROCESES
- PROMOTE PUBLIC POLICIES FROM THE BOTTOM

Spontaneous 'urbanity':

These spontaneous, organic evolutions epitomise a different notion of 'urbanity': evident in planned developments for dissociation from modernist utilitarian approaches of the logics of planning.

In their essence, they thus testify to an ideology which is "libertarian, marginal, deviant and certainly dirsrespectful of the traditional codes of the city"
(Borret, 1999, p. 242)

legitimate or illegitimate?
useful or problematic?
resource or weakness?

WHO? WHY? WHAT? WHEN ARE CLAIMED:

increasing urban conflicts >>>>>>>>>> EXCLUDED OPINION INTERESTS

PLANNING/CONFLICTS

PLANNING for THE JUST CITY

increasing urban inequalities >>>>>>>>>> EXCLUSION FROM THE ACCESS TO MATERIAL/ IMMATERIAL RESOURCES

WHO? WHY? WHAT? WHEN ARE CLAIMED:

SUPPORT DEAL WITH SPONTANEOUS TEMPORARY USES (/APPROPRIATION)?

FROM PROVIDERS TO FACILITATORS

NEW ROLE FOR PLANNERS/LOCAL AUTHORITIES/POLITICS:

AS:

- site owners
- arbiters of building and planning permission
- funding bodies
- initiators of projects

CAN DIRECTLY SUPPORT:

- funding
- by acting as garantor in negotiations with third parties
- indirect support: licensing procedures, conflict management, find locations, mediation

(Berlin SenStadt, 2007)

C. How is it that the transitional and experimental practices become producers of alternative policies?

Concept such as temporary uses, self-help programs produced the shift of the acknowledgment of informal practices from the "illegitimate", "illegal", "unacceptable" categories field to the one of the normatively comprehensible and, though, possibly legitimate, that fosters the definition of new inclusive strategies: such as the implementation of public policies and strategies for heritage and public spaces regeneration and management from the bottom. On their side, the concepts produced by social movements and radical groups, such as the "right to the city," the "right to stay put," the "right to inhabit," the "commons," the "subsidiarity," have shifted the interpretation of these radical practices from a the field of regulation to the one of fundamental and constitutional rights. This highlights the central role played by interpretative processes and its hegemonic dimension. In fact, the capacity to subvert the dominant understanding of a phenomenon can completely transform the definition of its legitimate or illegitimate dimension. Negotiations of conflictive positions over highly controversial topics include the radical opposition of different interpretative frameworks based on opposed systems of value and epistemological/ontological understanding of social phenomenon. This needs the acceptance of the presence of conflict as a great opportunity for the democratic collective development of an "agonistic" understanding of these controversial issues. The importance or the existence of autonomous movement, organizations and political spaces, though, became evident when it effectively forces us to re-situate the political dimension away from the "hegemony of the state" and towards alternative practices and forms of decision-making. Since we are investigating not the general political understanding of such processes but possibility to introject them into institutional operative strategies, it is important to highlight how they can be recognized in this field. It is undeniable, the need to construct a rational thinking, decisions and actions to matters that concern the public sphere as with regard to planning.
In fact, the normative and regulative tools that have been developed until today in the two urban contexts show that in order to include such phenomena, a rational understanding of the common interests that such bottom-up practices can constitute has been constructed. Among them the concept of Self-help and Temporary Uses.

In fact, the relevance of the phenomenon, in quantitative and qualitative terms, forced local institutions and planning practitioners to question on how to resolve these conflicts through forms of negotiation capable to keep at the centre the principles of "collective interest" and "common good". As mentioned above, though, the definition of the abstract concept of common good and interest has been discussed extensively in recent years, **"highlighting the hegemonic nature of the political process of defining the common interest"** (Lo Piccolo, 2009).

The dialogic communicative approach for consensus building in mediating between conflicting positions of values or interests (which takes the rational dimension as the prevailing one for communication), then, seems to be the only appropriate choice for a democratic confront with such issue and for creating the right conditions for the "ideal speech" (Habermas). Despite this, many academics have questioned the priority of the rational sphere, preferring instead to use other dimensions as that of the emotions, passions and unconscious. Furthermore, in connection with the theoretical basis of the logic of consensus building is the supposition that there is a universal principle of shared values. But "if the reference values are different, ways to apply the rationality collide, on sometimes irreconcilable basis" (Ibid, 2009). In an increasingly fragmented society, the hegemonic nature of the definition of values' models and collective interests becomes increasingly evident.

D. The need to develop interpretative processes and "agonistic pluralism" strategies
(Rossini, 2014b)

Technical and analytical evidences are often considered sufficient to develop inclusion/exclusion policies of active citizenship practices. However, a solid policy should be able to argue and to consider all the different decision levels and demonstrate to have found consensus at each of such steps. Regarding the reappropriations topic, the miscommunication between urban planning and insurgent practices is definitely also related to the dimension of the conflict, situated at the ethic/interpretative[308] level, that makes the argumentation at the "systematic" level and above all "ideological" one hard to commensurate. For instance, in the case of Rome, the radical movements implementing occupation strategies have worked in recent years to give voice to issues concerning "the right to inhabit", overturning the balance of power and authority through conflict, in order to force public authorities to including their instances into

[308] The question of appropriation / reappropriation of space is tricky because it puts into question some of the "frames" and cultural points of the state of law upon which Western society is founded. Among them: the concept of private property; respect for law of which the institutions are guarantors; the concept of legitimacy in the pervasive control and regulation of all aspects of daily life (Foucault, 1978, 2012); the recognition of dominant socio-cultural models. Moreover, the conflict arises from a number of implicit assumptions of dichotomous character on the type Thesis / Antithesis, which shows an often oppose not only of objective assessments but also of ethical values diametrically opposed: e.g. (Re)APPROPRIATED SPACES = collective spaces for socializing, experimenting with alternative forms of living and creating participated projects for social transformation or APPROPRIATED SPACES = phenomena of social deviance, lawlessness, drug, spaces of self-segregation, enclosure tolerated as forms of social control and social pacification.

urban political agenda. To legitimate the developed radical practices, they constructed arguments on different levels: from the technical analytical levels, of an empirical/practical kind (i.e. collecting data over housing emergency compared with a dramatic lack of affordable housing), to reflexive/regulatory arguments which are based on the constituent nature of rights such as the 'right to inhabit' or the 'right to culture' and last but not least, discussions on the ideological basis of the right to private property and the legitimacy of the laws of the capitalistic State.
The inability to understand the legitimacy of the different "interpretive frameworks" often induces the planner to develop planning tools that are incapable to include bottom up practices and that are not able to resolve conflicts arising during the reappropriations processes. As mentioned above, in last thirty years, the legislative response to the alternative development strategies generated by the autonomous movements using (re)appropriation of urban public space, produced very different policies (of inclusion/exclusion) in the different European countries, that can be resumed in three types:

1. *Selective Neglect of latent conflicts*: strategies aims that ignore the problem or the conflict situation and let them in a backstage position.
2. *Space Control*: can be related to either repressive strategy, like stigmatization, criminalization and coercive eviction or containment strategy, like temporal regularization and selective integration.
3. *Forms of co-optation*: can be related to either bottom up practices inclusion in "urban branding" policies, for instance "temporal uses" (Colomb, 2012) or urban regeneration, like space assignment for maintenance purposes.

Thanks to high possibility to have a confrontation with the State, such claims, are often able to generate an institutional reaction that, in turn, generates new policies. Policies, strategies and approaches developed until now, do not seem to have been able to encourage interculturalism and contamination or promote "positive discrimination" (Perrone, 2013). They neither demonstrates to having faced the argument on all levels of debate (from technical-analytical to ideological point of views) neither getting consensus nor developing forms of "agonistic" pluralism. Moreover, they were not able to develop a new paradigm that, referring to the invoked right to the city, could move the control from the capital and from the state to the hands of the "inhabitants," [309] in order to restructure power relations (Lefebvre, 1968, 1973, 1991, 1996). First, we need to reconstruct the ethical and interpretative framework, in order to face efficiently the shift to the formulation of truly inclusive strategies. Otherwise, the risk is to develop tools that, instead of including, could exclude o manipulate these experiences and co-opting the rhetoric of democratic practices (Purcell, 2009), risking to produce consensus manipulation instead of citizens empowerment (Arnstein, 1969). Nowadays, thanks to the increasing complexity of the global society, the exclusion or the de-legitimization a priori of widespread social phenomena is no longer justifiable without previously demonstrating that the observer did properly focus the intercultural dynamics when confronting with the phenomenon (what Michail Bachtin calls "exotopia"). The actuated urban policies and the practices in the last decades often contributed to favour one position to another instead of recomposing the conflict, thereby producing power imbalance, predominance of strong vision on weak visions and the maintenance of conflictive dimension. It is necessary, though, to allow all the phenomena -that have been excluded from the political agenda in the past, while today are getting new political significance-, to define themselves as new "possible worlds" (Sclavi, 2003).

[309] Lefebvre prefers to speak of 'inhabitants' that citizens, as, the 'citizens' refers to a status of citizenship based on nationality, while he refers to those who 'perceive', 'imagine' and 'live' the urban space (and thus transform it) in the every day life.

SOME OTHER QUESTIONS

- Is it possible to individuate tools capable to evaluate the "quality" of the self-managed grassroots practices so to legitimate their right to address public spaces?
- Which characteristics make them "good" or "bad" practices?
- How to evaluate the quality of such practices without imposing hegemonic, dominant interpretative frameworks? What does it means "good" or "bad" practices?
- Are these places constructing urban political geographies capable to produce alternative "grand narratives"?
- Is it possible to rescale such micro-practices in macro-strategies? What about the alternative strategies for housing, or "social welfare" and "de-growth" they propose?
- Can these practices really be able to stop and invert the progressive privatization of public properties deeply connected with the Neoliberal restructuring process?
- Could the citizen's associations be a feasible economic alternative as "cooperative partners" within the current systems of governance?
- Is it possible to really include in a bourgeois capitalist system instances and proposals that come from anti-capitalist and subversive contents of these insurgent practices? Or their co-optation/normalization/repression is the natural result of the confrontation between incommensurable conflictive positions?
- Is it really possible to address the lack of democracy in confronting between dominant and excluded narratives through Agonistic Pluralism? Doesn't this model lack in empirical examples?
- How can these practices individuate new public decision-making procedures capable of incorporating a truly "agonistic dimension"?
- Are they able to challenge the rigid dichotomy between public and private property?

FINAL THESIS

- These practices are urban elements that show a possible alternative to the hegemonic models of rules, social reproduction and "modus vivendi" and fostering a different way to inhabit urban spaces and maximizing use-value rather than exchange value (Purcell, 2009). They can constitute a form of "resistance" and open challenge to neoliberal orthodoxy in the urban context within the urban transformation process.

- These practices have been able to (re)open the debate on the right to the city and show how urgent the issue relating “who does the city belong to?” is;

- These processes are related to the lack of democracy in terms of inappropriate or ineffective democratic decision-making procedures and participative programs in the local political frame and foster the issue of real democratic participatory processes and deliberative democracy through the construction of a political space in which to develop political subjectivities, which are necessary for the definition of a " public space of democracy" (Arendt, 2005; Bonafede, Lo Piccolo, 2010) through the self-organization as an attempt to retrieve a implication in self-organized social life;

- These practices are able to suggest urgent issues; promote politics to understand “the political”; individuate new public decision-making procedures capable of incorporating a truly “agonistic dimension” (Mouffe, 2000a).

- These practices addresses the reasoning above autonomous political spaces in our contemporary world, «spaces in which alternatives practices, relationships and modes of organization are actively produced, and in which we see a conscious effort to live in ways that are non-hierarchical, non-authoritarian and non exploitative» (Newman, 2011).

- These processes are often silent driving forces behind real and physical phenomenon of urban regenerations.

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– APPENDIX –

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BETHANIEN CASE STUDY'S FILES

FILE 1: Self-help and Do It Yourself strategies – as alternatives urban renewal and housing policies

«In parallel with the line of the Berlin Senate (the so called Berliner Linie, that allowed evctions of squatted spaces within the 48 hours without court permission) passed in 1982 a program for "building self-help" that provided financial assistance to self-help housing projects. […] However, this funding project was interrupted in early 2002 and the other non-commercial development of residential space thus removed from the ground.» (MieterMagazin, 2003).

Historical foreword:

The evolution of the Altbau- Bauaustellung have been accompanied, since its beginning, by the sudden eruption of the social housing crisis (*Wohnungsnot*). The violent demonstrations and clashes between protesters and police in the end of 1970s beginning of the 1980s – that were right centred in the Kreuzberg SO36 area – imposed the need for a change. The first big squatting wave occurred from February 1979 to December 1980; in this period 21 houses had been occupied by squatters in Berlin (Holm, Kuhn, 2010). These illegal occupation were mainly addressing vacant buildings where to run self-managed rehabilitation of old buildings in order to find alternative solutions to the housing crisis (these were called Instandbesetzung from the word "*Instandsetzung"*, that means rehabilitation, and "*Besetzung"*, that means squatting action). The related political claims were the stop of evictions and critical questioning of the lack in affordable housing opposed to the huge presence of vacant properties (the "*Leerstand"* phenomenon), intensified by the strongly public subsidez programs for urban renewal[310]. Moreover, «To summarize, from the point of view of the movements out of which it arose, self-help not only represents a means to solve material needs, but also contains themes of autonomy, self-organization and the self-definition of needs.» (Mayer, 1985, 17).
Hardt-Waltherr Hämer, the chair of the IBA Altbau (the part of the IBA interested in the renovation of the old city), stands out all the gravity of the situation of the district, as well as the faults of a housing policy that despite the many public announcements, proved incapable of imparting a significant turnaround in the distortions of the system of *Stadterneuerung* – "urban renewal" - (Cutolo, 2012, 182). In his view, the long times in the implementation of plans for urban regeneration had helped increase social problems and the deterioration of the physical space of the neighborhood. In January 1981, the IBA company spreads some data on the state of the housing area of Kottbusser Tor communicating its seriousness to the Senate and to the ministry of Bonn: of about 4,612 units 1,057 were empty, 67% of which were owned by urban renewal companies, 90% of which were public property. Of all housing units owned by the concessionaires more than 1/3 is empty[311]. In relation to that, the so-called "soft line" first adopted by the Senate - as told by an authoritative observer of social processes as Barbara Lang - was a manifestation of undisguised self-criticism from the government, "although illegal, occupations were nevertheless considered legitimate: dilapidated buildings were still fixed by their occupants, which had led the Senate to admit mistakes in housing policy and rehabilitation" (Lang, 1998). «Next to a program that provides for the allocation of 20 million marks for the repair of about 2,750 apartments - 1,000 of whom belong to the share of Leerstand - the short Vogel government has made a significant start to measures that favor the activation of tenants in undertaking repairs or modernization under the *Selbsthilfe*.

Selbsthilfe meausers to favour the activation of tenants in undertaking self-renovation or modernization of old buildings

The Selbsthilfe: the "Program of the 800 marks' (DM 800 Program), which provided precisely the maximum allocation of funds for 800 marks per square meter for renters joined together in cooperative or company; or financing up to 70% of the material costs for upgrades made by individual tenants. These measures had a positive reflection on the work of the IBA-Altbau, providing their answers to the requests for a disarticulation in the sense of greater flexibility of support programs to works of repair, renovation or modernization.» (Cutolo, 2012, 195). It favoured the right to stay put of the residents after the renovation, their direct participation in their own houses rehabilitation and contribute to maintain rents cheap, moreover, these were an opportunity for the formation of new professionals and employment in the construction field.

The idea of the Self-help groups in accordance with Altbau- was to establish these strategies as alternative modes and effective reuse for residential purposes:

[310] The steady increase in unused slice of the residential real estate is guiltily left empty waiting of public funding aimed at abatement efforts and reconstruction or radical modernization (Hamer, 1980).
[311] Cfr. IBA 1984, Leerstand im Sanierungsgebiet P III, P VI, P IX, P X, Kreuzberg, Kottbusser Tor, 12.1.1981, [AdK, IBA-STERN, A 177 GV 181].

- the repair of buildings vacated years before,
- the legalization of occupied houses through ad hoc contracts with maintenance purpose,
- up to buildings made from scratch at very low prices, through the direct involvement of future tenants.

In order to decreas the Leerstand phenomenon, the Bauaustellung took the role of mediator, either on its own initiative and because it explicitly encouraged by tenants, between companies who own the properties uninhabited or occupied and the groups gathered together in order to settle there.
Confronting the data emerges that this alternative procedures were actuated in a small number of cases with respect to the more standard procedures: «Of the 16,923 apartments (WE) present in 1961 in the original redevelopment area, until the early eighties, were demolished 7,200 WE. Were rebuilt up to the year 2000, approximately 5,000 WE including 372 apartments that were funded under § 17 II WoBauG. Until 2000, nearly 4,500 WE could be repaired and thoroughly modernized with public funding, including 250 WE in structural self-help program[312] and 1850 as part of the "combi-hauser" program.»[313].

The self-help housing policies continued to be part of the urban renewal strategies until 2002. As emerges by the document "Bericht uber Stadterneuerung 2000-2001" ("report about urban renewal 2000-2001), still during the 1990s, the Self-help policies referred to "policies to promote modernization and rehabilitation" and was connected with the concept of social urban renewal.[314] From the document:

1.2.2 Policies to promote modernization and rehabilitation (Richtlinien zur Förderung der Modernisierung und Instandsetzung)

The state of Berlin encourages the modernization and reconstruction of housing on the basis of specific funding. The structure of the funding remained unchanged during the reporting period. There were, however, made several changes to the policy content:

1.2.2.1 ModInstRL 95 - Social urban renewal

The "Guidelines on the granting of aid for the modernization and repair of existing buildings - program Social urban renewal" ModInstRL[315] 95 - Social urban renewal of 21 September 1994 (Official Gazette no. 53 of 04 November 1994, p 3467-3474) amended by Administrative Regulation of 30 June 1999 (Official Gazette no. 45, September 03, 1999, p 3430f) will continue to apply. About these changes have been reported in detail in the 22nd report on urban renewal.

Funding conditions

The construction cost subsidy amounts to a maximum of 20% of eligible costs on the basis of standard unified catalog of measures.
To 40% of eligible costs are paid monthly for the first year, after end of construction, expense subsidies amounting to 5%, maximum 4.50 DM / m².
The contribution of the owner is at least 40% of the eligible costs, but at least $ 900 / sqm.
Notwithstanding clause. 5.1 of ModInstRL 95 can program in 2000, additional building costs up to the amount of 12 per cent of the eligible costs will be recognized. Grant are eligible for architectural and engineering services according to HOAI, cost of expert opinion requested as well as fees for building permits, chimney sweeps, etc.
Until the completion of the construction work occurring interim financing costs of loans are not recognized as additional building costs.

Rent for modernization

If the district-sided rent limits are defined as part of the renovation licensing under §§ 144, 145 BauGB, these take precedence over rent limits set out in the Directive of 8.28 DM / m² per month (net rent). However, this applies only to Rent in 1st year after modernization.

Self-occupied residential ownership

[312] Self-help projects: Admiralstr. 17 (property), Lehrter Str. 11 (property), Manteuffelstr. 90 (leasehold), Naunynstr. 58 (property), Green Str. 38 (lease) Adalbertstr. 26 (property), Weserstr.78 / Stuttgarter Str.52 (retention), Heinrich Mann Allee 23 (Potsdam, long lease).
[313] "Bericht uber Stadterneuerung 2000-2001" Mitteilungen des Präsidenten des Abgeordnetenhauses von Berlin Drucksache Nr. 14/821, p. 53.
[314] Ivi., p.9.
[315] "ModInst" is used for "*Modernisierung und Instandsetzung"* that meand modernization and rehabilitation

A self-occupied by the owner or share-owner apartment is independent from the reference date eligible if this is the first residence and if the district agrees to the self-use. This will also contribute to the modernization and rehabilitation funding for formation of self-occupied residential property in the downtown area in compliance with the best to be assessed by the districts housing needs of resident inhabitants.

1.2.2.2 ModInstRL 96 - wohnungspolitische Selbsthilfe ("self-help housing policy")

The "Guidelines on the granting of aid for the modernization and repair of existing buildings - program Apartment Political self-help projects continue to be applied (ABI No. 50 p 3508 from 27.09.1996).
To promote self-help groups that acquire as GBR or cooperative a house or enter into a long-term lease, but also projects fiduciary redevelopment agencies, where self-help tenants carries out the construction or the cooperative sought self-management.

(91) Table guidelines to promote by owner, tenant or self-help groups performed construction work

Guidelines	Program compo-nents	Period of funding (Chapter/title)	validity from ... to	Comments	Notice	Reference (OJ).
Guidelines About the granting of aid to modernize and repair of old buildings - Part of the program "Social urban renewal" ModInstRL 95 - Social urban renewal	social urban renewal	1995 et seq (1295/893 56) and (1295/663 56)	01.01.1995 31.12.1999 Another application in the year 2000/1 according to cover financial commitment	created by IV C 33 changes: a) 17.04.1997 b) 30.06.1999	04.11.1994 a)02.05.1997 b)03.09.1999	Nr. 53 S. 3467 a)Nr. 21 S. 1331 b)Nr. 45 S. 3430
Guidelines About the granting of aid modernization and repair of existing buildings - Part of the program "Housing policy self-help projects" ModInstRL 96 - self-help Housing policy	self-help housing policy	1996 et seq (1295/893 56) and (1295/663 56)	31.03.1996 31.12.1999 another application in the year 2000/1	created by IV C 52	27.09.1996	Nr. 50 S. 3508

FILE 2: *Stadterneuerungsprogramme* – general features of the "City Renewal programs"

The evolution of the implementation of the *Stadterneuerungprogramme* summarizes in a very effective way the parable made by urban design at the time of divided Berlin, it highlights progressive aspects but also - and especially - the limitations due to the slowness with which new instances for the preservation of the historical city tend to establish itself, also due to the inertia to change opposed by the centralized bureaucratic system and by the construction industry interests that guide the restructuring process of the post-war city.
Holm and Kuhn, in their article propose three macro categories related to the several phases in which the Berlin's urban renewal policies have been articulated since the post-war period: «The policy of urban renewal pursued in Berlin can be divided into three clearly distinguishable phases and models: first, what is known as 'areal redevelopment', carried out between 1963 and 1981; secondly, the policy of cautious urban renewal, which was pursued between 1981 and 1989; and thirdly, post-Fordist urban renewal in East Berlin, pursued from the early 1990s.» (Holm, Kuhn, 2010, 652).

First

'Areal redevelopment' (*Stadterneuerungprogramme* 1963) «describes an approach that focused on the widespread demolition of housing stock that is in need of renewal, as well as the building of new, modern housing developments. The 'First Berlin Urban Renewal Programme', approved by the Berlin Senate in 1963, provided for the demolition of 10,000 housing units. The renewal model was based on developers (mostly housing associations) buying up mostly private property in the redevelopment areas and extensive financial support for demolition and new house-building work from public funds for the Social Housing Development Programme (Dahlhaus, 1968; Zapf, 1969). Aspects of this authoritarian form of urban renewal that were particularly criticized were the failure to involve residents, the concerted destruction of existing neighborhood structures, and the demolition of low-cost housing stock that would not be replaced. In spite of comprehensive funding, rents in the new buildings were markedly higher than those in the old building areas (Becker and Schulz zur Wiesch, 1982).» (Ibid., 2010, 653).

The initial intervention methodology differs:

- *Flächensanierung:* rehabilitation of the entire area through demolition and complete reconstruction of the structure and also with changes of urban morphology;

- *Teilsanierung:* partial restructuring, currently characterized by the demolition and reconstruction of the interior to the building blocks, while the built perimeter is spared - Properly preserved - and with it the traditional relationship building / road. (Cutolo, 2012).

Second

The "policy of cautious urban renewal" (*Stadterneuerungprogramme* 1974) «was born out of this criticism of the redevelopment of spaces. In implementing urban renewal it focused on three types of 'caution': caution *in construction*, which involved preserving the building stock and modernizing one step at a time; *social* caution, which involved preserving the composition of the social structure wherever possible and allowing tenants in the redevelopment areas to stay in their houses; and finally, the principle of caution in planning policy, comprising widespread involvement and participation by residents in renewal activities. A participatory model of urban renewal was tried out. Nevertheless, there was no change in the material basis for urban renewal. Even cautious urban renewal rested on extensive public funds and a transfer of the plots of land to (often urban) redevelopers, so that in spite of other goals, urban renewal was from then on organized by the state and distanced from the market (Konter, 1994; Bernt, 2003).

The squats of the early 1980s were of major importance for the implementation of cautious urban renewal. The squat houses and the squatters occupying them provided the trigger, as well as objects and partners, for a new model of urban renewal. First, the concentration of the squatters' houses in future or pre-designated redevelopment areas was a consequence of the legitimation crisis in the redevelopment of spaces. Squatters, citizens' action groups and a critical section of the public attacked in equal measure, if not always as one voice, the planned demolition of whole streets. The self-presentation of the squatter movement as 'rehab squatters' essentially suggested a criticism of the (by then usual) demolition-approach to development. Secondly, the squatted houses not only triggered a new policy of urban renewal; they were at the same time a kind of experimental laboratory in which new instruments of urban renewal were trialed. The eviction of squatters was not the only way in which the city reacted to the regulatory requirement to end the existence of 'lawless spaces'.

For the first time, some of those living in squatted houses were granted a say in the renovation and design of their houses. Collective usage agreements, gradual modernization and the deflationary integration of self-help interests represented completely new forms of urban renewal and the end of the authoritarian urban-renewal regime of redeveloping spaces. The apparent coherence of the participatory principles behind cautious urban renewal, along with the squatters' notion of 'self-empowerment', can be viewed as a third level of successful integration of squats into cautious urban renewal. Apart from some basic criticisms of the de-politicization of housing (Homuth, 1984) and of the eviction of squatted houses, described as 'preventative counter-insurgency', an independently minded political alliance consisting of alternative groups, squatters, the Alternative List (the later Green Party) and professional town planners and architects agreed to reject the bureaucratic and authoritarian urban renewal of the past, and to work together to create alternative models.» (Holm, Kuhn, 2010, 653).

The new tools that have been produced by this program:

- *Selbsthilfe* (self-help) as alternative housing policies

- *Zwölf Grundsätze der Behutsamen Stadterneuerung* – the twelve principles of caution urban renewal

Even if still strongly public subsidized it refers to a more to a private /community based direct intervention in urban renewal strategies.

Third

Post-Fordist urban renewal in East Berlin in the 1990s was clearly distinguishable from the cautious urban renewal in the western part of the city by criteria relating to real estate, urban planning and finance. The enormous renewal requirements of around 180,000 apartments in old buildings, the crisis in public finance and the privatization of property brought about by restitution in redevelopment areas led to a form of urban renewal 'financed first and foremost by property owners' (Berlin Senate, 1993). Instead of using funds and transferring ownership to redevelopment agencies, the authorities attempted to implement the social and building objectives of urban renewal in East Berlin using town planning legislation.

The mode of control deployed for urban renewal could be characterized as an increasingly negotiation-oriented administrative action (Holm, 2006: 90). Rather than imposing direct control through 'money', the redevelopment objectives of the 1990s were to be strengthened using 'laws and commandments' as means of control. In the process, multifaceted systems of negotiation between tenants, property owners and urban authorities were created. The redevelopment regime, in particular contractors and tenants' committees, used moderation and consultation to provide, wherever possible, conflict-free implementation of urban renewal. Now the decisive factors were not merely economic criteria, but also cultural and social resources. Educated tenants in particular, and those closely involved with social networks, were better able to make their interests count in the individualized negotiation of modernization plans (Häußermann et al., 2002).

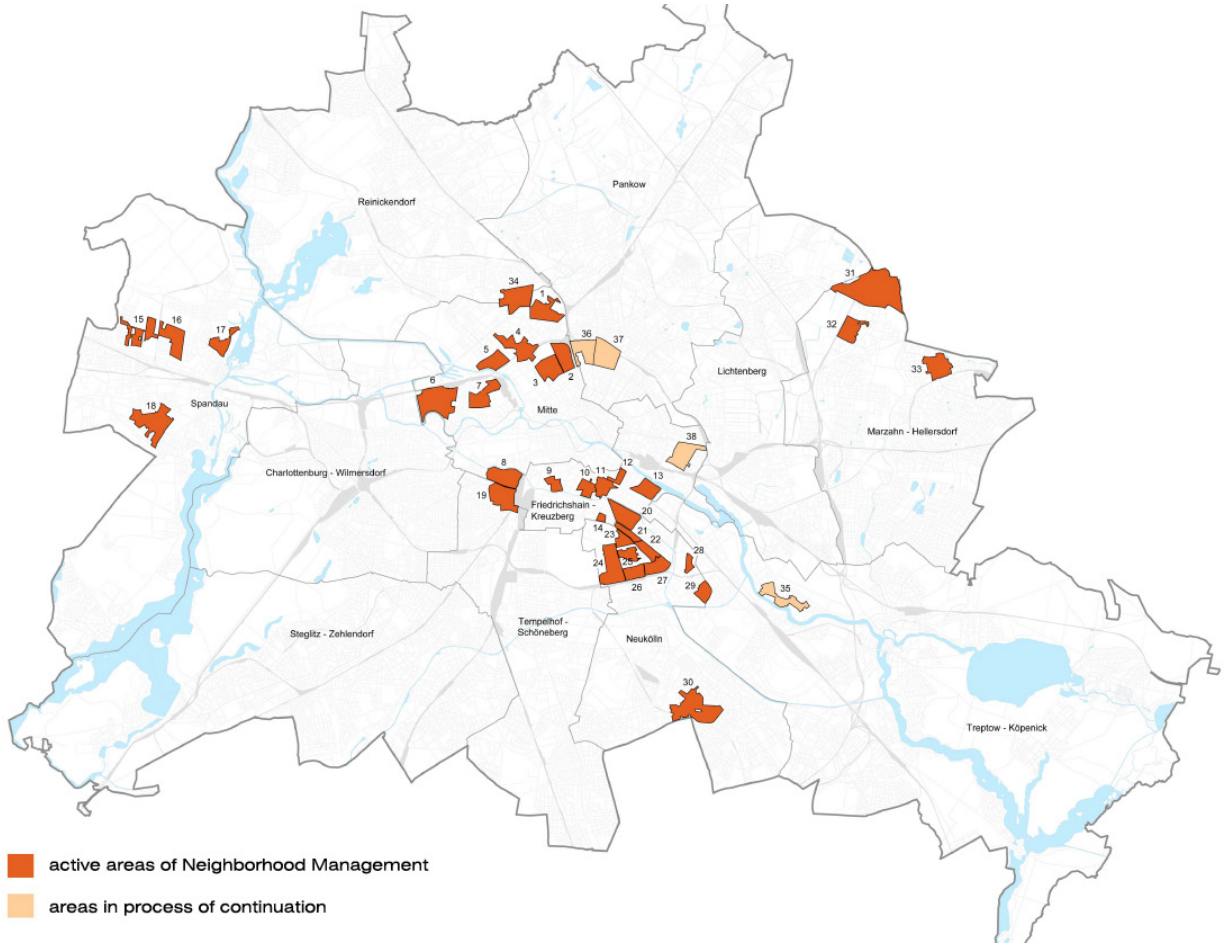
Forth?

It could be possible to take into consideration a forth recent phase, that is connected with the individuation of the temporary uses as a new forms of management and regeneration of urban vacant spaces, more subject/community based. It is worth stressing, that the second, third and "forth" phases and the policies adopted in their framework have been overlapping during the last two decades. The clear trend that emerges is the progressive withdrawal of the public direct intervention in the actuation of these strategies increasingly more based on the Do It Yourself idea and the citizens' private initiatives.

FILE 3: Quartiersmanagement – 1999-2009 in Berlin

As a study examining the social development in Berlin's district after the German reunification in 1996 shows, parts of Berlin were highly affected by social segregation. These parts also exhibit a high grade of social disadvantage. Additionally these areas showed deficits in public space: places, roads, and green spaces, as well as social infrastructure did not conform to Berlin's standards. Families having the financial possibility to leave these areas did so, especially when their children became required to attend school.
TO stop these developments, the Berlin senate reacted with strategy "Social Integrative City", mostly relying on the instrument "Neighborhood Management" (*Qartiersmanagement*).

Overview of the areas



Areas of "Social Integrative Management"

Active areas of Neighborhood Management

Mitte
eight areas (1,8)

Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg
six areas (9,14)

9 Mehringplatz
10 Wassertorplatz
11 Zentrum Kreugberg/Orianenstrasse
12 Mariannenplatz
13 Wrangelkiez
14 Werner-Duttmann-Siedlung

Templhof-Schonenberg
one area (19)

Neukolln
ten areas (20,30)

Marzahn-Hellesdorf
three areas (31,33)

Reickendorf
one area (34)

Areas in process of continuation
(35,38)

Areas of Neighborhood Management

Since 1999 “Social Integrative City” contributes to stabilization and advancement of initially 15, later 17 and in meantime 34 “areas with special development needs”. Four areas were meanwhile released from the formal process and led over to a process of continuation, led by the affected district and inhabitants.
The quarters are scaled in three classes, from “prevention” over “moderate” to “intense intervention”. These classes rely on socioeconomic status of the areas and allocate the amount of personnel and financial equipment the quarters receive. A special monitoring system was installed to enable reactions to recent developments.

Facts on the areas of Neighborhood Management:

Dimension:	2.210 ha; (Berlin: 89.175 ha)
Inhabitants:	391.968 (Stand: 31.12.2008)
Percentage of immigrants:	12.665 (28,74 %); (Berlin: 470.051 bzw. 13,98 %), Migrantenanteil aber weitaus höher
Recipients of transfer income:	36,33 %; (Berlin: 19,83 %)
Unemployed persons:	9,97%; (Berlin: 6,49 %)

Over the years round about 3.000 projects were promoted.

More information:

www.stadtentwicklung.berlin.de/wohnen/quartiersmanagement/
www.quartiersmanagement-berlin.de/

How Neighborhood Management works

An important requirement for the successful development of a stable commonwealth is the intensive and steady participation of inhabitants in development and advancement processes. Since the inhabitants of the quarters know best what is of importance for themselves and their environment, the forming of neighbourhood juries was of significant importance.
Socio- urban development is a multi- scaled process of change. As the past shows, improvement of education possibilities and forced integration of all ethnicities leads to a highly sustainable advancement. Since 2005 Neighborhood Management focuses on the imporovement of individual chances. Target areas are integration, education and occupation as well as human healt, activation and participation of local business.

Assignment of means 1999 - 2009:

Federal Republic of Germany:	35.127.931 Euro
European Union (EFRE):	66.044.060 Euro
Berlin:	83.471.558 Euro
Amount:	184.643.549 Euro

In 2010 there are 15.400.000 Euro distributable.

Neighborhood Management as network

Powerful partners such as local companies, education facilities, social institutions, community centres and housing associations play a prominent role. Teamwork with these partners can achieve important enhanchments through synergy effects. Supporting schools and improving public free spaces has a great importance for public life in quarters. As a learning program, “Social Integrative City” has not only set things in motion for inhabitants, but also for all involved administrations. Inter-agency work and respectful interaction with each other has become the norm. Voluntary work of active inhabitants is a special gain. “Social Integrative City” is a new form of social management, using and bunching locally available resources. After a decade of successful work, we can strike a positive balance of “social Integrative City”, so this program will be continued in future.

Quartiermanagement Mariannenplatz

The housing situation:
General residential area with predominantly residential use; Development of social housing (build between 1976-1983); historical buildings; courtyards with large open areas; little commercial spaces; good accessibility to public transport.

Development objectives, mission statement:
The area has an important role as a quiet, family friendly residential area despite its central location. The Marianne neighborhood is characterized by a diverse range structure, as well as a colorful, social and cultural mix of its inhabitants. At the same time, the area character is also to be characterized by bonds thorough existing generations.

Current focal points:

- Education, Training, Youth

Assurance of successful educational projects; Opening of the educational institutions in the social area; Exchange of educational institutions; Language development; Development of leisure activities for children and young people

- Employment and the Economy

Low-threshold consulting and training for young people; Improvement of information on existing services; Networking of training and employment supports and advisory services; Integration trader

- Neighborhood

Tenant board as a focal point for residents; Strengthening the residents meetings; Prevention activities and awareness-raising deals in the health sector

- Public space

Improve the quality of stay; Cooperation with housing associations; Tenant gardens

- Participation, networking and integration of the partners

To strengthen volunteer activities and self-organized structures, mobilize to help themselves; Support of the residents in establishing a locally owned Residents Association.

Remarks: The privatization plan of a big public area in a Quartiersmanagement area context

The Quartiersmanagement areas individuate parts of Berlin that were/are highly affected by social segregation. In the case of Mariannenplatz, due to the Mariannenplatz (PIX) project within the urban renewal programs in 1974, that eliminated the functional mix of commercial activities, residential and internal courtyard workshops, in order to build social housing stock, the result was a transformed urban space the in a isolated place, that is lived just during the day by few people because of the Bethanien park and the public activities offered within the Bethanien complex, but during the night is quite desolate. It looks even more clear in these days in which Kreuzberg in the core of the Berlin's nightlife, with thousands of people populating its bars, clubs and streets every night but the Mariannenplatz area. The Bethanien public space contributes, then to make the square alive during the day as the presence of the big Bethanien park in the middle of the square, with a very bad lighting system that often does not work, contributes to make the area unsafe. That's why the park is targeted during the night, in its darker parts, by drugs dealer, junk people, guys who come to damage the streetlights or benches.

In relation to the inclusion of Mariannenplatz in Quertiermanagement areas, the planned removal of all the public services (job office, library, Childrens' daycare, senior space, etc.) looks even more decontextualized.
The need for more public spaces for its inhabitants is blindly substituted by a unspecified need for a international cultural centre.

FILE 4: "A NEW CONCEPT FOR BETHANIEN" – document produced by the active citizenship involved in the (re)appropriation of Bethanien vacant spaces (2006) -

Translation of few paragraphs of the German document "Eine neues Konzept fur das Bethanien" made by the author.

"A new concept for Bethanien" is a document that collects all the ideas and concepts that emerged by workshops and meeting organized by the Initiative for Future Bethanien group, constituted by various individuals and initiatives from Kreuzberg and beyond. It is organized as follow: are showed the status of the concepts developed for the Bethanien main building, which aims to be able to be used as basic principles for the further development of the house. It is proposed a "work in Progress" process in the development of principles and ways of implementation to principally open process. The Chapter 2 outlines the self-understanding of the future Bethany and formulates the basic principles by which the Bethanien can develop. The Chapter 3 discusses the future use, with the basic ideas for usages, the thematic priorities and the spatial organization of the house. The administration of Bethanien is the subject of Chapter 4 – where are presented models of self-government, residents forum and sponsorship. Issues of rehabilitation and financing are the focus of Chapter 5 to 6. The appendix provides additional documents, including the current activities running the Bethanien, the politics from below and the analysed controversial issues related to the the costs for the management of Bethanien.

«Dear Readers, this concept is the result of the work of many different people involved in the framework of the activities of the Initiative for Future Bethanien (IZB) against the planned privatization of Bethany main building to realize instead here a self-managed and non-commercial cultural, artistic, political and social center for all. We like to thank all the people who have supported us during our Burgerbegehren (citizens' initiative for a local referendum). For us, this document is intended mainly to present concept basis for the development of future Bethanien, together with the current users, the local residents and all other interested parties. If the Borough Assembly Kreuzberg- Friedrichshain will take over the proposals and ideas here proposed, the first steps for a new Bethanien could start soon be implemented. See you in Bethanien, Bethanien for All!»

- Yours Initiative Zukunft Bethanien - Berlin, August 2006 –

<u>What's the Initiative for Future Bethanien (Initiative Zukunft Bethanien – IZB)?</u>

«The Initiative for Future Bethany (IZB) is a free association of various individuals and initiatives from Kreuzberg and beyond. The IZB have been formed to prevent the privatization of Bethany and its destination as "the International Cultural Grunder center", and here instead, with the participation of all current users and especially the residents settle a cultural, artistic, political and social center to be realized from below. We are also working on issues related to the question concerning the future of Bethanien issues such as privatization of the city, public space loss, change in social structure and Hartz IV (German's welfare system), migration and racism, understanding of culture and cultural policy. The IZB has to counteract the self-understanding of all forms of exclusion.

This is true both for the daily work in the group, for the work carried out or supported by the IZB events and our vision of a future use of Bethanien main building. The IZB sees itself as part of the critical movement against the dominance of a business approach in the socio-political thinking and action and advocates, in opposition to that, for a policy approach more based on principles such as justice, solidarity and cultural diversity. This initiative aim to participate to the work of other local and international initiatives that claims for social and democratic development of societies and their cultures. Thus, it contributes to the strengthening and networking of civil society forces and the civil commitment against all forms of anti-social policy. The IZB is an open initiative and is pleased to include every group that shares our core beliefs and would like to participate!» (Initiative Zukunft Bethanien - Bethanien-Hauptgebaude, Sudflugel).

Basic principles of the future Bethany ("*Grundprinzipien des zukünftigen Bethanien*") – pp.8-9

1. The Bethanien is a place of cultural, artistic, political and social production, mediation and debate (confrontation/conflict) – *"Auseinandersetzung"*
The main building of the complex Bethanien has to develop an open center of culture, art, social and political life.

2. The Bethanien is a house of equal coexistence of users between autonomy, networking, integration and self-government.
The independent and separate projects and institutions are part of a network-like, self-hierarchical management structure.
This contributes significantly to the cooperation and synergy between the different projects in, supports interdisciplinary cooperation between various sectors and allows the realization of the vision of a living Bethany with large and small, existing and new projects, long-term and temporary use, between continuity and spontaneity.

3. The Bethanien is a "Bethanien for All", a place of participation and involvement
The Bethanien is open to all residents and stakeholders for active and passive participation. A set of the Bethany to residents-forum provides public space to turn ideas to promote local networking initiatives and help shape the use of Bethany main building.

4. The Bethanien is a place of cross-border communication
The Bethanien is a place of exchange, different references and contexts of allowing locally through regional to global, a platform for cross-milieu discussions, trans-cultural learning and surprising moments. The Bethany is a place of rich and poor, between science and practice, of young of old, of art and theory, of production, documenting and sharing - beyond gender and mainstream.

5. The Bethanien is a place of emancipatory social change
The Bethanien is a place of politics from below, the policy of freedom and self-determination for a just and ecological world economy, independence of art and non-violent conflict resolution. The Bethany is a place against life in the social impasse, against social isolation and cultural obliteration.

6. The Bethanien is protective and recreational space
All projects and institutions active in Bethany are working together to offer a widest possible protection against discrimination of any kind, to create a place that allows diversity without fear. This includes here a special protected area for projects for women and women's political issues.

7. The Bethanien is a public space
Public, accessible to all, and customizable spaces are an essential component of quality of life, participation and social life in a democratic society. The Bethany is maintained as a public space and will not be privatized. Under the umbrella of a nonprofit support the Bethany manages itself.

Currently, the Bethany is used by the following groups and organizations:

- Music School Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg - (Musikschule Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg)
- Art Space Kreuzberg / Bethanien - (Kunstraum Kreuzberg/Bethanien)
- Fontane pharmacy of Kreuzbergmuseurns - (Fontane-Apotheke des Kreuzbergmuseurns)
- Artist-house Bethany Ltd – (Künstler-haus Bethanien GmbH)
- Association of German Art Associations (AdKV) – (Arbeitsgemeinschaft deutscher Kunstvereine)
- Printing workshop of the cultural work of the Professional Association of Visual Artists (bbk Berlin) – (Druckwerkstatt des Kulturwerks des Berufsverbandes Bildender Künstler)
- Open Air Cinema Kreuzberg – (Freiluftkino Kreuzberg)
- Children group Kreuzberg-Nord (KKN) – (Kindergruppe Kreuzberg-Nord)
- Pestalozzi- Fröbel House – (Pestalozzi-Fröbel-Haus)

- Youth Sports Club Kreuzberg – (SportJugendClub Kreuzberg)
- NewYorck in Bethanien - space emancipatory projects – (NewYorck im Bethanien – Raum emanzipatorischer Projekte)

Predominantly artistic orientation institutions work in about 2/3 of the currently occupied area (promotion of contemporary art production, communication of contemporary visual arts): the art room, printing workshop and künstlerhaus Bethany GmbH. Furthermore, there are institutions of cultural education (music school) as well as projects with more social focus (Youth Sports Club, KKN, Pestalozzi Frobel-house). The NewYorck project works across divisions, mixing artistic and cultural projects, social and political initiatives in suitable spaces.

3.3. Spatial structure

The intended use is in a public, semi-public and non-public way.
Meant under public areas on the one hand, the actual configuration of the open spaces, on the other hand, the public offer in the spaces - events, exhibitions, and gastronomy. In semi-public areas, are localized activities which are available for a narrower group of people, like spaces where takes place Workshops and meeting or rehearsal rooms. Not public areas are about kitchen, storerooms, offices, private studios[316], parts of the NewYorck.

Public areas:
The central area of the ground floor and the large space below the "casino" and the currently rented by Kunstlerhaus Bethany Studios I and II are to be used as public areas. This is appropriate to the structure of the building, as these are the most representative faces and easiest accessible.
Moreover, within the NewYork there is a “public space” at the first floor of the south wing where is a bar a space with sofas and several available rooms. In this space are dayli organized many activities: social dinners, film forum, spaces for meetings and debates, political initiatives, parties.

3.8 An open center in miniature the New Yorck in the south wing

A recent Licensees that represents the openness and cooperation of the future Bethany already realized in their structure and a supporting element within the overall concept of the IZB is the NewYorck - space emancipatory projects in the south wing of Bethany.

Background
The political project NewYorck Hall is caused by the evacuation of the building project " Yorck59 ", the 1988 - 2005 was housed in rented premises in the Kreuzberg Yorckstrasse. One week after the violent evacuation of the building occupied in June 2005 "Yorckies" and many supporters peacefully to carry on two vacant floors in the south wing of the main building Bethany her house project. Thus, the seed was laid out in a very short time, the "NewYorck - space emancipatory projects" has developed.

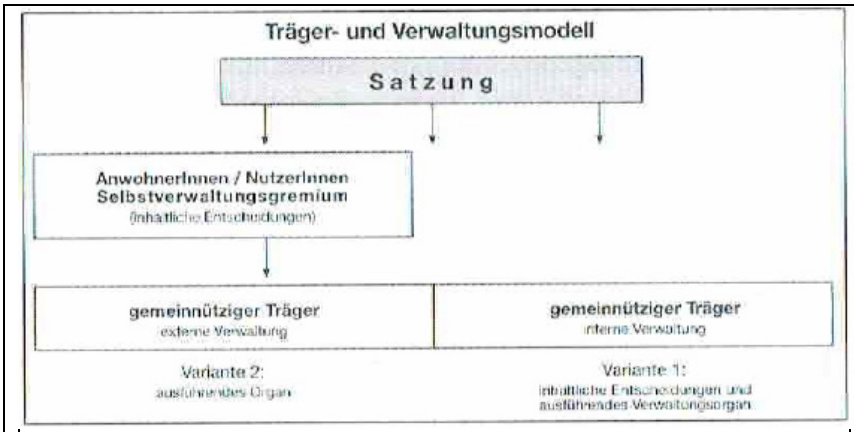
Living and working in the south wing
Since more than a year (at the time in wich the document was written) live and work a variety of people and projects in the south wing of the Bethany main building. What is required is not an isolation against the social fabric, but a proactive thematization of its contradictions, the self-conscious involvement in political decisions, as well as the profound development of alternative actions. A variety of groups and initiatives will use the spaces for offices, meetings and events. In times of individualization and non-political separation, cohabitation and political commitment demonstrated the existence of alternatives to the outside.

NewYorck Mariannenplatz and beyond
The NewYorck is a separate and unique project, which has already developed connections over the neighborhood. It is a valuable asset to the district, the city of Berlin and of course the Bethanien itself. At night, the existence of NewYorck revives the otherwise dark park, during the day, it is visited by very different people, so that the Bethanien main building becomes more attractive and open. As other alternative space in the city, the NewYorck is often linked with other projects in Kreuzberg, Berlin, in Germany and Europe, and beyond Europe.

4.3 ownership model

The non-profit support one hand, taking care of a professional handling of Finance - management of revenue and expenditure and a proper balance - and on the other hand, the implementation of decisions on remedial, maintenance, conservation, and modernization measures.

[316] Private studios includes, unofficially spaces for living.



Ownership (vehicle) model and management model
Statute

V V

Residents / users
Self-administrative-committee
(substantive decisions)
V

non profit organizations
(external administration)
Option 2:
(executive organ)

non profit organizations
(internal administration)
Option 1:
(Substantive decisions and
executive management body)

Figure 2 carrier models
Source: own illustration

Two possible approaches eligible for sponsorship:

Option 1
The institutions operating in Bethanien, all current and future users, merge to a non-profit association and take over the administration of the complex.

Version 2
In the case in which it cannot be handled by the users, the administration will transfer to an external-profit organization, the management of the complex (for example is to a Ltd or a non-profit cooperative).
For both assosiations-variant is required an administrative higher organization structure that specifies the content orientation of the house and the issues related to the management, such as is required when a lease contract is signed. This is to ensure that is brought to bear both the skills of the users working in the house as well as the participation of the residents. Therefore, it is required a "Statute" to design a kind of umbrella organization over Bethanien.
Basic content of this statute should be that all the groups and institutions working in the Bethanien contribute with their individual work to add value to Bethany, in the sense of a cultural, artistic, political and social center and have to contribute to the success of the overall project.

5. Funding proposals

Starting from the background of the district choice for privatization related to economical issues are outlined the premises and possibilities for cost-neutral management concepts and strategies for potential savings, working on the increase in use value and direct financing strategies rather than private sales.

5.1 Privatization Decision and imputed costs (Kalkulatorische Kosten)

For the Burgerbegheren on the future of Bethany, the district of Friedrichshain Kreuzberg has provided a cost estimate. Here, the background for the current privatization plans became apparent. Since 2006, the State of Berlin taken into account for allocations to the districts called "imputed building costs" (depreciation and interest). Behind this lies that districts must pay for their buildings a return on capital. In calculating this rate of return will take the market value, ie the likely to be achieved sales value, based on a completely utopian "replacement value[317]". For

[317] The amount of the building imputed costs depends, in accordance with the Senate Department of Finance, on replacement value. This is based on the Building value of 1913 extrapolated using the construction price index for the current year. This value expresses the historical (re)manufacturing costs and value cannot be compared in any way with the market value of [market] or Building value (replacement value minus the time of use) of a building. On the effects and detailed backgrounds see Appendix.

the Bethanien main building is the "replacement cost" about 32 million euros, the market value but just 2.6 million euros. (See file 3).

5.2 Neutral costs management

The starting point for the conception must be the neutral costs for the district management of Bethanien. In addition to running costs (Betriebskosten), the individual users must therefore bear also all costs for administration (*Verwaltung*), ongoing maintenance (*Instandhaltung*), the provision for rents (*Mietausfälle*) and for repayment (*Tilgung*), and return on capital used to carry out restoration measures (*Sanierungsmaßnahmen*). This can only be determined in approximation initially due to the incomplete information provided by the district office. Unfortunately, the district of Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg also still refuses to consent to an inspection of the space by architects and an environmental engineer from the IZB organized and financed.

Sanierung und Kredittilgung = Restoration and loan repayment 74.400 euro
Mietausfallwagnis = Loss of rental income (risk) 30.000 euro
Verwaltung = Management 40.000 euro
Instandhaltungsrücklage = Maintenance savings 125.000 euro
sonstige Betriebskosten = Other running costs 236.192 euro
Personalkosten = Staff costs 253.000 euro

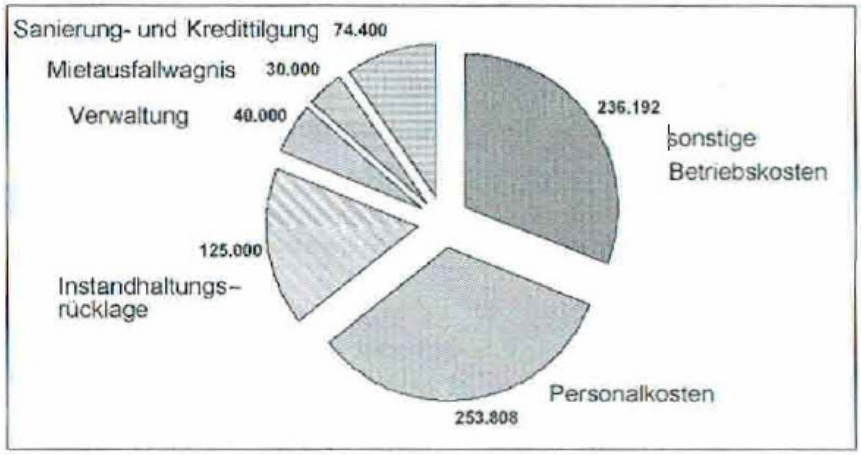


Figure 2 Annual running costs
Source: Cost estimate for BB 2005, own calculation

It is therefore calculated with the available numbers (for more details in the appendix). Figure 2 attempts to detect the annual costs. The annual operating costs are approximately 760,000 Euro. For a cost-covering management, this represents a gross monthly rent of about 4 euros/m2 [318].

This means that:

1) The Bethany is affordable cost neutral for the district.
2) The use of social, cultural, political and artistic institutions is possible beyond commercial interests.

Savings and ecological restoration:

Due to the mismanagement of the district office (in recent years), the look, not least on the staff cuts since the mid-90s in construction service (the staff was reduced to 1/3 only), of the Bethanien from an ecological perspective can be referred to as a wasteland. Terms of annual running costs (see Figure 2) represent the consumption-related running costs (included in other operational costs) with about 1.22 euros / m2 monthly one-third of the cost. The integration of environmental and energy concept pursues the objectives resource protection and reduce operational costs as well as the involvement of residents (awareness and multiplier effects).
Usage-based running costs are mainly waste, water (drinking, waste and rain water), electricity and gas. A special feature is that both a usage-based billing of consumers is not possible due to the lack of a counter system, as well as a link to other buildings of Bethany complex to the main building (except for drinking water and wastewater); an accurate classification is difficult (see Appendix). The realizable potential savings also result from an elaborate combination with pending restoration measures.

[318] For a surface area of 15,500 m_2. It should be pointed out that no differentiation has taken place with regard to the quality of the space. Taking into account the imputed costs on the basis of the market value [2.6 million euros] a monthly rental rate of 4:58 EUR / m2 shall be used. The annex contains a more detailed description of each item.

In this case, there is an opportunity, that the ecological restoration step by step, is carried out in a mediating and integrative model project with the residents.

Here there are two points of result:

• Participation in planning, construction and maintenance

• Communication about environmental protection and resource conservation

Through training, education and employment as well as the cooperation with institutions (eg schools and initiatives) in this area, on the one hand costs are greatly reduced, on the other hand know-how is provided and appropriated (multiplier effect). It caused effects that influence far beyond the Bethanien. Environmentally friendly renovation and operation under these conditions could then be considered as high-quality environmental education measure.

Through this conceptual integration continues to offer opportunities of a special funding (to support programs see Appendix).

5.3 use value rather than privatization

In addition to the economic restriction of a cost-neutral for the district management is what the concept design aim is to increase the added value for the district and the house. On the one hand, this means making the Bethanien a lively place that promotes cultural active participation beyond - even economic - exclusion mechanisms and on the other hand to an embedding of the house in the neighborhood through forms of direct participation and the development of identity elements.

5.3.1 Oppose exclusion mechanisms

In order to promote cultural participation beyond individual economic conditions, it is necessary to introduce conceptual elements of funding in favour of economically disadvantaged users. It provokes on the one hand, to confront with the conceptual ideas and potential innovation of the idea proposed by different users and on the other hand the reduction of social exclusion.

FILE 5: The Society for Urban Development GSE Ggmbh, trustee of Berlin, as manager of Bethanien property (since 2009)

Principles for the formation of trust assets

- The political will of the district to transfer a piece of land (lot) in the trust assets of the GSE must be documented. The decisions of the district office and the competent bodies of the District Assembly are typically sufficient.
- To fiduciary management include GSE and district office a land trust and conveyance (transfer of property) agreement, based on GSE Trust Agreement with the State of Berlin.
- The settlor of the GSE, the Senate Administration for Education, Youth and Science and the Senate Administration for Finance must approve the Land Trust and conveyance contract.
- The transmission may be limited in time.
- The transmission costs are financed by the Trustee.
- The return conveyance is secured by land register.
- The goal and purpose is assured.
- The participation of the district in the selection of tenants and the future development can be regulated. Typically, it is formed an advisory board.
- The lot and the property and the assets generated will be secured separately from the assets of the GSE and have to be handed in return conveyance of the property.
- The lot (piece of land) and the property will be managed by the GSE to customary principles. The GSE completes the required rental, use or lease agreements, insured the house, make sure to be responsible for all the aspects signed in the contracts as all the requirements of the management, repair and maintenance.

The Basics, rights, obligations and objectives of the Trust Deed:

Trust Fund

(Basics - Rights - Duties - Goals)

Basics:

- Senate Resolution No. 5350/94, 22.11.1994
- Contract 21.12.1995

contract giver:

- State of Berlin represented by the Senate Administration for Education, Youth and Science

contract:

- Management Trust Agreement to hedge the assets of Berlin with simultaneous realization of multiple policy objectives of the ministries of education, youth, family, culture, health, women, and social

rights of Berlin

- to preserve the basic rights of Berlin as a land owner, authority, supervision of content and cost of the trust assets
- safeguarding the increasing abandonment of the Trust land of Berlin (in the Land Registry). Any disposal of land is forbidden to the Trust taker.
- Unrestricted right of review of the Court of Berlin
- Transfers to the Trust Fund shall require the consent of all the district offices committee of Berlin, the trustor and the Senate Administration for Finance

Obligations of the GSE

- management and accounting of the trust assets separate from other assets of the GSE gGmbH. Audit of the annual financial results to be approved by the trustor Auditor (certified public accountant)
- The Trustee may act only within the framework of the to be approved annual economic plan submitted by him and by the settlor
- management of the cost recovery principle on the properties in accordance with § 47, paragraph 3 AG KJHG
- Final object-related transfer agreements that ensure Berlin impact on the availability of space on the use of funding and other resources and the design of participation rights of tenants and users
- compliance with the principles of household financial management of Berlin (LHO, VOB, VOL)

goals:

- Long-term securing the real estate in Berlin for the special groups requirement to the ministries of Berlin
- Interdepartmental concentration (focusing) and pooling of public and other economic agents (subsidy), and development of each object-related forms of management
- easing the burden of the budgets of the technical and social structures by object-related to only cost-covering rent. The public expenditure for the purpose of youth and social assistance as well as for cultural projects are limited by clear and long term
- relieves of Berlin administration from any owner, administrative, project management and builders tasks.

(Cotract: Berlin in January 2014 GSE gGmbH, Berlin trustee)

GSE – the no profit Society for Urban Development, Trustee of Berlin – managing public estate

In Trust holdings of GSE gGmbH for Berlin City are 27 properties:

- 10 properties in Kreuzberg district
- 5 in Tiergarten district
- 4 in Wedding district
- 3 in Schöneberg district
- 1 in Mitte district
- 1 in Prenzlauerberg district
- 1 in Pankow
- 1 in Charlottenburg
- 1 in Neubritz

Rationalizing and managing "objects" in Berlin

Basis of this activity is a manager / Agency Agreement, is in the set together with the standard regulations that the objects have to be financed exclusively from its own income, respectively. The GSE expects from monthly to Contracting donors. The consolidated profit remains the objects as a reserve. The GSE shall submit an annual business plan for the objects to the vote.

ANGELO MAI CASE STUDY'S FILES

FILE 1: Main steps in regulation for the valorisation via real-estate funds of public companies and estate and "Securization" Law

1. 1998 (D.Lgsl 58/1998)

2. Complementary, the link between enterprises and real estate property changed, since firms had the opportunity to securitize their real estate properties by Special Purpose Vehicles (SPV).

3. Securization law (in Italian "Cartolarizzazioni" - Dlgs 267/00

4. 2001: fiscal facilitative regime for the new real estate funds (D.l. 351/2001 converted into law 410/2001)

5. 2002: institution of Patrimonio dello Stato Ltd (law 112/2002), which enabled the state to sell the public properties also by operation of securitization (art.10)

6. 2003: The Minister of Economy and Finance instituted the "FIP" - "Fondo Immobili Pubblici" (Public real-estate fund) for the alienation and management of public real estates. (and FIA)

Real Estate fund and IMC (Sgr):

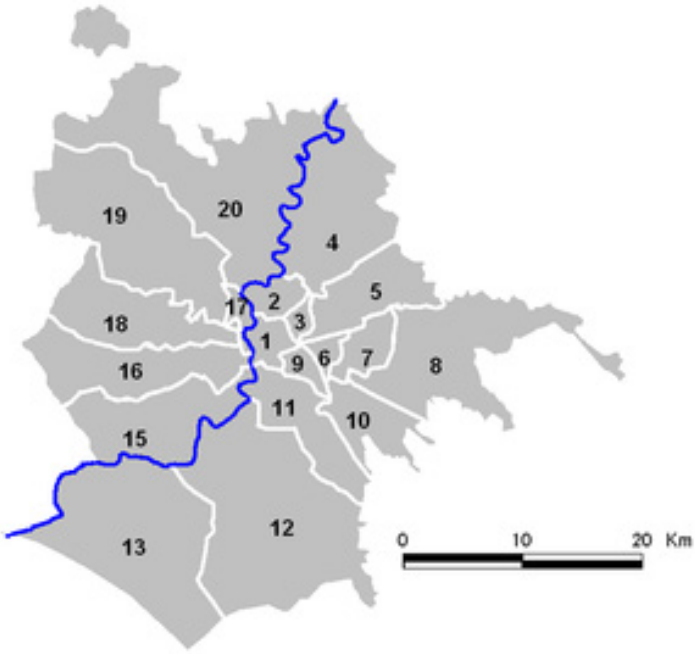
- Real estate funds are separated by the Investment Management Companies:

while the first is an investment fund with risk participation (created by individuals who are not interested in the direct management of the invested patrimony),
the IMC are responsible of the management of the activities of the funds, with the task of increasing the shares of the investors.

- "For the public sector, the use of Investment Management Company (Società di Gestione del Risparmio – SGR) constitutes an alternative mechanism to public auction for the privatization of its buildings and properties. The public administration operates the selection of the IMC principally by public call" (Agenzia del Demanio, 2013)

- Investment Management Companies as promoter of valorization

FILE 2: List of housing occupations and Social Centres in Rome



Rome Municipal Boroughs (Municipi)

List of Social Centres (https://romattiva.wordpress.com/centrisocialiroma/):

1. **100celle Aperte:** Via delle Resede 5 (Centocelle) http://www.100celleaperte.org
2. **32**: Via dei Volsci 32 (San Lorenzo)
3. **Acrobax Project:** Via della Vasca Navale 6 (Marconi) http://www.acrobax.org
4. **Alexis Occupato:** Via Ostiense 124 (Piramide/Garbatella) http://laboratorioabitare.noblogs.org
5. **Angelo Mai:** Viale delle Terme di Caracalla 55a http://www.angelomai.org
6. **Astra19 spa:** Via Capraia 19 (Tufello)
7. **Auro e Marco:** Viale Caduti della Guerra di Liberazione 268 (Spinaceto) http://www.auroemarco.org
8. (BAM) Biblioteca Abusiva Metropolitana: Via dei Castani 42 (Centocelle)
9. **Bencivenga 15 Occupato** [319] **:** Via Bencivenga 15 (Nomentana/Pietralata) http://bencivenga15occupato.noblogs.org
10. **Cagne Sciolte:** Via Ostiense 137 http://cagnesciolte.noblogs.org
11. **Casale Alba2 Occupato:** Viale Egidio Galbani (Parco di Aguzzano)
12. **Casale Pachamama:** Via Alberto Moravia 380 (EUR/Papillo)
13. **Casale Podere Rosa:** Via Diego Fabbri (Talenti/San Basilio) http://www.casalepodererosa.org
14. **Casetta Rossa spa:** Via Magnaghi 14 (Garbatella) http://www.casettarossa.org
15. Centro di Cultura Popolare del Tufello: Via Capraia 81 (Tufello)
16. **Cinema America:** Via Natale del Grande (Trastevere) http://www.americaoccupato.org/ **(Evicted in 2014)**
17. **Comitato Popolare 20:** Via Passino 20 (Garbatella) comitatopopolare20@gmail.com
18. **Communia:** Via dello scalo San Lorenzo 33 (San Lorenzo) http://www.communianet.org
19. **Corto Circuito:** Via Serafini 57 (Cinecittà) http://www.corto.circuito.info
20. **Degage:** Via Antonio Musa 10 (Policlinico) http://degage.altervista.org **(Evicted in 2015)**
21. el "Che"ntro sociale TorbellaMonaca: Largo F.Mengaroni 11/25
22. **ESC:** Via dei Volsci 159 (San Lorenzo) http://www.escatelier.net
23. **Ex 51:** Via Bacciarini 12 (Valle Aurelia) http://ex51.noblogs.org
24. **Ex Cineteatro Preneste:** Via Alberto da Giussano 59 (Pigneto) **(Evicted in 2015)**
25. **Ex Lavanderia:** Padiglione 31 Piazza Santa Maria della Pietà 5 (Monte Mario) http://www.exlavanderia.it
26. **Ex Snia Viscosa:** Via Prenestina 173 (Pigneto) http://www.exsnia.it
27. **Forte Prenestino:** Via Delpino (Centocelle) http://www.forteprenestino.net
28. **Fucina 62:** Via E. Giovenale 62 (Pigneto)
29. **Garage Zero:** Via Treviri (Quadraro)
30. **Handala:** Piazza Gasparri 28 (Ostia Lido)

[319] "Occupato" means occupied or squatted.

31. **Insensinverso:** Via Vaiano 7 (Magliana) http://www.insensinverso.org
32. **Intifada:** Via di Casal Bruciato 15 (Casal Bruciato)

33. **La Città dell'Utopia:** Via Valeriano 3F (San Paolo) http://www.lacittadellutopia.it
34. **La Strada:** Via Passino 24 (Garatella) http://www.csoalastrada.info
35. **La Torre:** Via Bertero 13 (Casal de'Pazzi) http://www.csalatorre.net
36. **Lab.Quarticciolo/CDA La Talpa:** Via Ostuni 9 (Quarticciolo) http://www.talpalab.blogspot.com
37. **Lottantuno**: Via Calpurnio Fiamma 81 (Quadraro)
38. **Lucha Y Siesta:** Via Lucio Sestio 10 (Cinecittà) http://luchaysiesta.wordpress.com
39. **L38 Squat:** Via Giuliotti 8 (Laurentino 38/ VI Ponte) http://www.tmcrew.org/laurentinokkupato
40. **Macchia Rossa:** Via Pieve Fosciana 56/82 (Magliana) http://www.inventati.org/macchiarossa
41. **Magazzini Popolari:** Via Baldassarre Orero 61 (Casalertone)
42. **Metropoliz:** Via Prenestina 913 http://metropoliz.noblogs.org
43. **Nuovo Cinema Palazzo:** Piazza dei Sanniti (San Lorenzo) www.nuovocinemapalazzo.it
44. **Officine Tor Marancia:** Viale di Tor Marancia 103 officinetormarancia@yahoo.it
45. **Palestra Popolare Lidense:** Via Mario Ruta 28 (Ostia Lido) http://lidense.noblogs.org
46. **Palestra Popolare Valerio Verbano:** Via delle Isole Curzolane (Tufello) http://www.palestraverbano.com
47. **Puzzle:** Via Monte Meta 21 (Tufello) http://labpuzzle.org
48. **Ricomincio dal Faro:** Via del Trullo 330 (Trullo/Magliana)
49. **Sans Papiers:** Via Carlo Felice 69/b (San Giovanni) http://sanspapiers.oziosi.org
50. **Scup!:** Via Nola 5 (San Giovanni) **(Evicted in 2015 and occupied another abandoned public porperty)**
51. **Spartaco:** Via Selinunte 57 (Quadraro) http://www.spartaco.it
52. **Spazio 136 "Roberto Scialabba":** Via Calpurnio Fiamma 136 (Quadraro)
53. **Spazio 53:** Via Valentino Mazzola 13 (Roma70/Tintoretto)
54. **Strike spa:** Via Umberto Partini 21 (Portonaccio)
55. **Teatro De Merode:** Via Casale de' Merode 6 (Tor Marancia) http://www.inventati.org/teatrodemerode
56. **Teatro del Lido:** Via delle Sirene 22 (Ostia) http://www.teatrodellido.it
57. **Teatro Valle Occupato:** Via del Teatro Valle 21 (Campo De Fiori) http://www.teatrovalleoccupato.it **(Evicted in 2014)**
58. **Torre Maura Occupata:** Via delle Averle 12 (Torre Maura)
59. **Villaggio Globale:** Lungotevere Testaccio 1/ Via Monte dei Cocci 22 (Testaccio)
60. **Volturno Occupato:** Via Volturno 37 (Termini) http://volturno.noblogs.org **(recently evicted)**
61. **Zona Rischio:** Via Pietralatella (Casalbertone) http://www.autistici.org/zonarischio

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List of Housing occupations:

The map of the squatted properties – survey provided by the commission for the Security Committee of the City of Rome (September 2010).
The information comes from reports of citizens and the municipal police

[TO NOTE: the boroughs have been recently reduced: from 20 to 15 boroughs]

I Municipio:
1. Via Vittorio Amedeo II, (building) city property occupied by Action housing movement.
2. Via Carlo Felice, (building) property of the Banca d'Italia squatted by Action.

II Municipio:
3. Corso d'Italia n. 108, (building) property owned by Inpdap occupato dal coordinamento lotta per la casa e dal Comitato obiettivo casa.

III Municipio:
4. Fomrer-hospital Regina Elena, Via del Castro Laurenziano n. 6, (building) public property owned by Regione Lazio squatted by Action. (EVICTED)
5. Ex ambasciata Somala – Via dei Villini (EVICTED)
6. Privately owned building in Via Decreti, squatted by Esc, (activists' group that is part of Action)
7. The former headquarters of the labor inspectorate. Via de Lollis 9, squatted by Action
8. Ittiogenico Center owned by the Lazio Region, piazzale della stazione Tiburtina squatted by activists of

the “Intifada” Social Center.
9. Via dei Volsci 32, (building) squatted that the municipality of Rome wanted to buy at auction.

IV Municipio:
10. Horus di piazza Sempione, private property, owned by the società Gemini, squatted by social centers (EVICTED)

11. Via Volontè building owned by a cooperative (saturno 2000) who built housing for the elderly (now occupied by families) with funds from the Lazio Region.
12. Via Isole Curzolane, (building) owned by Ater squatted by social centers
13. Via delle Alpi Apuane, private owned building occupied by people affected by housing crisis (BPM housing movement)

V Municipio:
14. Former school Salvatori a Casal Bertone squatted by families affected by housing crisis.
15. Sport center in via degli Alberini squatted by social centers.
16. In the Casal Bruciato and San Basilio districts are located several buildings squatted few decades ago. Started during the '80-'90 these suqatted building today host associations, affordable gyms, headquarters of political groups or senior centers, which over the years have been partially regularized.

VI Municipio:
17. Via Georges Sorel n. 6, former school “Giorgi”, public property owned by Provincia di Roma, which basement or garage is occupied by “Collatina Underground” social center.
18. Shops in some buildings owned by the City of Rome (in the social housing district > ERP: Edilizia Residenziale Pubblica) in Via Giovanni Battista Valente, occupied by families who have asked for the change of use destination (many are regularized). These families pay the regular rent imposed on public housing property and collected by the company Romeo Gestioni for the City of Rome.
19. Via Argentina Altobelli, pubic property owned by the City of Rome, squatted by the social centers.
20. Via Forte Braccio, squatted building, public property owned by the Municipal Borough (Municipio),
21. Occupied former headquarters of the local health system, owned by Cavalieri di Malta.

VII Municipio:
22. Former Police Headquarters of Quarticciolo district – Piazza del Quarticciolo, owned by Ater (company managing municipal public housing), squatted by homeless.
23. Via Ugento, owned by I.A.C.P. squatted by homeless.
24. **Former School “A. Vespucci” in via delle Acacie 56, occupied by 35 families affected by housing crisis (Comitato Popolare di Lotta per la Casa housing movement) (EVICTED)**

VIII Municipio:
25. Building in via delle Averle – Torre Maura district -, public property owned by the City of Rome. Occupied by a social center.
26. Via cambellotti 167, 3 torri, squatted public housing buildings.

IX Municipio:
27. Viale Castrense (former school), private property owned by Count Vaselli, squatted by Action.

X Municipio:
28. Via F. Serafini, former school, public property owned by the City of Rome, squatted by homeless (only the first floor, while at the ground floor is located a kindergarten).
29. Via Sante Vandi, changing rooms of the sports center in the Romanina district, occupied by migrants. Public property owned by the Municipio.
30. Via Anagnina, public property building owned by the local transport service, squatted by about 20 migrants.
31. Via Lucio Sestio n. 10, public property buildings owned by ATAC (local transport service), a former auto parts warehouse occupied by homeless on March 8, 2008. Evicted for the puropose to sell the property it has been again occupied by feminist activists group connected to Action.
32. Via Quinto Publicio, in the park “Casale delle carrozze” public property owned by the City of Rome, squatted by 30/40 migrants.
33. Via Renato Salvatori, in the Anagnina 2 district, is a public property, a building in ruins, owned by the City of Rome, occupied by nomads.
34. Via del Calicetto, changing room of a football field squatted by Roma people.

XI Municipio:

35. Via Passino- Garbatella, squatted by the Social Center “La Strada”, public property owned by the Regione Lazio. Some occupants of the "La Strada" split and created the "Factory", a fairly tolerated squat, since they are very organized and also offer cultural activities.
36. Former Acea (local Water Company) Headquarter (owned by the City and Acea), in Via del Porto Fluviale, squatted by the social center “Pirateria di Porto”.
37. Fomer “Mercati Generali”, in via Ostiense, squatted by the social center “Pirateria dell’Orto” owned by the city of Rome.
38. Former dog raicing track “Cinodromo”, owned by the City fo Rome
39. Vicolo Salvi, country house owned by Acea, squatted by 40 nomads.
40. Former aureonautic military barrack, in via del Porto Fluviale, squatted by 40 families affected by housing crisis, mostly migrants.
41. Building owned by the National Railway company (Ferrovie dello Stato) near the Air terminal Ostiense, squatted by migrants.
42. Via Erminio Spalla, private owned, squatted by Action
43. Ater premises located between Tor Marancia and Garbatella neighbourhoods, squatted by migrants.

XII Municipio:

44. Via dei Radiotelegrafisti n.44, building owned by Cotral Patrimoni Spa, squatted by migrants evicted by the Residence Bravetta. There are about 200/300 people and many children living in that occupied property.
45. Spinaceto Civic Center, owned by the City of Rome, basement occupied by radical leftist groups.

XIII Municipio:

46. Former Colonia “Vittorio Emanuele”, Lungotevere Toscanelli, owned by the City of Rome, squatted by migrants.

XV Municipio:

47. Former school “8 marzo”, in via dell’Impruneta, owned by the City of Rome, squatted by the “Comitato sociale 8 marzo”.
48. Via del Trullo n. 330, privately owned building, squatted by the social center “Il faro”.
49. Former “Casa del Fascio”, in Via Portuense, National property, occupied by people in housing crisis.

XVI Municipio:
no recorded illegal occupations

XVIII Municipio:
no recorded illegal occupations

XIX Municipio:

50. Via Cardinal Caprinica 37, former school occupied by homeless. Property owned by the City of Rome.
51. S.Maria della pieta former hospital complex of buildings, some of the buildings (public property) have been occupied by families in housing crisis and by the “Ex Lavanderia” association.
52. Via Borromeo 67 and Via Ascalesi, former school owned by the City of Rome occupied by several families from different countries.
53. Via Domenico Ciampoli, former school, owned by the City of Rome and Via della stazione di Monte Mario 35, villa owned by the city of Rome, squatted by families in housing emergency.

XX Municipio:
no recorded illegal occupations

There are many more squatted property that have been squatted since 2010. Many of them have been evicted and some of them still exist. The updated list of the squatted property is not mentioned in my research for the will of the housing movements to do not make public information that are not already public.
It is worth stressing that the most of occupied spaces in Rome are localized on the south-east city sector. This have developed due to informal housing, very poor residential districts, public housing and wild speculation and have been characterized mainly by a low income population and high levels of political engagement (even if involving minoritarian groups). Today, these areas have increased their market value since they are now considered attractive areas for those who are looking for a culturally active and affordable place where to live.

FILE 3: Resolution n. 206/2007: "Program allocation of no. 10,150 housing Public Housing to acquire the availability of the City of Rome and ATER in the five years 2007-2011

Assignments by Concession

Reference to Legal Standards:

- Resolution of the City Council No. 26 of 02/02/95.
- Resolution of the City Council No. 202 of 03/10/96.

The Heritage Office is responsible for the management and care of properties owned by the city that are of municipal interest. By acting as coordinator and connection between the central offices of the city and the Boroughs, between Boroughs and other external bodies such as the Local Council Asl, regional or provincial consortia and others have relations with the City General Attorney for the establishment of disputes relating to regain possession of public properties, and to relevant departments to which can even require the adoption of coercive measures for the release of properties.
Constantly updates the balance sheet as part of the City Hall, check availability and use of the properties, and cases of gaining or regaining possession of properties from a third party.

Who can make the request for the assignment of public properties in Concession?
Cultural, sports, social no-profit projects; Neighborhood committees; Citizens; Kindergartens.

How to submit the request?
It has to be submitted an official request for assignment after prior consultation with the Heritage Office (for needed documentation over the property to be submitted in support to the official request).

How long does it takes to be granted of an Assignment?
It depends on the departments and offices of the City of Rome, since the heritage office is not yet part of the municipal borough.

How much does it cost?
- Tax expenses for the registration of the request are due.
- The rental fee defined in accordance with the City Administration.

Notes
Requests must be reported in the cadastral sheet and the particle that shows the exact location of the property, better if combined with an appropriate map in scale. In fact, the only indication of the street where the property is located, even if combined with a number, it is not an element that enable a survey in the archives of the Conservatory.

The Municipal Council Resolution No. 79 of 19 January 2001, subsequently amended and supplemented by resolutions Nos. 736 of 30 November 2001, 328 of 18 June 2002 and 594 of 15 October 2002 defines the allocation program, in accordance with Region Lazio Law 6 August 1999 n. 12, n. 1,653 housing E.R.P. to acquire the availability of the City of Rome or ATER (Former I.A.C.P.); TOTAL 1,653 accommodation

Resolution no. 132 of 11 March 2003, the town council reserved the further 25% of housing that would be made available during 2003 to households included in housing crisis situations listed below: TOTAL 1,900 accommodation

There are yet to be fulfilled shares reserved accommodation categories of families, for a total of 230 units:

A) Housing crisis identified with Protocol from12 September 1999: 27 units
B) Public call special families registered at Borghetto Aurelio or school property transfers or temporary art. 13 Regulation 2/2000 R.le: 95 rooms
C) Reserve assigns lots resort Casette Pater: 4 accommodation
D) Reserve patients assisted by DSM ASL, identified by the committee of coordination of DSM: 42 units
E) Households identified with Ordinance d. S. No. 2 of 21 February 2002, n. 3 of 13 May 2002 (accommodation V. Masurius Sabinus): 29 rooms

F) to stay in care facilities organized by bodies, entities and voluntary organizations recognized and authorized, in charge of public assistance for refugees and Italian (City Council resolution 132/2003): 5 accommodation
G) Public call special school building occupants resigned site Via Isolabella No. 5: 26 accommodation
H) housing requirements of the municipality of Aprilia (Ord. 12/2004 and Sind.li 2/2005): 2 accommodation

410 families are currently housed in residences for temporary housing solution in the municipalities, with the legal requirements for the allocation of housing ERP, as a result of the publishing of the Special notice for 150 residences, including the City Council resolution n. 2178 of 17 December 1999;

Between the Minister of Infrastructure, the President of the Lazio Region and the Mayor of Rome, the program agreement for the construction of housing and special projects to increase the availability of housing for social housing to be allocated in priority to lessees subject to enforcement procedures of issuing meet the requirements of Art. 1, paragraph 3, of the Decree Law May 27, 2005, n. 86, part of the **special program for the housing crisis**.

This resolution 2006 provides:

- about 20,000 units including 10,000 units to be assigned with the criteria of subsidized (ERP) and n. 10,000 units to be granted for negotiated rents and solidarity fees;

- The five-year plan 2007-2011, for alleged housing ERP which provide 9,600 rooms (in addition to the 760 currently under construction by ATER in 2007) to be acquired in this period;

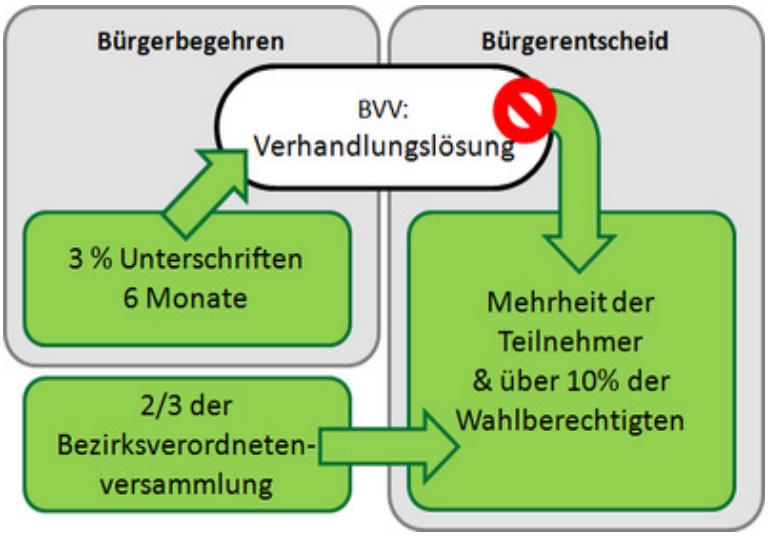
- That the program of change of use destination to housing (2007) increase to150 the number of apartments ready in the year;

Therefore it is necessary to provide for programming assignments n. 10,150 housing as described above, which will be available in the years 2007-2011; **15% is the share to be reserved for situations of housing crisis in art. 13 Regional regulation 2/2000**, and to limit the rate to 2% for the exchange of housing allocated (art. 22, c. 1, reg.le Regulation 2/2000); 8% is the need for housing to be identified specifically for the publication of further special Calls for people affected by housing emergency art. 1, c. 4 Regional regulation 30 September 2000, n. 2 and, finally, it is necessary to define the criteria for prioritization between different categories for the allocation of housing as above programmed.

TEMPELHOF STORY'S FILES

File 1: The introduction of the tools of direct democracy in Berlin

It's necessary to point out that since 2004, have been introduced in Berlin the 'citizens' initiatives' (das Bürgerbegehren) and the referendum (das Bürgerentscheide) as a part of the tools of direct democracy in the state.
Direct democracy in the districts of Berlin is governed by the laws § 44-47 - BzVwG - District Administration Act - valid from 31.12.2003. This tool can be used by citizens to bring substantive policy questions directly in the district council (Bezirksverordnetenversammlung - BVV). It's linked to the decisions for the development of projects involving directly or indirectly citizenship and which fall under the jurisdiction of the individual district (*Bezirk*). In fact, in Berlin the district manages its own taxation and has extensive powers, almost the same powers that are within its territory to that of a municipal government . The remaining decisions and predispositions that affect the functioning of the city as a whole are under the management of the Berlin Senate.



The procedure consists of an initial phase of '*Einwohnerantra'* ('the request of resident') in which residents or citizens can apply for a District Council and address a specific issue in a public meeting. You can also go directly to the '*Bürgerbegehren*' ('citizens' initiative') or a petition for a referendum that involves the collection of signatures of at least 3% of eligible voters in the district concerned, within six months; Following there is a phase in which you attempt a negotiated settlement with the organs of local government; if you find a negotiated solution is passed to the second stage , the 'Bürgerentscheide', which consists of the referendum vote .

Since 2005 we have been numerous occasions where people have decided to use this tool in order to exercise directly their democratic right to express themselves for or against the prerogatives of urban development: the initiative against the privatization of the historic complex of Bethanien in 2005-2006, the initiative against the mega project of development of the area adjacent to the river Spree, called 'Media Spree' in 2007, two referendums for Tempelhofer Feld one in 2008 and another in 2014. The constant increasing use of the tool of the referendum is closely linked to the increasing number of cases of contestation of urban development policies from the citizens.

Today it is common the discontent of citizens caused by the effects of the strategies and policies adopted over the last twenty years, the same ones that have transformed the face of the city after the fall of the Wall. This is due to the changes from twenty years insist that the city of Berlin and relate processes of urban regeneration and territorial marketing neoliberal. Along with these strong restructuring of redistributive public policies have produced, as well as an objective the improvement of the quality of urban spaces, some side effects such as those related to extreme phenomena of gentrification and an exponential growth in the field of real estate speculation. At the same time increased the privatization of public assets and cutting welfare systems producing the result of dizzying increases in house prices, the increasing expulsion of the lower-class neighborhoods from the central to the most peripheral and a decrease in the supply of public services.

All these elements combined with the perception on 'inefficiency or inadequacy of the tools for the active participation of citizens in decisions that affect the development of their city, has created what has been termed as 'urbanization of injustice' and the' urgency. It has spread the need to return to the center of the urban agenda issues relating to the processes of democratic inclusion, the housing issue, the fight against gentrification cum displacement, privatization / replacement of the public city, the need to identify alternative forms of welfare and new solutions for asset management, and public spaces.
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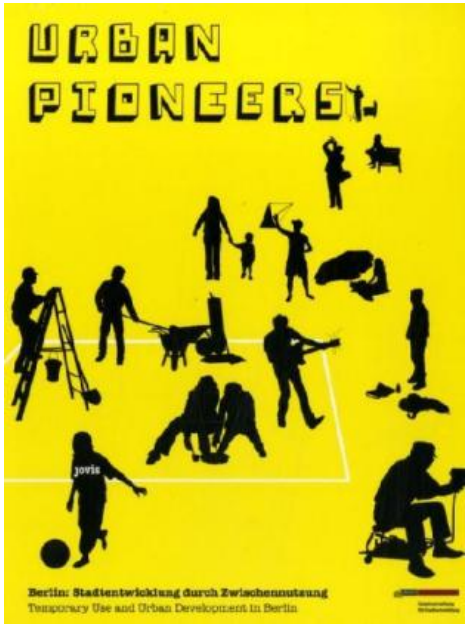
FILE 2: What is it and how works the regulation on "Use Temporary" in Berlin?



SenStadt (2007), Urban Pioneers

The *Zwischennutzungen* or 'temporary use' (SenStadt, 2007) is a regulatory tool that facilitates the temporary assignment of areas or properties to the so-called 'urban pioneers' at no cost or very affordable lease. The tool also contains a simplification of rules on licenses useful to promote the development of various activities and uses on vacant areas on which there are no immediate development plans without the need to alter the urban prerogatives. In fact, a temporary use can be tolerated even in situations for which has not been granted any planning permission. This is an innovative element essential for the continuity of projects such as *Wagenplatz* (urban areas for campers) without a license which are numerous in the city.

The role that local authorities hold at this juncture may be to: owners of the area, persons in charge of issuing permits, funding bodies or promoters of a project. The authorities can also support projects directly and indirectly with financing (including European ones such as Urban II or LOS-funds) or acting as guarantors in negotiation with third parties, through forms of mediation, identifying the site, managing conflicts and particularly by ensuring the Authorization broader and adapting the tools and urban models to meet the specific needs of temporary users. The advantages that a law on 'temporary use' produces for local administration are numerous. First, they allow to regularize forms of spontaneous urbanity that, in any case, would be developed in the territories indeterminate of the city. Second these forms of temporary use of areas abandoned, given the large budget deficit and the lack of funds with which it is forced to confront the city, are an effective alternative strategy for the management and maintenance of public properties.

The actors who develop temporary uses, in fact, thanks to this tool, can be considered new 'cooperative partners' willing to take the responsibility of giving impetus to a process of development of properties and public areas vacancies. In fact these experiences often have succeeded in exploiting the areas or spaces on which they are going to install, giving new territories anonymous symbolic meanings. They also represent a new tool based on the model of flexible urbanism. The user who is seen as a cooperative partner, enters into a contract (a usual lease) with the landlord public / private area, on the model of public-private partnership.

This involves mutual benefits but at the same time allows the owner to terminate the contract at very short notice or immediately if the site is sold or rented to the normal market price. The contracts are generally for periods ranging from three months to a maximum of 10 years; the duration of the contract often depends on how the owner feels is easy to sell his property (the brevity of the leases can create some problems in obtaining public funding for the development of projects).

FILE 3: Provisions of the law of popular initiative for the development of Tempelhof

Proposal of the citizens for the uses allowed and not allowed in the area of Tempelhof [Sources : BLZ / Kuh - Senate Department for Urban Development and Environment , the federal government , the draft law 'Initiative 100 % Tempelhofer Feld ']

Outer ring (about 100 hectares)

In this area they are permitted by the "law of citizens' initiative :

- Surfaces not covered sports (such as artificial grass and hard courts and beach volleyball) , but not salt covered
- Fixed benches , tables and baskets
- The construction and operation of sanitary facilities in buildings solid
- Signs on the history of the field , etc.
- Community Gardens
- Existing buildings can and should be used as a public performance
- Fruit trees and hedges can be planted without permission , larger trees require a permit
- Expansion Cemetery without a fence to the field

Not Allowed :

- New housing, construction of the library , or nursery school
- The expansion of the fenced cemetery

Central lawn area (200 hectares)

In this area they are permitted by law of citizens' initiative :

- Gastronomy
- Parasols
- Seating or football goals furniture , without any elements cemented permanently
- Playgrounds , without equipment cemented permanently
- Trees larger shade require a permit

Not Allowed :

- Permanent benches and signs
- Additional lanes and paved trails
- Permanent sports fields and playgrounds

EX-SNIA LAKE STORY'S FILES

FILE 1: Regulation for the institutions of participation and citizens' initiative

Approved by: City Council resolution n. 101 of 14 June 1994

The regulations besides introducing the theme of enhancing citizen participation in the performance of City administration tasks, introduces the possibility for citizens to present "people's initiatives," "popular interrogations, interpellations and petitions," "municipal referendum" and "participation of social formations."

Article 1 states: 1. The City of Rome values the participation of citizens, individually and in association, to carry out more effectively its functions. 2. The City of Rome promotes the citizen participation in the life of the Region and of the State and favors direct commitment to the civil, social, economic and cultural development of the city.

The Title II specifies the requirements for receiving the 'People's Initiative' (art.2-4) . The project was drawn up in articles, accompanied by an explanatory report. It should be deposited to the Municipality and accompanied by no less than five thousand subscriptions collected on forms prepared by the Municipality and available at each section of the office for the information of citizens. Each form must be included the text of the project. The role of ' Examination of the City Council' is to examine the proposed popular initiative within two months of its assignment to the appropriate committee. Within four months, submit it to the vote of the City Council, together with the report of the Commission.

Title III describes modalities for the 'Queries and Popular Petitions' (art.5-6). "2. Queries consist of the application, addressed to the Mayor , on facts relating to the local community, namely acts or initiatives of the City. Interpellations consist in the application, addressed to the Mayor, of intentions and orientations, both general and sectorial, of the Administration of the City . 'For presentations of questions and interpellations to the Mayor, citizens must submit at least 200 subscriptions to the Municipal Secretariat and the response must be received in writing within 60 days. Finally the " Petition " , described in Article 6 , may be submitted by citizens, individual or group, 'to urge the adoption of appropriate initiatives aimed at meeting the needs of the local community or of particular sectors of the population'.

Title IV introduces the standards for 'municipal referendum' (art.7-13). The process is divided into three phases: the popular initiative referendum, the transition to the Committee of the referendum and the referendum. The popular initiative referendum begins with the collection of a minimum of 50,000 signatures in four months. So within 30 days it was elected a commission for the referendum that assesses the eligibility and formal correctness of the request for a referendum. Then within 30 days the commission act about. At least a quarter of the population entitled must participate in the vote. In case of victory of the referendum, within 30 days the Mayor shall submit to the city council the decision accordingly. The City Council can hold referendums also only for one or more municipal districts.

Title V refers about 'Participation of Social Groups' (art.14-18). It's indicated: (article 14) the 'access to the facilities and services' for public initiatives promoted by non-profit, voluntary organizations, political parties and trade unions and staff or by at least 50 citizens; (Art.15) the 'Councils' that the City Council or the District Council may establish for the representation of associations working in a particular sector or represent certain categories of citizens; (Art.16), the "permanent observers", subsidiary bodies established by resolution of the City Council to obtain information and specific assessments on individual issues or on particular aspects of social, civil, economic or cultural city; (Article 17) the organization of "Forum" to promote the public confrontation between citizens and administrators of the Municipality, of special companies, institutions and providers of local public services, the City Council can promote, also on request of the councils (the Board resolution should indicate the theme of the forum, the categories and sectors of the population concerned, the directors will be present, the ways in which citizens, individually or jointly, may intervene or proposals, or instances).

FILE 2: C.C. 26/1995 – Resolution n. 26/1995 – City of Rome

"Regulations for the regularization and allocation for social purposes[...] of spaces and facilities owned by the city ascribed to the assets available and unavailable. "

REGULATION – Assignment City properties and assets to be used for social, cultural, welfare, recreational sports activities, environmental protection, health care or political activities, with the exception of political parties and their political and organizational groups in accordance with Law n. 194/75

Starting point and motives: 1) This decision is designed to achieve the primary objective of using the resources constituted by the available real estate of the City of Rome (both the "disponibile and "indisponibile" - available and unavailable), to allow initiatives that enrich the social and cultural fabric of the city to exist and carry out their activities, as well as to rationalize the location of offices and communal facilities proceeding to the global burden reduction to rental expense.

Art.1: Item. This Regulation applies to occupations without formal title ascertained as at 31 December 1994 of real property ascribed to the available and unavailable estate of the City of Rome, for the purposes of their regularization [...]. This Regulation shall apply also to the new allocation of real estate assets ascribed to the assets available and unavailable in the City of Rome. "It is not applicable to the allocation of sports facilities which should be allocated through public tenders. "The regularization and assignments can be arranged in favor of bodies, foundations or associations and self-managed social centers organized in associations (art. 14 et seq. Of the Civil Code) that offer social activities, including health care, political, to except the parties and their joint political-organizational [...], cultural, welfare, trade union, recreational sports and environmental protection, non-profit organization, part of the Municipality of Rome, in the service of the population living there.

Art. 2: Criteria. About regularization and the assignment will be taken into account: a) an advantage in the assignment, the address of the applicant multipurpose, and the integration of activities with the needs of the territory; b) associations have to carry out the activities that constitute their end and they have permanent, exclusively with the work of members; c) is an asset allocation necessary to provide for the renovation and restoration at the expense of the assignee, who will go for the exclusive benefit of the Administration without any claim on the part of beneficiaries. It is also an advantage, the commitment to provide for the ordinary and extraordinary maintenance of buildings, and spending by the assignee, without them nothing can claim by the Administration; d) can not be regularized occupations of properties required by Administration for institutional purposes. In such cases, if the work done by the applicant is worthy of support, according to the guidelines of this resolution, the Administration, consistent with its possibilities and needs, will make available other local to association; e) in the case of new assignments will be taken into account the nature of business in a consolidated manner in relation to the general needs of the community, giving priority to associations pursuing charitable purposes.

Art.3: Submission of applications. "The application for allocation must be received by the Protocol Division II - State property and assets Office – with constitutive act accompanied of the Statute of the applicant and of a report summarizing the activities performed or proposed (authenticated by the office).

Art.4: indicates the methods and procedures by which 'Investigation of requests' takes place. The article indicate how the requests are organized into districts and territory, in the chronological order of submission. Also the requests were examined by the technical review of a committee made up of: the President of the division II (State Property and Heritage) and the Superior Manager of the District involved and responsible in charge of the division X (Superintendent Antiques and Fine Arts), the division VIII (Social Security), of the special offices for urban development plan, Sports and Tourism. "The Commission [...] expresses opinions of mandatory but non-binding through special relations office related to individual instances. In this context, when the activities are of strong social and cultural and act as community services, the Directors may, at the request of associations, based on specific agreements, affirm the same even with the deduction of social rent. "Also, it is defined that, in adopting the budget will be annually defined percentage of the assets available or unavailable to the Administration intends to allocate assignments in question.

The Art.5 explains how to establish the 'occupation bonus'. It indicates that both in the case of concession and of lease will apply the reduced rent under the terms and conditions laid down by Article 7 letter. b) the resolution n.5625 / 83. "The canon, as calculated above, is subject to ISTAT adjustments required by law. It can also be granted the Self-help strategy for recovery or "Autorecupero" ("Self-recovery) fee for concessions or leases of properties in particular state of degradation, when the parties according to article 1 have already run or

undertake to carry out, at its own expense, restoration work overall, ordinary and extraordinary maintenance and adjustment to the rules of hygiene and security required by law to use the contractually established, [...]after verification of the execution of the same by the municipal technical services , as well as a fairness opinion on expenditure incurred in the execution of the same. In the latter case the fee is paid until Autorecupero, applying the fee charged by the Administration , dealers and conductors have not recovered the amount spent on the work [...]. " In the case of regularization it will be due the fee as agreed (and updated annually based on the ISTAT) for the period prior to the date of such occupation until the date of signing of the act of obligation. Past debt can be reduced by the costs incurred for the work but in this case can not be granted the fee for Autorecupero. The non-payment of three installments implies the loss or termination of the concession or lease.

Article 6 : Duration and regulate for the granting of the lease. " The duration , withdrawal and the specification of the lease and concessions are prescribed by the regulations in force.[...] We proceed to the immediate withdrawal of assignments where the assignee making improper use of the property, allowing third parties to occupy the property without municipal permission, mutate the purposes of the association in carrying out his activities, using violent methods against the democratic dialectic". The Administration may annually monitor adherence to the use of the premises by the jurisdictions concerned.

Article 8 : Determination of fee by the Commission Estimate. In the determination of the fee estimates the Commission Estimate will be integrated with the participation of exponent of the most representative organizations of owners and tenants .

Resolution 26/1995 : "Regulations for the regularization and allocation for social purposes[...] of spaces and facilities owned by the city ascribed to the assets available and unavailable. " The Board resolution 26 of the 95 was the first of this kind in Italy. Its subsequent amendments voted by the municipal council in October 1996 (Resolution 202), Article 4, even wanted to streamline procedures for regularization by establishing the principle of tacit consent and give a maximum of 120 days for the investigation instances of regularization .

Furthermore, it further highlights the concept: "when the activities of associations or committees have a significant social value and be an effective community services that can not be stopped except by serious prejudice to public benefit, it will regularize and assignment by order of union".

The management of municipal estate about the social spaces seemed addressed to the solution of the many problems developed in the past. It was not, then it seems that the Municipality has changed course from that democratic debate that led to the genesis of the resolution 26, and which, intended to facilitate the regularization of occupations as formal established at December 31, 94 of bodies, foundations, associations operating profit, part of the City of Rome, at the service of the resident population. In fact, cases of regularization of occupations without formal title remained very limited compared to the demands and since 1996 have never been changed parameters of that regulation that many believe improved or even ineffective.

In 2014, after a wave of evictions and repression, as well as privatization of assets, a new initiative created by an association of citizens and movements, under the name of " deLiberiamo Roma" -deliberate Rome- has been proposed to the City of Rome, in relation to the mode of allocation of public assets for social purposes. The proposal has never been discussed by the city council.