Urban Spaces of Deviance and Rebellion:
Youth, Squatted Houses and the Heroin Scene in West Germany and Switzerland in the 1970s and 1980s

by

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Abstract

Between the late 1970s and early 1980s, Western European societies experienced a deep crisis, involving economic turmoil and youth protest, that became most perceptible in an alleged crisis of the city. This dissertation argues that as a reaction to this crisis a spatialization of the social took place that established urban space as a prime object of governmental policies. It argues further that the transformation of social problems into questions of spatial order was mirrored in a growing reference by non-conforming youth to space as a site of liberation. Both developments supported and influenced each other and were based on the conception of certain socio-geographical spaces as counter-sites that differed entirely from all other spaces.

Spaces of non-conforming youth are therefore at the heart of this dissertation. Meeting places of the heroin scene and squatted houses in Zurich and various West German cities, most notably West Berlin, serve as examples of such spaces and their significance for European societies in the early 1980s.

This study employs a double perspective. It traces the spaces of youth deviance as an object of governmental technologies and seeks to deconstruct the underlying assumptions about normalcy, deviance, youth, and urban space. At the same time, it explores the practices and imaginations of those youth who were seeking to evade or rebel against the hegemonic order through squatting of, and sojourning at, specific urban spaces. To grasp the perspective of both governmental institutions and non-conforming youth, a combined analysis of their discursive and spatial practices is employed. Making use of Foucault's concept of heterotopia, or "other spaces", the possibilities and limitations in regulating and creating social change through urban spaces of deviance and rebellion comes into focus. This dissertation therefore contributes to a social and cultural historiography of the 1980s as well as furthers our understanding of the mutually constructed nature of space, youth, normalcy, and deviance.

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Dedication

To the memory of

Stefan Preusse

(1966 – 1994)

***

In Erwägung, dass da Häuser stehen,
Während ihr uns ohne Bleibe lasst,
Haben wir beschlossen, jetzt dort einzuziehen,
Weil es uns in unser'n Löchern nicht mehr passt.

In Erwägung, dass ihr uns dann eben
Mit Gewehren und Kanonen droht,
Haben wir beschlossen, nunmehr schlechtes Leben
mehr zu fürchten als den Tod.

***

Considering there are houses standing empty,
While you leave us homeless on the street,
We've decided that we're going to move in now,
We're tired of having nowhere dry to sleep.

Considering you will then
Threaten us with cannons and with guns,
We've now decided to fear
A bad life more than death.

(Bertold Brecht – *Resolution der Kommunarden*, translated partly by John Hamilton)

1. Introduction

Yet it is necessary to notice that the space which today appears to form the horizon of our concerns, our theory, our systems, is not an innovation; space itself has a history in Western experience, and it is not possible to disregard the fatal intersection of time with space.
– Michel Foucault, Of Other Spaces[1]

I mean, to me dropping out means simply to stop participating in this game that is taking place, to stop playing along, to stop falling into line anywhere, to cast all the values in the wind.
For instance, I used to get real rattled about this, like – how people are defining themselves through their job, you know. I was always, like: you need that badly, you know. I don't need this. I am me, right? And I don't need to have some PhD degree or whatever to be something, you know.
– Joana, former heroin addict, late 1980s[2]

1.1. Prologue

During the 1970s and especially around the year 1980 urban space in Western European cities changed significantly. In the aftermath of the world economic crisis of 1973 whole regions were suffering from de-industrialization and high unemployment rates. Cities that had been centres of industrial production turned into neglected and impoverished places of a past era. Social and political conflicts turned cities into battlefields, with clashes between young protesters and the police of hitherto unknown militancy. Whether in Zurich, Amsterdam, Bristol or Berlin, cities became sites of unrest to a degree that had not been witnessed during the previous decade. Apart from these violent eruptions, new spaces of a threatening social Other emerged: squatted houses seemed to harbour radical political activists, perhaps even

1 Michel Foucault, "Of Other Spaces," *Diacritics* 16, no. 1 (1986): 22.

2 "Ich mein, Aussteigen heißt für mich einfach, dat Spiel, wat ablooft, nich mehr mitmachen, nich mehr mitspielen, mich nirgendwo mehr anzupassen, die ganzen Werte - in' Wind zu schießen. Zum Beispiel, da hab ick mich früher immer tierisch drüber uffgeregt, so -wie Leute sich über ihren Beruf definieren, verstehste. Hab' ick immer, ey: Ihr habt's nötig, verstehste. Ick hab det nich nötig. Ick bin ick, verstehste. Und ick brauch nich' irgend'nen Doktor oder irgendwat zu ham, um wat zu sein, weeßte." Joana, in: Eva Egartner and Susanne Holzbauer, *"Ich hab's nur noch mit Gift geschafft..." Frauen und illegale Drogen* (Pfaffenweiler: Centaurus, 1994), 119-120.

terrorists; heroin addicts were populating areas around train stations and in city parks; migrant "ghettos" were shaking assumptions about national identity and national borders; new religious sects were trying to recruit members in pedestrian zones; and the bleak architecture of dormitory towns was rising sinisterly on the horizon.

Some of these new, threatening spaces were seemingly connected with a youth gone awry. Reports on youth deviance filled the media in Western European countries and startled the general public.[3] "What we are seeing night after night in the television [news] is not identical with the German youth", the General Secretary of the West German Christian-Democrats, Heiner Geißler, reassured readers of the conservative daily *Die Welt* in 1981. But cautiously he added that "we owe the young people the certainty that hard work and effort are worthwhile again in our society."[4] These were somewhat helpless statements in view of young drug users who were hanging out in "needle parks" while their fellow youth were turning empty buildings into "lawless spaces" and headquarters of an encompassing "youth revolt". Youth, urban space and questions of crisis, normalcy, and rebellion had apparently come to be strongly connected with each other. The topic of this dissertation is it to trace the historic developments that established urban space as a field to understand and govern social crises in general and deviant and rebellious youth in particular in the early 1980s.

And yet one might need to start this story in a completely different way. As a troubled teenager I once ran away from home to escape the boredom of a small provincial town in north-west Germany. Although the main task in going away was to find myself, I thought it would be a good idea to also have a geographical goal to keep me going. Due to a lack of

3 See for instance "Wohin sich die Jugend in anderen Ländern bewegt," *Tages-Anzeiger*, 04.03.1981.

4 "Was wir Abend für Abend im Fernsehen sehen, ist nicht mit der deutschen Jugend identisch. [...] Wir schulden den jungen Menschen die Gewißheit, daß sich Mühe und Leistung in unserer Gesellschaft wieder lohnen." Heiner Geißler, "Junge Menschen brauchen Hoffnung," *Die Welt*, 01.04.1981.

imagination I chose India, which seemed to serve this purpose well, both in a spiritual and geographical sense. Heading East, I wound up in the city of Berlin. As it was my first time in the big city, I had to rely almost completely on the imaginary landscape that stories, movies, and media reports had formed in my mind over the years. This landscape differed significantly from that of an adult tourist. To me, Berlin was not so much the Brandenburg Gate, the Pergamon Museum, or the few remnants of the Berlin Wall.

Two places were of much greater importance and invested with much stronger feelings. The first was the train and subway station "Zoologischer Garten", or simply *Bahnhof Zoo*. It was the meeting place of youth who had run from their homes and were now hanging out at this train station—or so I thought. Here, useful information might be gathered that could help to survive in this big city. But, and I remember vividly how certain I was about this fact, you needed to move on as quickly as possible. For the Bahnhof Zoo was also the meeting place of the heroin scene and it was clear to me that I would end up a heroin addict if I stayed too long (a week? a night? a few hours?) at this dangerous place.

The other place that I knew of was the district of Kreuzberg. Here, the squatters' scene had basically turned a whole neighbourhood into an anarchist utopia. Every May Day they seemed to successfully defend it against the police in violent street battles which I could witness on TV. A song about a squatted house at Bethanienplatz had been played at parties even where I grew up, so if there was a place for youth who were fed up with everything that their parents and teachers stood for and that this society seemed to hold on offer—it had to be in Kreuzberg.

Needless to say that reality was sobering in both cases: no youth at the train station and no street signs showing the way to squatted houses in what seemed to be an ordinary city district. But the questions that drive me today are: how did some places take up such a

meaning for youth who did not want to conform with the norms and values of the adult world? Why was I, like many others, driven to these places with such a mixture of hope and anxiety? What had turned these urban spaces into possible objects of identification?

Many years later I ended up living in Kreuzberg. In the morning, when I leave my house —squatted in 1981, legalized, now in the hands of a self-organized cooperative—and head over to my office-space—in a building squatted in 2005, legalized in 2009—I pass by the spaces of this history. I cross *Kottbusser Tor* with its monumental high-rise buildings, a symbol for the inhumanity of modernist city planning. As gentrification changes Kreuzberg rapidly, rents are rising and new protest emerges. Some months ago, the tenants of these buildings, most of them of Turkish origin, started organizing weekly demonstrations and events and squatted the space in front of their building by pitching a large tent there. Only a few steps across the road some of the local heroin addicts are gathering every day, now and then dispersed by a police patrol. They have made the area around *Kotti*, as the area is called affectionately, their preferred meeting place. In the neighbouring kiosk people can buy souvenirs from *Kotti d'Azur*, featuring an anchor and a syringe. "You are brave", they seem to assure people, "that you dare coming here." As a reward they can buy themselves this local, adventurous identity, commodified but of course with a postmodern and ironic cock of the eye.

There is no reason to take the subway to Bahnhof Zoo from here. Although only a few stops away, the formerly run-down area around the train station has changed significantly during the last two decades. As other train stations, it has been turned from a site of transit into a shopping area.[5] Urban poor or young misfits are nowhere to be seen, probably because the whole area is under surveillance by cameras and private security companies are watching

5 Aldo Legnaro and Almut Birenheide, *Stätten der späten Moderne. Reiseführer durch Bahnhöfe, shopping malls, Disneyland Paris* (Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2005).

the premises. The Bahnhof Zoo, with its proximity to the upper-class shopping district of Kurfürstendamm, is but one example of a general development, in which more and more inner-city areas are put under CCTV surveillance. Although studies show that this does not reduce crime in any significant way, after each new criminal incident in public space the presented solution will inevitably feature an intensified surveillance and control of these spaces. I wonder: are those cameras used to make delinquency *visible*—or is their purpose to render unwanted people and modes of behaviour *invisible* by keeping them away from these sites?[6]

The question that underlies this research project, then, is one that concerns the present as much as the past. How did those events around 1980 shape the city of today? Why do we perceive certain spaces as different from their surroundings? How come we identify heroin use with the architectural ensemble around a large crossroads, social protest with a neighbourhood —and ourselves with this space (*Kotti d'Azur*)? And why is it possible to present the control of space as a reasonable means against crime and delinquency even though virtually all studies indicate the contrary?

All the aforementioned aspects have influenced this research project. Partly it is concerned with the role that urban space had as part of the social and economic crisis of the 1970s. The emergence of new spaces that stood in relation to youth who were deviating from hegemonic norms seems to have been part of and/or a solution to this crisis. Yet this study is also concerned with the role of these spaces for youth themselves or, in a change of perspective, the role of youth in the creation of these spaces. For here will lie the answer to the question of how non-conforming youth came to identify with specific urban areas. And finally, the study seeks to trace the historic roots of the current regime of surveillance and control in

6 Leon Hempel and Jörg Metelmann, eds., *Bild - Raum - Kontrolle. Videoüberwachung als Zeichen gesellschaftlichen Wandels* (Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp, 2005).

public urban space and to deconstruct, in the sense of a "history of the present",[7] the underlying "truths" about space, normalcy and youth.

1.2. Thesis and research approaches

I will argue in this dissertation that between the late 1970s and early 1980s a spatialization of the social took place that established urban space as a prime object of governmental policies. I will further argue that the transformation of social problems into questions of spatial order was mirrored in a growing reference to space as a site of liberation on behalf of non-conforming youth. Both developments supported and influenced each other and were based on the conception of certain socio-geographical spaces as counter-sites that differed entirely from all other spaces.

In order to prove this thesis I will turn to meeting places of the heroin scene and the spaces of the political youth and squatters' movement between the mid-1970s and mid-1980s. One geographical focus is on West Germany, especially on the city of West Berlin. The former German capital had been classified both as the "capital of fixers" and as "capital of the (squatters/youth/autonomous) movement". The highest death rate among heroin consumers in Europe and maybe the world and the record number of over 160 squatted houses in 1981 confirm these perceptions. The study of other West-German cities (although to a much lesser degree than in the case of Berlin) will complement the picture; this concerns mainly the cities of Frankfurt and Hamburg. Due to its airport Frankfurt was one of the main import places for illegalized drugs and home to one of the largest open heroin scenes in Europe, while in Hamburg the squatted houses in *Hafenstraße* became one of the symbolic sites of youth rebellion in the 1980s.

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7 Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish. The Birth of the Prison* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1977), 31; Michael S. Roth, "Foucault's 'History of the Present'," *History and Theory* 20, no. 1 (February 1981): 32-46.

The analysis of these West-German cities is complemented by that of the youth and heroin scene in Zurich. Here was one of the starting points of the "youth revolt" of 1980/81, and youth activism and heroin use were strongly connected. Zurich also had one of the largest visible heroin scenes and it was the city that adopted the harshest repressive strategy against visible heroin scenes in Europe. And it was here that youth activists first developed and implemented the idea of a safe-injection site for drug users.

The study employs a double perspective: it traces the spaces of youth deviance as an object of governmental technologies and seeks to deconstruct the underlying assumptions about normalcy, deviance, youth, and urban space. At the same time, I am interested in the practices and imaginations of youth who were seeking to evade or rebel against the hegemonic order through specific urban spaces. To grasp the perspective of both governmental institutions and non-conforming youth I will combine an analysis of their discursive and spatial practices.

Three groups of sources, produced by different social actors, could inform such a task: archival records of governmental institutions, including welfare institutions and the police; media reports and other products of (popular) media culture; and statements by heroin consuming and politically active youth. The main methodological problem lies with the disparity of these sources. Both archival records and media reports were almost exclusively informed by experts such as police, criminologists, politicians, and medicinal or psychiatric personnel. The voice of youth is largely absent from these sources. A similar disparity as that between experts and youth can be found in self-representations of youth: while squatters produced a mass of flyers, magazines, posters, videos, photographs, and books, heroin users left very few traces at all.

As most archival records are not yet available for historical research, they have only been used sparsely. Instead, media reports were used to reconstruct both the local tactics of governance (that is primarily the tactics of police) and the hegemonic discursive imaginations about heroin and squatters' scene. Especially the weekly news-magazine *Der Spiegel*, at that time arguably the key medium throughout German-speaking Europe, was used to grasp the most important discursive formations.[8] Thereby it was not only possible to determine changes and continuities in governmental practices but also which images and conceptions were available to a general public to make sense of the deviant behaviour of adolescents. These findings were then complemented by a closer look at local newspapers for specific "discursive events"[9] in order to get a better picture of the development of actual local policies. The analysis of governmental technologies and hegemonic discourse was then contrasted with self-representations and internal debates of the youth and squatters' movement. Here, a variety of sources came under scrutiny, from flyers to testimonials and from internal discussion papers to photographs of houses and demonstrations.

Due to the disparity of sources, the spaces of the heroin scene will be analysed mainly as an object of outside perceptions and governmental policies. This focus reflects the lack of sources but does not deny heroin users' agency—without their decision to join the heroin scene and to practically demand a place in the city, the spaces of the heroin scene would not have come into existence. By closer examining the popularity of stories about the heroin scene among teenagers, though, it is possible to deduce the importance of such spaces for youth, even if the voices of actual heroin users have largely been silenced.

The meaning of supposedly free spaces for non-conforming youth will further be clarified

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8 Kurt Ziesel, *Die Meinungsmacher: Spiegel, Zeit, Stern & Co* (München: Universitas, 1988).

9 Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge; and The Discourse on Language* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1972).

through an analysis of spaces of the squatters' scene. As the political and press discourse on the squatters' movement have been thoroughly analyzed, this study focuses on the squatters' own practices and imaginations. Again, this does not imply that these spaces were entirely created by youth, independent of other actors or discursive formations, but it reflects an analytical lens through which to look at these spaces. Wherever possible, these dichotomies—governmental strategies vs. youth, squatters vs. heroin users, press discourse vs. self-representation—will be transgressed to show the interrelatedness of all these aspects.

Throughout this study I will preferably use the term of the "scene" rather than "culture", "milieu", or "subculture".[10] The term first appeared in sociological studies of the mid-1970s to describe the life-world of drug consumers and highlight the social and group-dynamic aspects of drug consumption in contrast to individualizing medicinal categories.[11] Since the late 1970s *Scene*, later Germanized as *Szene*, was also a common self-designation of youth activists. For the purposes of this study a "scene" is constituted by three aspects: *first*, they are thematically oriented networks. (Young) people are coming together in scenes that are connected by their shared interest in drug use or political activism. No formal memberships exist and it is not necessary to qualify individually for an informal membership; to belong to a larger group that is part of a scene—a circle of friends, inhabitants of a squatted house—can be sufficient. In this sense people can be part of the drug or squatters' scene without necessarily taking heroin

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10 On a more comprehensive debate on the history and (dis)advantages of these concepts see Sebastian Haunss, *Identität in Bewegung. Prozesse kollektiver Identität bei den Autonomen und in der Schwulenbewegung* (Wiesbaden: Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2004), 79-89; Klaus Weinhauer, "Heroinszenen in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland und in Großbritannien der siebziger Jahre. Konsumpraktiken zwischen staatlichen, medialen und zivilgesellschaftlichen Einflüssen," in *Das Alternative Milieu. Antibürgerlicher Lebensstil und linke Politik in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland und Europa 1968-1983*, edited by Sven Reichardt and Detlef Siegfried (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2010), 246f.; Sven Reichardt and Detlef Siegfried, "Das Alternative Milieu. Konturen einer Lebensform," in ibid., 9-24.

11 John Irwin, *Scenes* (Beverly Hills: Sage, 1977).

or living in a squat themselves. Scenes are, *second*, constituted through social and cultural practices. These include tastes in certain consumer articles and styles, consumption practices (e.g. oral or intravenous drug use) but also performances of masculinity and femininity. *Finally*, scenes depend on and are actively creating public and semi-public spaces. Public meeting places, bars, nightclubs, neighbourhoods etc. are necessary for the individuals to experience their belonging to a scene and to reproduce its cultural codes. The knowledge about the whereabouts of these spaces often serves as a marker for an individual's affiliation with a scene.[12]

1.2.1. Historical background: drug use, squatting, and the crisis of the city

According to historian Klaus Weinhauer, youth delinquency was characterized by a "double dissolution of boundaries" during the 1960s.[13] Earlier, delinquent behaviour of youth had been attributed to members of the working-class and specific geographical places such as harbour and red-light districts. But by the beginning of the 1970s "delinquency had become a seemingly ubiquitous everyday phenomenon that could be luring in every social niche".[14] This "end of certainties"[15] became most obvious in the case of the conspicuous consumption of illegalized drugs in public urban space.

Until the 1960s the consumption of and addiction to *illegalized*[16] drugs had remained—

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12 Haunss, *Identität in Bewegung*, 82.

13 "Doppelte Entgrenzung." Klaus Weinhauer, "Polizei und Jugendliche in der Geschichte der Bundesrepublik," in *Jugend, Delinquenz und gesellschaftlicher Wandel. Bundesrepublik Deutschland und USA nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg*, edited by Detlef Briesen and Klaus Weinhauer (Essen: Klartext, 2007), 79f.

14 "Von nun an war Delinquenz zu einem scheinbar allgegenwärtigen Alltagsphänomen geworden, das in jeder gesellschaftlichen Nische lauern konnte." Klaus Weinhauer, *Vom Ende der Gewissheit: Jugenddelinquenz und Polizei in bundesdeutschen Großstädten der 1960er und 70er Jahre*, paper presented at the 45th Historikertag (Kiel, 15 September 2004).

15 Klaus Weinhauer, "The End of Certainties: Drug Consumption and Youth Delinquency in West Germany," in *Between Marx and Coca-Cola. Youth Cultures in Changing European Societies, 1960-1980*, edited by Axel Schildt and Detlef Siegfried (New York: Berghahn Books, 2006), 376-97.

16 In contrast to "illegal" or "illicit", the term "illegalized" emphasizes the fact that drugs are not per se legal or

unlike nicotine addiction or alcoholism—phenomena that were restricted to a very small circle of people. Among doctors and pharmacists there existed a few "morphinists", whose existence was known but did not cause much attention. Their high class and professional position, the constant availability and purity of the drug—contrary to common perceptions pure heroin has almost no cell-damaging effects—enabled this circle to lead a socially conform life without outer signs of their addiction. Even after World War II, when many former soldiers had to be considered to be addicted to morphines, this caused only minor insecurities, the more so as this phenomenon came to an end once former army stocks had been consumed and no new supplies were available on the black market.[17]

But with the 'economic miracle' and a progressing globalization consumption habits changed as well. Since the mid-1950s the consumption of beer and other alcohol had risen constantly.[18] The 'discovery' of youth as a separate class of consumers and the emergence of an international youth culture fostered the development of specific juvenile consumption practices, including those regarding intoxicants.[19] The consumption of drugs like Cannabis and LSD by members of the hippie movement was part of this bigger development. It was accompanied by an open rejection of the norms and values of their parents' and grandparents' generation such as their work ethics. Drug consumption was henceforth mainly understood as a youth phenomenon.[20]

illegal but are declared as such. If the production, use and/or trade of a certain substance is being criminalized is open to historical change. The criminalization of heroin use, for instance, can thus be understood as an ongoing, repetitive process rather than a fixed condition.

17 Detlef Briesen, *Drogenkonsum und Drogenpolitik in Deutschland und den USA. Ein historischer Vergleich* (Frankfurt/Main: Campus, 2005), 161. On the history of illegalized drugs prior to World War II see also Tilmann Holzer, *Globalisierte Drogenpolitik. Die protestantische Ethik und die Geschichte des Drogenverbotes* (Berlin: Verlag für Wissenschaft und Bildung, 2002).

18 Michael Wildt, "Changes in Consumption as Social Practice in West Germany During the 1950s," in *Getting and Spending. European and American Consumer Societies in the Twentieth Century*, edited by Susan Strasser, Charles McGovern and Matthias Judt (Washington, DC: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 305.

19 Jon Savage, *Teenage. Die Erfindung der Jugend (1875-1945)* (Frankfurt/Main: Campus, 2008).

20 Robert P. Stephens, *Germans on Drugs. The Complications of Modernization in Hamburg* (Ann Arbor: University of

But as the consumption of these new drugs was prohibited, no space could be created to legitimize and regulate it. As a consequence, public spaces were used for purposes other than intended; new spaces of drug consumption emerged. Some of them became known on a cross-regional scale, like the "hash meadow" (*Haschwiese*) in Frankfurt or Berlin's Tiergarten park. The situation came to a head with the emergence of visible scenes of heroin users in the early 1970s. Despite the abundance of these meeting places only a few became symbolic for this new form of delinquency. In West Germany these included the area around Frankfurt's central train station and the Bahnhof Zoo in Berlin, while internationally the scenes at Amsterdam's Zeedijk and, since the mid-1980s, Zurich's Platzspitz park became symbolic sites of heroin use. As such they were also visible signs of the international dimensions of trade and consumption as well as of the culture of heroin that was connected with this scene.

And yet these new spaces of youth delinquency did not signify a return to a status quo ante in which certain neglected areas of the city could serve as a container for this and other forms of crime and, in a more encompassing sense, of deviant behaviour of youth. Not only were drug users transgressing the boundaries between an orderly urban centre and negligible proletarian neighbourhoods by meeting at inner-city spaces such as parks, train stations or other public places. The perception of the city itself had changed as well.

German cities, severely damaged in World War II, had been an urban planner's dream come true. Here an opportunity had arisen to implement the utopian visions of modernist city planning that had been developed since the beginning of the century. These visions were characterized by a functional division of city space into residential, commercial, and industrial areas, all connected by large traffic axes. In contrast to the overcrowded and chaotic pre-war cities, these rational urban environments should also allow for a modernization of society

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Michigan Press, 2007), 46ff., 87.

according to rational, modern, technocratic standards. More often than not, though, these utopian dreams of rationality and the ability to design a perfect city and with it a perfect society turned out to be dystopian nightmares.[21] The new high-rise dormitory towns on the fringes of the cities quickly appeared as bleak and dead, due to the lack of spaces that would foster a social life among the inhabitants. Whole quarters had to make way for large infrastructural projects which turned formerly lively areas into inhumane environments of concrete and exhaust fumes. Since the mid-1960s, the perceived "inhospitality" of the city was a common trope among critics of urban planning.[22] The city itself had come into a deep crisis, visible groups of deviant youth in public urban space could be understood as a signifier and/or catalyst of this crisis.

The connection between a crisis of modernist urban restructuring and youth seemed to be confirmed with the emergence of a new radical youth movement that made the city the stage of its protest and the object of its critique. Urban planning in the 1970s aimed to level out the antagonism between a "developed", "modern" centre and its "backward", "unorderly" counter-site by turning the old proletarian neighbourhoods into modernist landscapes that were congruent with middle-class standards.[23] But while the marginalised reappeared in the city centres as young drug users, others tried to combine the search for a place in the city with a struggle against those strategies of redevelopment that were about to change what they considered to be "their" neighbourhoods. Based on isolated campaigns for autonomous youth centres, tenants' struggles and regional protests against large infrastructural projects during the 1970s, a new movement—the squatters—emerged in various European cities in 1980. Starting

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21 James C. Scott, *Seeing Like a State. How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998).

22 Alexander Mitscherlich, *Die Unwirtlichkeit unserer Städte. Anstiftung zum Unfrieden* (Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp, 1965).

23 Adelheid von Saldern, *Häuserleben. Zur Geschichte städtischen Arbeiterwohnens vom Kaiserreich bis heute* (Bonn: J.H.W. Dietz Nachfolger, 1995), esp. 351ff.; Scott, *Seeing Like a State*.

with the "Kraakers" in Amsterdam and fuelled by the violent clashes over an autonomous youth centre in Zurich, this new movement reached its climax in 1980/1981 in West Berlin.[24] Numerous squats in the boroughs of Schöneberg, Neukölln, Wedding, and especially in the old working-class district of Kreuzberg turned Berlin into the European "*Hauptstadt der Hausbesetzer*"—the squatters' capital.[25]

The squatters' movement was also the result of fundamental shifts regarding objects and strategies of radical politics since 1968. Since the early 1970s Maoist *K-Gruppen*—a term subsuming a number of small *Kommunistische* parties—attracted tens of thousands of young people in search for a political home. Yet due to their dogged in-fighting over the right general policy, the incomprehensible turns within this policy (often influenced by turns in Chinese foreign policy) and their disinterest in current political struggles, e. g. for women's emancipation or against nuclear power plants, impeded them from exerting any political influence.[26] More importantly, the *K-Gruppen* were unable to improve the situation of their members; on the contrary, the work for the respective party took up most of the activists' time, with no visible effects in regard to reaching "the masses" or accomplishing short-term political goals.[27]

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24 On Amsterdam see Eric Duivenvoorden, *Een voet tussen de deur. Geschiedenis van de kraakbeweging 1964-1999* (Amsterdam: Arbeiderspers, 2000) and, from a contemporary West-German perspective, Walter Tauber, "Der vergoldete Kuhfuß. Über die Kraaker-Bewegung in Amsterdam," in *Aussteigen oder rebellieren. Jugendliche gegen Staat und Gesellschaft*, edited by Michael Haller (Reinbek: Rowohlt, 1981), 114-134. Publications on the protest movements in Zurich and Berlin are discussed in the respective chapters.

25 "Wohnen zum Nulltarif keine Dauerlösung," *Berliner Morgenpost*, 03.10.1982: 9.

26 An exception was the *Kommunistische Bund*; Michael Steffen, *Geschichten vom Trüffelschwein: Politik und Organisation des Kommunistischen Bundes 1971 bis 1991* (Berlin: Assoziation A, 2002).

27 From a contemporary perspective see the reports of former members of some of the *K-Gruppen* in *Wir warn die stärkste der Partein... Erfahrungsberichte aus der Welt der K-Gruppen* (Berlin: Rotbuch, 1977). Despite its formative effect on a whole generation of political activists, historians have ignored the history of the *K-Gruppen* for a long time. Only recently autobiographies and studies on single organizations have been published. For an autobiographical sketch of the 1970s with a focus on the *Kommunistischer Bund Westdeutschland* (KBW) see Gerd Koenen, *Das rote Jahrzehnt. Unsere kleine deutsche Kulturrevolution 1967-1977* (Köln: Kiepenheuer & Witsch, 2001); on the *Kommunistischer Bund* see Steffen, *Geschichten vom Trüffelschwein*; on

This frustration fueled the emergence of New Social Movements since the late 1970s that tried to combine (largely symbolical) politics with a collective effort to realize "the promises of the cultural revolution of 1968", though without aiming at a socialist society as the ultimate goal.[28] Surrounding various single-issue movements—for peace, the environment, the rights of women, gays, lesbians, migrants—an "alternative milieu" developed.[29] Under the slogan "the personal is political" questions of everyday life came into focus of political activists—questions the *K-Gruppen* had dismissed as *Nebenwidersprüche*, minor contradictions.

Yet not all activists were content with such a retreat into an alternative milieu or, after the founding of the Green Party in 1980, with parliamentary politics. The concept of *autonomy* promised to combine the personal with a more radical political perspective. Italian activists had emphasized the *autonomia* of workers' struggles that took place without being initiated and controlled by organizations like parties and trade-unions.[30] The emphasis on spontaneity and the refusal to engage in larger organizations fit with West German activists' frustration with Maoist cadre organizations. Loose groups of young people, often united through a common style and a preference for "militancy" rather than by an organization or political program, formed the *Autonomen* in opposition to democrats, party communists and alternatives alike.[31]

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the private lives of Maoist cadres, with references to the squatters' movement see Detlef Siegfried, "'Einstürzende Neubauten'. Wohngemeinschaften, Jugendzentren und private Präferenzen kommunistischer 'Kader' als Formen jugendlicher Subkultur," *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte* no. 44 (2004): 39-66. The only comprehensive study on the social and cultural history of the *K-Gruppen* is problematic due to its totalitarian theoretical framework and methodological flaws; Andreas Kühn, *Stalins Enkel, Maos Söhne. Die Lebenswelt der K-Gruppen in der Bundesrepublik der 70er Jahre* (Frankfurt/Main: Campus, 2005).

28 Anselm Doering-Manteuffel and Lutz Raphael, *Nach dem Boom. Perspektiven auf die Zeitgeschichte seit 1970* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2008), 51.

29 Reichardt and Siegfried, "Das Alternative Milieu," 9-24.

30 One of the leading theorists of workers' autonomy (*autonomia operaia*), Antonio Negri, developed the concept further in what has now become known as post-operaism: Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, *Empire* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2000).

31 The term *Autonome* seems to have been used for the first time in connection with the violent clashes between protesters and police during the celebrations of West Germany's 25th anniversary as a member-state of NATO on May 6, 1980, in the city of Bremen. Cf. Bremische Bürgerschaft, "Bericht des parlamentarischen

For the kind of emancipation that the term autonomy promised was not to be gained *within* society—as civil rights and democratization—nor in radical *opposition to* it—either projected into the future ("after the revolution") or in the form of alternative projects. Rather, emancipation was sought after in spaces *beyond* society. "Dropping out" became a slogan, the meaning of which was no longer limited to the taking of drugs or a failure to live up to society's standards; "dropping out" of the traditional social and political structures was also meant to undermine efforts of "the system" to corrupt and reintegrate the movement.[32] A mistrust against every form of organization, radical opposition against the state, violence as a legitimate part of political struggles, and strict references to one's own situation ("first person politics") marked autonomous politics throughout the 1980s.

The squatters' movement combined the New Social Movements' focus on the local with the first person politics and militancy of the *Autonomen* and the experiences that had been gained in the fight for autonomous youth centres. Neither state nor capitalism, neither institutions nor factories lay at the centre of their actions but the attempt to create free spaces for non-conforming youth that would also serve as symbolic and practical interventions into modernist urban policies. With the squatters' movement, the city itself became the object of

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Untersuchungsausschusses zur Untersuchung der Vorgänge im Zusammenhang mit der öffentlichen Gelöbnisveranstaltung von Soldaten der Bundeswehr im Bremer Weserstadion am 6. Mai 1980," *Drucksache 10/261*, 6 July 1980, 59. For a general overview see Thomas Schultze and Almut Gross, *Die Autonomen. Ursprünge, Entwicklung und Profil der autonomen Bewegung* (Hamburg: Konkret Literatur Verlag, 1997), esp. 20-39; Matthias Manrique, *Marginalisierung und Militanz. Jugendliche Bewegungsmilieus im Aufruhr* (Frankfurt/Main: Campus, 1992); Jan Schwarzmeier, *Die Autonomen zwischen Subkultur und sozialer Bewegung* ([Norderstedt]: Books on Demand, 2001). With a focus on squatting: Freia Anders, "Wohnraum, Freiraum, Widerstand. Die Formierung der Autonomen in den Konflikten um Hausbesetzungen Anfang der achtziger Jahre," in Reichardt and Siegfried, *Das Alternative Milieu*, 473-498. From an activist's perspective: Geronimo, *Feuer und Flamme. Zur Geschichte und Gegenwart der Autonomen. Ein Abriß* (Berlin: Edition ID-Archiv, 1990).

32 "Although the aptness of 'postmaterialist' designation can be challenged, such a focus does make movements less susceptible to traditional forms of social control and cooptation by the conventional political system." Steven M. Buechler, *Social Movements in Advanced Capitalism. The Political Economy and Cultural Construction of Social Activism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 47.

political criticism and the means to express political discontent at the same time.

By 1981 meeting places of young heroin users and the numerous squatted houses had thus become visible signifiers of a *city in crisis* that was also a *city of crises*, a socio-geographic space in which various forms of youth deviance were produced, became visible and had to be dealt with.

1.2.2. Heroin and squatters' scene: related phenomena?

Scholars have shown that in contrast to the underground of the 1960s, in which the consumption of illicit drugs (mainly cannabis, LSD, and mescaline) and the wish for social change went hand in hand,[33] by the early 1970s the underground had split up into a political, a soft drug, and a hard drug scene.[34] So were the spaces of young heroin users and of the squatters' scene just simultaneous but otherwise disconnected historical phenomena?

Despite the general separation of political and heroin scene at the end of the 1970s, the different scenes were linked on several levels: by their perception as youth phenomena; by a common social critique of modern urbanity; by their search for adventure; through shared norms and values; by the wish to "drop out" of society; on a personal level (by youth activists and squatters who knew heroin users, were themselves consuming heroin or who had done so at one point in their lives); finally, by sharing the same spaces and the resulting need to organize these spaces accordingly.

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33 In this sense especially Nick Bromell, *Tomorrow Never Knows. Rock and Psychedelics in the 1960s* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 80: "Acid and pot seemed to corroborate their adolescent certainty that they knew, saw, and understood an inner emptiness adults pretended was replete with meaning. What users had earlier felt as an unconscious suspicion or intuition - *that was just a lie* - became, when high or tripping, a verity."

34 Weinhauer, "Polizei und Jugendliche," 80f.; Weinhauer, "The End of Certainties," 383-87; Briesen, *Drogenkonsum*, 288-89, 295-305; Briesen, "Die Drogenwelle in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland in den frühen 70er Jahren. Beispiele, Verallgemeinerungen und ein Blick auf die Post-68er Generation," in Briesen and Weinhauer, *Jugend, Delinquenz und gesellschaftlicher Wandel*, 43-69.

The *first* aspect that connected the different scenes was that of youth. In Zurich activists understood themselves as a youth movement, demands for more funding for youth culture had been the starting point of militant clashes between youth activists and the police. Activists' demands for an autonomous youth centre mirrored the perception of a political struggle in terms of that of a whole generation. But squatting and heroin consumption were also perceived as youth phenomena despite a relatively broad age spectrum in both cases.[35] Youth and deviant behaviour were therefore constituting each other: those who were engaged in the squatters' movement or the heroin scene were, by definition, youth—not in a biological but in a cultural sense.

Youth was (and is), in other words, a social and discursive construction, based less on biological age than on individual behaviour and its evaluation by those considered adults. The category of youth conceals differentiating factors like class, gender, educational background etc. and conceives adolescents as a homogeneous group defined solely by their "lacking adulthood". Youth appear thus as a risk both for themselves and for society and in need of strict guidance on their way to adulthood.[36] Yet what exactly marks the successful transition from child to adult is dependent on a complex set of variables, including legal as well as social norms. In West Germany in 1980 these included the age of majority, i.e. the right to vote and sign legally binding contracts (18 years), the ability to purchase tobacco and alcoholic beverages (16), respectively hard liquor (18), or the right to acquire a driver's license (18). While one was partially responsible for delinquent behaviour from the age of 14, one could expect to be adjudged in accordance with the less harsh criminal law relating to young offenders (*Jugendstrafrecht*) until the age of 18 or even, depending on one's "mental development", until the age of 21. After the reform of the criminal law in 1973, the age of

35 For the heroin scene see p. 46 and footnote 105; for the squatters' scene see section 3.1.4.

36 John Muncie, *Youth & Crime*, 2nd edition (London: Sage, 2004), 10, 34.

consent for heterosexual acts was 14 years for both boys and girls while homosexual acts with men under the age of 18 remained punishable.

Yet "youth" and "adulthood" were not just matters of legal or illegal behaviour; growing up also meant to adopt certain norms and values. In other words, it was not enough to refrain from certain actions until one reached a specified age—not having sexual relationships until the age of 16, for instance—what also mattered were the ways in which one acted once this age had been reached—what kind of relationships one had and with whom. In this case the dividing lines between "youth" and "adult" and between "deviant" and "normal" behaviour were much more difficult to draw. The discourse on youth delinquency and youth deviance thus became one of the sites where society's basic norms and moral values were renegotiated and codified but also where fears about its future could be articulated and possibly mitigated.

Besides youth being the result of adult attributions and object of governmental policies, it was also a means of self-identification. Further weight to contemporary conceptions of heroin and squatting as youth phenomena was added by a cult of youthfulness that was prevalent in both scenes: as an appreciation of youthful determination, courage, and incorruptibility on the side of the squatters and as an ideal of "live fast, die young" on the side of many heroin users.[37] Dwindling chances for upward mobility in view of constantly rising numbers of unemployed youth fuelled both resignation and social protest of young people *as youth*.

But youth was not the only link between squatters and heroin consumers. Both groups were, *second*, driven by a fundamental discomfort with hegemonic urban regimes. The modern city was perceived as a symbol of an encompassing regime of normative values, discipline and control, in which spaces for (deviating) youth were non-existent. On the contrary, the successive mono-functionalist restructuring of city space also created ever more prohibitions

37 Weinhauer, "The End of Certainties," 378.

and attempts to regulate social behaviour in urban space. As contemporary urban theorists put it: "The normative character of urban situations means that surfaces, and urban space in general, become a permanent chance for 'misdemeanor'."[38] Especially youth were confronted with a wide range of "disciplinary regulations of behaviour" regarding ball games in backyards as well as "loitering" in inner-city pedestrian zones. To many youth the city appeared thus as the manifestation of an encompassing normalizing regime.

These sentiments were expressed primarily through metaphors of (social and architectural) coldness. To youth activists in Zurich their city appeared as "Greenland"; in magazines with titles like *Icebreaker* they were writing and fighting against the "ice pack society" surrounding them.[39] Squatters and heroin users alike were searching for "warmth", albeit through different means. While squatters were trying to find this warmth in collective living, others were hoping "to sense euphoric feelings of happiness, warmth and tranquillity" by taking to heroin.[40] Both were understood as possible escapes from the "colonization of *Lebenswelt*"[41] in modern urban society.

Likewise, life in both scenes was, *third*, centred around the search for extraordinary corporeal and emotional experiences in order to oppose the perceived monotony of modern city life. These *teenage kicks* could be found in (individual) drug consumption as well as in (collective) militant actions.[42] The search for adventure can therefore not be dismissed as an

38 "Der normative Charakter städtischer Situationen bedeutet, daß Fläche, Stadtraum schlechthin zu einer permanenten Chance für 'Fehlverhalten' wird. Das Fehlverhalten besteht dann darin, mit seinem Verhalten nicht innerhalb eines Sets von für eine bestimmte Fläche erlaubten Verhaltensweisen geblieben zu sein." H. Grymer, "Stadt als Ort struktureller Gewalt - Jugendkrawalle als Gegenwehr," in *Arch+*, 1982: 41, quoted in Werner Lindner, *Jugendprotest seit den fünfziger Jahren. Dissens und kultureller Eigensinn* (Opladen: Leske & Budrich, 1996), 417.

39 Cf. "Zürich: Das Packeis schmilzt," *Der Spiegel*, 22.12.1980: 44-45. On the emergence of the coldness metaphor see Lindner, *Jugendprotest*, 299.

40 Cf. footnote 581.

41 Jürgen Habermas, *Theorie des kommunikativen Handelns* (Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp, 1981).

42 Schwarzmeier, *Die Autonomen*, 26ff. highlights collective violence and mass actions as a means for *Autonome* to experience a form of intoxication, to create authenticity by bringing oneself in danger, and to provide a

ahistorical feature of youth per se; it was rooted in the perception of modernity (or, more exactly, of the Fordist regime)[43] as monotonous and cold, providing no space for individual lifestyles; and it took forms (drug use, militancy) that had in a way been typical for youth movements since the 1960s. The search for warmth and the search for adventure were thus two sides of the same coin.[44]

Youth in the squatters' and the heroin scene were sharing, *fourth*, some core values around which their life was organized. The search for corporeal and emotional kicks or, more generally, a "radicalization of the experience of the present"[45], was accompanied by a high appreciation of having one's time at one's disposal and generally the ability to be in control of one's own life. This may sound paradoxical in the case of addicts whose life was almost completely determined by the need to procure money for the next dose of heroin. But the loss of self-determination affected only some of the heroin users in the last stage of their "drug career"; the motivation of young people to start consuming drugs was unaffected by what was just one of many possible outcomes.[46] Especially the rejection of (Fordist forms of) wage labour was a common attitude among drug users and squatters alike. Both scenes were also connected through an ideal of masculinity that was based on toughness, aggressiveness, and the willingness to undertake personal risks. In the case of heroin consumers this could mean to

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possibility for identification with the peer group. This thesis of violence as a core element of identity creation has been criticized by Anders, "Wohnraum, Freiraum, Widerstand," esp. 494ff.

43 On the use of the term "Fordism" in this dissertation see section 1.2.3. below.

44 On the related dichotomy of city space and bodies of youth in the perception of the squatters' scene see section 5.2.2.

45 "Radikalisierung der Gegenwartserfahrung", Klaus Gerdes and Christian von Wolffersdorff-Ehlert, *Drogenscene. Suche nach Gegenwart. Ergebnisse teilnehmender Beobachtung in der jugendlichen Drogensubkultur* (Stuttgart 1974), 316, quoted in Weinhauer, "Heroinszenen," 260.

46 "[Heroin consumers] are aggressively pursuing a career that is exacting, challenging, adventurous, and rewarding. They are always on the move and must be alert, flexible, and resourceful. [...] The quest for heroin is a quest for a meaningful life, not an escape from life." Edward Preble, and John J. Casey, "Taking Care of Business - The heroin user's life on the street," *International Journal of the Addictions*, no. 4 (1969): 2; quoted ibid., 244.

"dare" taking harder or more drugs than others,[47] but it fit also with wishes to pursue a successful career as drug dealer. For squatters it was especially in militant street-battles with police that they were able to perform a masculinity based on the ideal of the tough "street-fighter".[48] Finally, members of both scenes appreciated a certain *coolness*, an ideal that was structuring the performances of many youth, regardless of gender or subcultural identification.[49]

Both scenes were, *fifth*, connected by their wish to "drop out" of modern city and society, although the act itself could appear in various forms. In regard to drugs, the idea to "turn on, tune in, drop out" reached back to the 1960s, providing an understanding of "dropping out" primarily in a spiritual or psychological sense. Political activists, on the other hand, had promoted the idea to "drop out" on the *Tunix-Kongress* in Berlin in 1978. Here, activists had proclaimed that they would leave the corporatist/Fordist *Modell Deutschland* and sail away "to the beach of Tunix".[50] Tunix, or Do-Nothing, was a classic utopia—an ideal space without a place—and as such it signified the retreat into an alternative economy and subcultural milieu rather than an actual spatial concept.[51] But by 1980 dropping out could also be understood as the appropriation of new socio-geographic spaces. This is most obvious in the idea of squatted houses as free spaces, but the creation of public scenes of heroin users also included a spatial component, as did trips to popular meeting places of the international drug underground, like West Berlin, Amsterdam, India, or Afghanistan.[52] It is noteworthy that cities like Berlin and

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47 Especially in the early and mid-1970s hashish smokers were derided as "babies" by heroin users. Kai Hermann, Horst Rieck, Christiane F[elscherinow], *Wir Kinder vom Bahnhof Zoo / Christiane F. Nach Tonbandprotokollen aufgeschrieben von Kai Hermann u. Horst Rieck*, 1st ed. (Hamburg: Gruner + Jahr, 1978), 252.

48 Cf. section 5.2.2. On militancy as a means of identification, though without a perspective on gender, see Schwarzmeier, *Die Autonomen*, 26ff.

49 Weinhauer, "Heroinszenen," 260-261.

50 Koordinationsausschuß TUNIX, "Aufruf zur Reise nach Tunix," 1978, APO-Ar, R4, 1135. See also "Treffen in TUNIX. Westberlin 27.-29.1.78. Endgültiges Programm," 1978, APO-Ar, R4, 1135.

51 Geronimo, *Feuer und Flamme*, 68-71; Reichardt and Siegfried, "Das Alternative Milieu," 9-24.

52 Travel descriptions of young heroin users can be found in Heidi S. "'Eigentlich bin ich nur 'ne lebende

Amsterdam (and, to a lesser degree, Zurich) were also important reference points for the political youth movement in general and the squatters' scene in particular. Especially in the Mecca of European alternative youth, the "Christiania Free State" in Copenhagen, the distinction between political, soft and hard drug scene had always been more than fragile.[53]

Here, but also in local youth scenes throughout Western Europe, the *sixth* aspect that was connecting squatters and heroin users became obvious: their personal connectedness. Some squatters were acquainted or even friends with individual heroin users and some were consuming heroin themselves, although further research will be necessary to understand the individual perception of such behaviour. Whether being a heroin-consuming squatter meant that one was seeing oneself as belonging to either, both, or none of the two scenes, would have to be clarified in each case individually. For although the political and drug underground can be (and usually are) described as distinctive scenes, for individuals it was not necessarily a contradiction to be part of both scenes or to switch between the two. Comparing heroin and squatters' scene in the early 1980s reveals that the separation of the two was only one possible result of discursive and spatial practices during the early 1980s.[54]

This becomes most apparent in those cases in which, *seventh*, both scenes were sharing the same spaces. Sometimes both (geographical/architectural) place and (social) space were shared, for example in bars, concert venues or in autonomous youth centres like the *Autonomes Jugendzentrum* (AJZ) in Zurich. Heroin consuming youth had participated in the struggle for the

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Leiche'. Aus dem Tagebuch der Fixerin Heidi S.," *Der Spiegel*, 07.09.1981: 98-112 for Amsterdam; Egartner and Holzbauer, *"Ich hab's nur noch mit Gift geschafft..."*, 116 for India; ibid., 205f. for Afghanistan. See also Many Terzok [Manfred Trezak], *Entzug in Bangkok* (Berlin: Freitag, 1982) for an account of a heroin addict from Berlin about his (unsuccessful) attempt of withdrawal in a Buddhist monastery in Thailand.

53 "Christiania," in *The Dictionary of Alternatives. Utopianism and Organization*, edited by Martin Parker, Valérie Fournier, and Patrick Reedy (London: Zed Books, 2007), 43-44; Michael Haller, "Das Dorf in der Stadt. Über 'Christiania' in Kopenhagen," in *Aussteigen oder rebellieren. Jugendliche gegen Staat und Gesellschaft*, edited by Michael Haller (Reinbek: Rowohlt, 1981), 135-155.

54 These aspects will be explored throughout chapter 4. and in section 5.1..

AJZ and it was not until its use by drug-consuming and drug-free youth had to be organized that conflicts between the two groups arose. In other instances, different social spaces existed at the same site, for example when heroin users were inhabiting apartments in a squatted house otherwise inhabited by "drug-free" squatters. Still, in these instances heroin users *were* squatters and they were constituting one of several sub-groups of the heterogeneous squatters' scene.

In contrast to all previous studies I will therefore treat heroin and squatters' scenes as strongly interrelated and sometimes intersecting phenomena. Both drug consumption and squatting appear as possible strategies of youth to "drop out" of the hegemonic order and to create new spaces for themselves. The separation of drug and political youth scene and its relation to changing governmental technologies can thereby also be described as a process that was not completed by the early 1970s but lasted well into the 1980s. This approach promises new insights into the governance of youth and into the different ways non-conforming youth reacted to these governmental technologies.

1.2.3. The crisis of Fordism and the emergence of societies of control

By addressing a profound crisis of society, urban space and youth in the late 1970s and early 1980s this study is engaged in two larger current debates in historiography and social sciences. The first debate concerns an assumed transformation process, or "structural break", in industrial societies since the economic crisis of 1973/74. The second academic discourse relates to the introduction of new governmental technologies since the early 1980s, a development that some scholars view as a fundamental shift from "societies of discipline" to "societies of control".

So far I have described scenes of young squatters and heroin users as aspects of or symbols for a more encompassing crisis in the 1970s and early 1980s, namely that of the city

and of a social order that was experienced as cold and constricting. While contemporary youth understood this social order through metaphors like "ice-pack society" or simply "the state", it is necessary to further clarify which social order, which historic formation had come into crisis and had been called into question. The experience of crisis touched upon many facets of this order—from the organization of industrial production to the rise of consumerism, a social policy grounded in the welfare state and urban restructuring processes according to modernist principles. Throughout this study I will use the term of a *Fordist regime* to capture all these different aspects. The concept of a hegemonic Fordist regime that was underlying the organization of the economic and socio-political sphere is more comprehensive than, for example, "high modernism" or "late capitalism" (and less teleologically loaded) and at the same time more precise than terms such as "industrialism" or "age of extremes". Fordism in this sense denotes therefore a historical epoch that lasted from the end of the Second World War until the mid-1970s.[55]

Fordism means first and foremost a regime of production that was characterized by industrial mass production and mass consumption which went along with steadily rising salaries under the condition of steady economic growth. Based on a historic compromise between state, Capital, and Labour,[56] the "golden age"[57] of Fordism saw an expansion of social benefits to most parts of society, whether in the form of social insurance systems or higher education. "Progress", in the form of constant rationalization and the introduction of more and more standards in production processes, promised a future of never-ending growth and security. Whereas the rise of mass manufacturing since the 1920s had seen the standardization

55 On "Fordism as *Epochenbegriff*" and its use in historiography and social sciences see Rüdiger Hachtmann. "Fordismus, Version 1.0" *Docupedia-Zeitgeschichte*, 27.10.2011, http://docupedia.de/zg/Fordismus (accessed 14 January 2013), who sees a third wave of *Fordisierung* since 1948/49.

56 Doering-Manteuffel and Raphael, *Nach dem Boom*, 21.

57 Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Extremes. A History of the World, 1914-1991* (New York: Vintage Books, 1996), 223-400.

of the production process (Taylorism), with the consumer societies of the 1960s the standardized products of this process were now available to the masses. Soon, rationalization and standardization appeared as desirable guiding principles for society in general. Under the umbrella term "modernization" they became a "leitmotif for the decade from 1964/65 to 1973/75".[58] This project of modernization demanded a strong state, as such a huge "capitalist social utopia"[59] could not be left to the particular interests of individual social groups. Assisted by experts, it was the role of the state to plan and control the transformation of society. As the historians Doering-Manteuffel and Raphael put it, "it was the hour of global regulation."[60]

Regulation and standardization also fit with modernist principles of urban planning. In huge infrastructural projects, initiated and controlled by local governmental institutions, urban space was reshaped according to "rational", "modern" norms. Residential, commercial and industrial areas were to be clearly separated.[61] The buildings themselves were also standardized, the design of apartments was oriented towards the ideal image of the nuclear family. From the city itself to the design of a kitchen, virtually all aspects of life were being rationalized.

But in the early 1970s this hegemonic model came under scrutiny. The petrol shock and world economic crisis of 1973/74 confirmed "the limits to growth" and foreshadowed the end of the welfare state.[62] The negative ecological effects of the Fordist project were discussed widely and fit with the experience of modernist city space as an uninhabitable environment. Terrorist attacks, from the *Brigate Rosse* to *Rote Armee Fraktion* to the *Irish Republican Army*, and

58 "Modernisierung wurde zum Leitbegriff des Jahrzehnts von 1964/65 bis 1973/75." Doering-Manteuffel and Raphael, *Nach dem Boom*, 22.

59 "Als Schlagwort mutierte der 'Fordismus' schließlich zu einer Gesellschaftsvision, zu einer kapitalistischen Sozialutopie, die Krisenfreiheit und Wohlstand für alle versprach […]." Hachtmann, "Fordismus".

60 "Die Stunde der Globalsteuerung kam." Doering-Manteuffel and Raphael, *Nach dem Boom*, 22.

61 Cf. p. 12. These aspects will be discussed in more detail in section 3.1.1.

62 Donella H. Meadows, ed., *The Limits to Growth. A Report for the Club of Rome's Project on the Predicament of Mankind* (New York: Universe Books, 1972); the German translation was published the following year.

the rise of New Social Movements challenged the power of the state and led to a debate on a possible ungovernability (*Unregierbarkeit*) of modern societies.[63] Both economically and politically the bases of Fordism were shaken; disillusionment and insecurity spread among its protagonists.[64] The idea of a strong state that would both modernize society and provide (social and political) security lost much of its credibility. In view of the exploding costs of social security systems economists like Milton Friedman started to demand their liquidation. To the mentors of the neoliberal project the Fordist state appeared as the contrary of (economic) freedom, initiative and individual responsibility.[65]

But the Fordist welfare state was also opposed "from below".[66] The standardized utopia of Fordism was successively experienced as constricting and many, especially youth, demanded spaces (both in a social and geographical sense) for individual freedom and diverging life concepts. The welfare state was viewed more and more as a "technocratic-centralistic modernization agency" and, in combination with Capital and progress, became the main object of critique of the New Social Movements of the 1970s and 1980s.[67] With the emergence of the squatters' movement, the city became the site and object of this radical critique: squatters countered the Fordist regime of urban redevelopment and social engineering with grass-roots actions in an attempt to intervene into urban politics and to create spaces that allowed for self-fulfilment beyond hegemonic norms. Against the functionalist separation of city space they

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63 Gerd-Klaus Kaltenbrunner, *Der überforderte schwache Staat. Sind wir noch regierbar?* (München: Herder, 1975); Wilhelm Hennis, ed., *Regierbarkeit: Studien zu ihrer Problematisierung*, 2 volumes (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1977-1979).

64 Tim Schanetzky, *Die große Ernüchterung. Wirtschaftspolitik, Expertise und Gesellschaft in der Bundesrepublik 1966 bis 1982* (Berlin: Akademie, 2007).

65 Milton Friedman, *Capitalism and Freedom* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962). Milton Friedman was awarded the Nobel Memorial Prize in Economic Sciences in 1976.

66 On the dynamic interplay of anti-Fordist critique by elites and social movements see now Armin Kuhn, *Freiräume in der neoliberalen Stadt. Besetzungen, städtische Konflikte und Stadterneuerung in Berlin und Barcelona* (PhD diss., Universität Potsdam, 2013), esp. ch. 3.

67 Doering-Manteuffel and Raphael, *Nach dem Boom*, 33.

promoted the mixed-use neighbourhoods that had been or were about to be destroyed by infrastructural projects. As standardization of urban space and society went hand in hand, with their demand for a non-standardized urban environment squatters also demanded space (in a double sense) for individualistic life concepts that did not fit into the Fordist model.

With a growing critique of the strong role of the welfare state from economic elites and protest movements alike, the 1980s brought an end to the "planning euphoria" of the previous decades.[68] The historians Anselm Doering-Manteuffel and Lutz Raphael have claimed that this crisis of Fordism marks a "*structural break* which brought with it *social change of revolutionary quality*".[69] In this interpretation the 1970s appear as a time in which the former hegemonic model has come into a crisis and was no longer able to provide convincing solutions to social problems. During the 1980s and 1990s, the new project of neoliberalism, with its preference of the market over the state and an emphasis on individuality and diverse life-concepts, would eventually become hegemonic.

It is debatable to what degree this "structural break" can be witnessed in different industrial countries and whether it really affected all aspects of society,[70] whether it was really a "break" or part of an ongoing process of changes within a Fordist/modernist policy.[71] The

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68 Dirk van Laak, "Planung, Planbarkeit, Planungseuphorie," *Docupedia-Zeitgeschichte*, version 1.0, 16.02.2010, http://docupedia.de/zg/Planung (accessed 28 December 2012).

69 "[...] *Strukturbruch*, der *sozialen Wandel von revolutionärer Qualität* mit sich gebracht hat." Doering-Manteuffel and Raphael, *Nach dem Boom*, 10, original emphases.

70 Jan-Henrik Friedrichs and Hanno Balz, "Individualität und Revolte im neoliberalen Aufbruch. Annäherungen an eine Kultur- und Sozialgeschichte europäischer Protestbewegungen der 1980er Jahre," in "*All We Ever Wanted..." Eine Kulturgeschichte europäischer Protestbewegungen der 1980er Jahre*, edited by Hanno Balz and Jan-Henrik Friedrichs (Berlin: Dietz, 2012), 16-21.

71 On the current debate see Andreas Wirsching, "The 1970s and 1980s as a Turning Point in European History?" *Journal of Modern European History* 9, no. 1 (2011): 8-26 and the reviews of *Nach dem Boom* in *sehepunkte* 9, no. 5 (2009); from a gender perspective: Julia Paulus, "Die Bundesrepublik aus geschlechterhistorischer Perspektive," in *Zeitgeschichte als Geschlechtergeschichte. Neue Perspektiven auf die Bundesrepublik*, edited by Julia Paulus, Eva-Maria Silies, and Kerstin Wolff (Frankfurt/Main: Campus, 2012), 15ff.

concept has also rightfully been criticized for emphasizing the changes while neglecting the continuities.[72] Nevertheless, the study of drug use and social protest indicates that such a break did occur in many European societies—at least in regard to youth deviance. Although continuities did exist—from drug legislation to the student protests of 1968—the break becomes more tangible when we understand Fordism also as a set of normalizing and disciplinary technologies.

Although standardization has been described as a main aspect of the Fordist regime, the term does not fully catch the role of normalization in regard to youth and to urban space that was at stake. As the emergence of heroin and squatters' scenes as spaces for non-conforming, individualistic, deviant, rebellious youth is at the centre of this study, the crisis of Fordism also needs to be described in terms of a crisis of a *disciplinary and normalizing regime*.

In *Discipline and Punish* Foucault has argued that modern societies installed disciplinary technologies to produce "docile bodies" that were suitable for the modern, industrial era.[73] Space played a crucial role in the creation and improvement of these individual bodies. The new disciplinary technologies were embodied through the "art of distributions" of bodies in space, especially in such institutions as the school, the military, or the factory.[74] Bodies were enclosed (in barracks, colleges etc.), partitioned, assigned to specific, monitored places, and ranked. Individual bodies and spaces were constituting each other and formed the base of an ideal social order.[75]

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72 For example by Christoph Boyer, "Rezension von: Anselm Doering-Manteuffel / Lutz Raphael: Nach dem Boom. Perspektiven auf die Zeitgeschichte seit 1970, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 2008," *sehepunkte* 9, no. 5 (2009).

73 Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 136ff.

74 Ibid., 141ff.

75 "In organizing 'cells', 'places' and 'ranks', the disciplines create complex spaces that are at once architectural, functional and hierarchical. It is spaces that provide fixed positions and permit circulation; they carve out individual segments and establish operational links; they mark places and indicate values; they guarantee the

The disciplines[76] created a mass of individual bodies, bodies that had to be subjected to constant coercion in order to improve them, make them more efficient, to adjust them to hegemonic norms. Disciplinary techniques were complementing the punishment as a way to ensure this subjection. Both techniques, disciplines and punishment, were thus complementary means to ensure the same goal: the normalization of the individuals. In modern societies, Foucault argued, "the whole indefinite domain of the nonconforming is punishable."[77] Disciplinary spaces—schools, barracks, prisons—were a means and a result of this historic process.

Although in his later works Foucault emphasized the growing importance of security over discipline,[78] this does not mean that disciplinary technologies, institutions and spaces had been replaced. Rather, they were now understood as complementing other technologies of governance in what Foucault called "apparatuses of security".[79] Besides disciplinary institutions, urban space itself could now come into focus as a site of surveillance, designed, in the words of Edward Soja, "to impose a particular model of conduct and disciplinary adherence on its inhabitants".[80]

Although the disciplines did not vanish, Foucault spoke of "the disciplinary society in

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obedience of the individuals, but also a better economy of time and gesture. They are mixed spaces: real because they govern the disposition of buildings, rooms, furniture, but also ideal, because they are projected over this arrangement of characterizations, assessments, hierarchies." Ibid., 148.

76 Under the term "disciplines" Foucault subsumed a range of techniques: the distribution of bodies in enclosed spaces, the control of activities, the organisation of education in chronological series and the composition of these elements. The means to train the newly created "docile bodies" include their surveillance, normalizing judgement and examination.

77 Ibid., 178.

78 Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality. An Introduction* (New York: Vintage Books, 1990); Michel Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population. Lectures at the Collège de France, 1977-78*, transl. by Graham Burchell (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).

79 Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population*.

80 Edward W. Soja, "Heterotopologies: A Remembrance of Other Spaces in the Citadel-LA," in *Postmodern Cities and Spaces*, edited by Sophie Watson and Katherine Gibson (Oxford: Blackwell, 1995), 29.

crisis" in 1978: "The discipline which was so effective in sustaining power lost some of its efficiency. In the industrialized countries discipline comes into crisis. […] It is obvious, that we must part with the disciplinary society of today."[81] This idea of a crisis of disciplinary society at the end of the 1970s has later been taken up by Gilles Deleuze. In his *Postscript on the Societies of Control* he argued that it was especially the "environments of enclosure—prison, hospital, factory, school, family"—that were in crisis.[82] The disciplinary societies were about to be replaced by "societies of control" that "no longer function through internment but through incessant control".[83] Deleuze's formulation of the replacement of discipline through control has provoked much criticism.[84] As Jürgen Mümken has argued, technologies of internment in disciplinary institutions have not been replaced but *complemented* by "new forms of foreclosure respectively discursive exclusion".[85]

Although this study is not concerned with a history of disciplinary institutions, contemporary lamentations about the decline of the nuclear family and other moral institutions, protests against children's homes and youth centres[86], the discomfort with the

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81 "Die Disziplin, die so effizient war, um die Macht aufrechtzuerhalten, verlor einen Teil ihrer Wirksamkeit. In den industrialisierten Ländern gerät die Disziplin in die Krise. […] Es ist jedoch evident, dass wir uns in Zukunft von der Disziplinargesellschaft von heute trennen müssen." Michel Foucault, "Die Disziplinargesellschaft in der Krise," in *Schriften in vier Bänden. Dits et Ecrits, Band III, 1976-1979* (Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp, 2003), 672f.

82 Gilles Deleuze, "Postscript on the Societies of Control," *October* 59, no. 1 (1992): 3.

83 "Wir treten ein in Kontrollgesellschaften, die nicht mehr durch Internierung funktionieren, sondern durch unablässige Kontrolle und unmittelbare Kommunikation." Gilles Deleuze, "Kontrolle und Werden," in *Unterhandlungen: 1972-1990* (Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp, 1993), 250.

84 Cf. Jürgen Mümken, *Die Ordnung des Raumes. Foucault, Bio-Macht, Kontrollgesellschaft und die Transformation des Raumes*, 2nd ed. (Lich: Edition AV, 2012), 158ff.

85 "Die einschließende Unterwerfung der Individuen in den Disziplinargesellschaften über die Institutionen Familie, Schule, Fabrik etc., wird durch neue Formen der Ausschließung bzw. diskursiver Ausgrenzung ergänzt." Cf. ibid., 161.

86 The German term *Jugendzentrum* denotes a space for free-time activities and is therefore not comparable with the English "youth centre" whose German equivalent would be a *Kinder*- or *Jugendheim*. In the following, "youth centre" refers to *Jugendzentrum* while "children's home" refers to the institution of enclosure for maladjusted children and youth. On protest against children's homes see Matthias Almstedt and Barbara Munkwitz, *Ortsbestimmung der Heimerziehung. Geschichte, Bestandsaufnahme, Entwicklungstendenzen* (Weinheim: Beltz,

organization of urban space and the emergence of new sites of youth deviance indeed seem to indicate a profound crisis of disciplinary society and the spaces it produced. The creation of "free" and autonomous spaces by youth can thus be understood as oppositional practices against a normalizing regime: both heroin and squatters' scene provided an escape from the grasp of disciplinary institutions, especially children's homes. And by adopting the lifestyle and values that were predominant in these scenes youth also turned their backs to the factory as a space and an institution that produced disciplined, Fordist subjects.[87] (Fordist forms of) labour and its refusal figured prominently in the discourses about squatting and heroin use alike.

Yet the emergence of new spaces of youth deviance also created new technologies to govern deviant behaviour. Understanding deviance as a matter of public urban space allowed for the policing of large groups of youth rather than (or in addition to) disciplining them individually. One of the questions that will guide the analysis of discourses about and practices at these new spaces of deviance is therefore: can the emergence of new spaces of youth deviance around 1980 and the "territorialization of the social"[88] be understood as a signifier of a more profound shift from disciplinary societies to societies of control? And if that was the case: how did space itself change its character? What kind of spaces did non-conforming youth and the technologies to control these youth produce?

The focus on urban space as a site of crisis, protest, and governance in the 1970s and

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1982); with a regional focus on Westphalia: Markus Köster and Thomas Küster, eds., *Zwischen Disziplinierung und Integration. Das Landesjugendamt als Träger öffentlicher Jugendhilfe in Westfalen und Lippe (1924-1999)* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1999). See also Ulrike Meinhof, *Bambule. Fürsorge - Sorge für wen?* (1971; repr., Berlin: Wagenbach, 2009).

87 Mareike Teigeler has emphasized the interconnectedness of the transition from Fordist to Post-Fordist societies and from disciplinary to control societies. Mareike Teigeler, *Unbehagen als Widerstand. Fluchtlinien der Kontrollgesellschaft bei Helmuth Plessner und Gilles Deleuze* (Bielefeld: Transcript, 2011), footnote 35.

88 Bob Jessop, "Raum, Ort und Maßstäbe. Territorialisierungsstrategien in postfordistischen Gesellschaften," in *Territorialisierung des Sozialen. Regieren über soziale Nahräume*, edited by Fabian Kessl and Hans-Uwe Otto (Opladen: Barbara Budrich, 2007), 25-55.

1980s opens a perspective on contemporary history that allows it to combine otherwise separated analytical frameworks. The city as an object of critique and a signifier of a more profound social crisis hints at what Döring-Manteuffel and Raphael have called a "structural break" since the mid-1970s. The end of the planning euphoria in regard to urban space and social order becomes apparent in the wide-spread uneasiness with urban redevelopment and the initial success of the squatters' movement. But the emergence of this urban space as a site and means to govern youth deviance—and to thereby manage some of the effects of the crisis of Fordism—also points towards another shift, that from disciplinary to control societies. Youth created spaces in order to evade the normalizing regime that was structuring society and that became manifest in urban space. These spaces were in turn used as an object of new technologies of control that supplemented earlier strategies to discipline non-conforming youth.

1.2.4. Conceiving space as an object of historiography

For a long time, historians have privileged time over space. While in time there was change, space was conceived as an empty and unchanging container, an empty space that was populated, perceived and used by people. This notion of space has come under scrutiny in the past two decades and scholars have highlighted the dynamic aspects of space. Especially the work of Henri Lefebvre has informed what might be termed a post-structuralist current in the history of spaces.

To Lefebvre, "(social) space is a (social) product" and as such open to historic analysis.[89] Based on his conceptions and in accordance with Michel de Certeau's theory of everyday practices, I understand space as "a practiced place".[90] In this sense space is, *first*, the result of

89 Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991), 26.

90 Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 117.

manifold *social practices*. Bodies are not distributed in space but actively create and shape spaces. In the context of this study this means that youth did not simply meet at already existing spaces but created spaces by meeting at certain geographical places and that the character of these new spaces was determined by their concrete practices (and that of the police). These newly created spaces did in turn structure the social practices of the subjects.[91] Such a perspective shifts the focus of analysis away from the sites of youth deviance ("where?") towards the interplay between space and subjects ("how?"). Space thus appears as a process rather than as a static order.

Space is also, *second*, the product of *discursive representations*.[92] Whether a neighbourhood is conceived as dangerous or liveable, whether it becomes the object of fear or identification, is often less grounded in the practices of its inhabitants but in discursive constructions of this neighbourhood and the attribution of meaning to this space. A neighbourhood (or any other spatial ensemble) is therefore not just perceived in a certain way, but it is discursively brought into existence in the first place: its borders are not determined by geographical-architectural features, its character not exclusively defined by the behaviour of its inhabitants, although both have to be integrated into discursive representations of space. In the words of sociologist Martina Löw: "Thus the constitution of space [*Raum*] also systematically produces places [*Orte*], just as places are necessary for the formation of space."[93] It is therefore necessary to scrutinize the discursive practices that brought the spaces of youth deviance into life and to look closely at the emotions, hopes and dreams with which youth themselves invested these spaces.

Besides being the result of social practices and discursive representations, spaces exist,

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91 Martina Löw, *Raumsoziologie* (Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp, 2001), 166-172.

92 Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 33-40.

93 "Die Konstitution von Raum bringt damit systematisch auch Orte hervor, so wie Orte die Entstehung von Raum erst möglich machen." Löw, *Raumsoziologie*, 198.

third, only in terms of a *relational order* that include bodies, things, and all other spaces.[94] For a space can only be created by drawing (discursive) borders to its surroundings; a border that is at the same time delimiting and a contact zone. In the context of spaces of youth deviance the creation of such spaces always went together with the creation of spaces of normalcy. And just as the spaces of normalcy and deviance could not exist without each other, the drawing of borders between the two always created the transgression of this border: the deviant was always threatening to invade the normal—and vice versa.[95] How, then, did space, youth, normalcy and deviance mutually constitute each other? What were the "counter-sites" to these spaces of—depending on the perspective—deviance or rebellion?

The analysis of heroin scenes and squatted houses around 1980 shows that both were conceived as such counter-sites to the hegemonic order with strong dystopian/utopian notions. This idea of a limited number of clearly distinguishable spaces that were totally different from their surroundings can be found on the side of police, politicians, and press—to whom these spaces appeared as those of a lawless, chaotic, deviant and threatening Other—but also on the side of youth for whom these spaces were liberated islands that stood in stark contrast to the constricting social order around them. If these spaces were seen as entirely different—what were the utopian/dystopian spaces and orders to which they were assumed to be counter-sites?

The notion of utopian/dystopian counter-sites, of spaces that are identified primarily through their being in contrast to all other sites, corresponds with what Michel Foucault has

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94 "Our epoch is one in which space takes for us the form of relations among sites." Foucault, "Of Other Spaces": 23. See also Löw, *Raumsoziologie*, 147-150.

95 Cf. Peter Stallybrass and Allon White, *The Politics and Poetics of Transgression* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1986); Judith R. Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight. Narratives of Sexual Danger in Late-Victorian London* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992).

called *heterotopias* or "other spaces".[96] These "other spaces" are "entirely different" from all other sites, yet in contrast to the placeless utopia, heterotopias can be located in the real world: "Places of this kind are outside of all places, even though it may be possible to indicate their location in reality."[97] They are "real places [...] which are something like counter-sites, a kind of effectively enacted utopia in which the real sites, all the other real sites that can be found within the culture, are simultaneously represented, contested, and inverted."[98] Two main characteristics of heterotopia can thus be distinguished: they exist in the real world and can be located at concrete places; and they exist only in relation to other spaces to which they appear as counter-sites.

Foucault further differentiated between crisis heterotopias which he located in "so-called primitive societies" (spaces for adolescents or menstruating women)[99] and heterotopias of deviation, under which he subsumed spaces of disciplinary institutions like psychiatric hospitals and prisons.[100] Besides separating individuals who were deviating from social norms from the rest of society, the function of heterotopia lay in its relation to all other spaces:

> This function unfolds between two extreme poles. Either their role is to create a space of illusion that exposes every real space, all the sites inside of which human life is partitioned, as still more illusory [...]. Or else, on the contrary, their role is to create a space that is other, another real space, as perfect, as meticulous, as well arranged as ours is messy, ill constructed, and jumbled.[101]

Heterotopias speak therefore of the norms, values and ideals that form the basis of a

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96 Foucault, "Of Other Spaces": 22-27.

97 Ibid.: 24.

98 Ibid.

99 "In the so-called primitive societies, there is a certain form of heterotopia that I would call crisis heterotopias, i.e., there are privileged or sacred or forbidden places, reserved for individuals who are, in relation to society and to the human environment in which they live, in a state of crisis: adolescents, menstruating women, pregnant women, the elderly, etc. In our society, these crisis heterotopias are persistently disappearing, though a few remnants can still be found. For example, the boarding school, in its nineteenth-century form, or military service for young men, have certainly played such a role, as the first manifestations of sexual virility were in fact supposed to take place 'elsewhere' than at home." Ibid.

100 Ibid.: 25.

101 Ibid.: 27.

society. Looking at heroin and squatters' scenes as heterotopic spaces at society's margins promises therefore new insights into the fundamental order of this society's centre.

Although the concept of heterotopia has been criticized as "frustratingly incomplete, inconsistent, incoherent"[102], its enormous impact in various academic fields—from history to arts to geography—is undeniable.[103] In contrast to other scholars I am not primarily interested in the question whether or not certain spaces, in this case those of heroin and squatters' scene, can be classified as heterotopias in the Foucauldian sense. Rather, I will use it as a concept to describe contemporary assumptions about these spaces. Heterotopia thereby becomes a way to denote a specific mode of thinking space. In other words: not only did youth, press and police create spaces of/for non-conforming youth, but they conceived them in a way that corresponds with the concept of heterotopia. These sites were imagined as totally different, but it is the task of critical historiographical analysis to deconstruct the notion of dichotomous and utterly different spaces itself.[104] Instead of asking if these spaces *actually were heterotopias*, I seek to understand the role of spaces that *were imagined as heterotopias* in governing youth, youth rebellion and social transformation. Used in such a way, the concept of heterotopia, despite its inconsistencies, can become a powerful tool to understand contemporary attributions to and functions of spaces of squatters and heroin users in the 1980s.[105]

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102 Edward W. Soja, *Thirdspace. Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real-and-Imagined Places* (Cambridge: Blackwell, 1996), 162. See also Benjamin Genocchio, "Discourse, Discontinuity, Difference: The Question of 'Other' Spaces," in Watson and Gibson, *Postmodern Cities and Spaces*, 35-46.

103 For a bibliography see Peter Johnson, "Bibliography," Heterotopian Studies. Michel Foucault's ideas on heterotopia, http://www.heterotopiastudies.com/bibliography (accessed 27 December 2012).

104 This position has been supported most strongly by feminist scholars. Doreen Massey, *Space, Place and Gender* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1994), 10. See also Soja, *Thirdspace*, 60-70.

105 "As with Lefebvre's notion of heterotopy, there is a teasing play of differences, but without the logic of contradiction, or negative dialectic, or any consequent utopic formulation. They offer no resolution or consolation, but disrupt and test our customary notions of ourselves. These different spaces, which contest forms of anticipatory utopianism, hold no promise or space of liberation. With different degrees of relational intensity, heterotopias glitter and clash in their incongruous variety, illuminating a passage for our imagination." Peter Johnson, "Unravelling Foucault's 'different spaces'," *History of the Human Sciences* 19, no. 4

1.2.5. Thesis outline

In the first chapter I will use the case of young heroin users to illustrate the process of spatialization of youth deviance. In a first step I will show why and how heroin use became a symbol for the profound crisis of the Fordist regime in the 1970s. As such, it was translated into a problem of order in public urban space, in an attempt to render heroin use and social crises less threatening. The practice of heroin users to meet at public places and to thereby constitute visible heroin scenes and its interpretation as spatial symptoms of a crisis paved the way to govern heroin in and through urban space. Two complementary developments will elucidate these processes: first, I will show how heroin use was symbolically contained through discursive constructions of single meeting places as heterotopias of deviation. This symbolic containment was complemented by practices of policing of open heroin scenes in urban space.

The second chapter deals with squatted houses as spaces of non-conforming youth. In contrast to the first chapter now the perspective of youth themselves comes into focus. After a short history of the Berlin squatters' scene and the related press discourse, squatting as an emotional and social practice will come under scrutiny. I will show how different groups of squatters used the squatted space differently, related the squatted houses to different spatial orders and ultimately created different kinds of "free spaces". This idea of free spaces was also experienced as a possibility to create whole liberated territories on a district level. While heroin scenes were perceived (from the "outside") as heterotopias of deviation, the spaces of the squatters' scene were seen (from the "inside") as heterotopias of liberation and rebellion.

Spaces of politically active youth and of heroin users were not necessarily located at different geographical sites. As the example of the autonomous youth centre (AJZ) in Zurich in chapter three shows, the use of the same space by different groups of youth who

(2006): 75-90.

understood themselves as an opposition to the hegemonic order, brought with it severe problems. To solve these problems, activists of the AJZ installed a room dedicated to the use of heroin within the AJZ. It was the attempt to react to governmental policies to spatialize drug use and to disperse drug users from public urban spaces by providing a safe haven for young heroin users. Informational campaigns to keep the misery of these drug users visible show the potential but also the difficulty to react to new forms of governance and control without accepting urban space as the only field to deal with problems of marginalised youth.

In those instances where activists fully adopted a spatial logic, their radical opposition missed its mark and their spaces turned into sites of stagnation rather than liberation. This is shown in chapter four for the West German squatters' scene and its treatment of conflicts about drug use and gender roles. Based on the idea of squatted houses as liberated heterotopias, social differences and problems among squatters could not be solved within an assumed "free space". In contrast to Zurich, heroin users were constructed as alien and a danger to the squatters' scene and consequentially excluded. Similar notions can be witnessed in regard to gender: although conflicts about gender roles were present in the squatted houses right from the beginning, the idea of liberation through "other" spaces offered no solution to these conflicts. Further self-segregation into women's spaces or the exclusion of individuals from squatters' spaces were the only possible choices for activists that had fully adopted a spatialized understanding of the social.

2. Governing (through) spaces of heroin consumption

> *Conflicts were necessary (in particular, conflicts over urban space [...]) in order for the proletariat to be granted a body and a sexuality; economic emergencies had to arise […]; lastly, there had to be established a whole technology of control which made it possible to keep that body and sexuality [...] under surveillance […].*
> *– Michel Foucault, History of Sexuality*[106]

Underneath the historic *Hauptwache* plaza in the city of Frankfurt exists a peculiar ensemble of spaces: a mixture of subway station, pedestrian zone and shopping arcade, the "B-level" is the true result of modernist city planning. While the surface was remodelled to suit the needs of motorized traffic, people could travel from dormitory towns at the fringes of the city to its consumerist centre by using the subway. The modernity of this concept was even underlined rather than contradicted by the absence of sunlight and the illumination of the vast concrete tunnels with artificial lights. Yet those citizens who were strolling the "B-level" in the summer of 1971 were confronted with a disturbing, non-intended use of this arcade. According to a report in the weekly news-magazine *Der Spiegel*, "flower-hippies and pavement artists" were sojourning there "from dawn until midnight" to consume illegalized drugs. "Many are shooting up [*fixen*] and smoking dope in the open public", *Der Spiegel* reported with indignation.[107] Drug consumption was not an entirely new topic in 1971 for the West German public,[108] but here it happened in plain sight and unexpectedly:

> Barely bothered by the occasional two-men patrol or police raid, before the eyes of partly shocked, partly fascinated passers-by, they are strapping their wrists with colourful

106 Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, 126.

107 "Alte Sehnsucht," *Der Spiegel*, 16.08.1971: 51.

108 *Der Spiegel* had published a cover story on the "hard drug wave" a year earlier. At the same time the left-wing *Konkret* had published a series in three parts on heroin use. "Hoher Preis," *Der Spiegel*, 10.08.1970: 38-53; "Welle der harten Drogen. Konkret-Report: Rauschgift in Deutschland I," *Konkret*, no. 14 (1970): 21-25; "Trip in den Tod. Konkret-Report: Rauschgift in Deutschland II," *Konkret*, no. 17 (1970): 55-56; "Mit Heroin auf Horrortrip. Konkret-Report: Rauschgift in Deutschland III," *Konkret*, no. 18 (1970): 42-46.

> ribbons and pushing the drug syringes into the veins—on stairs or in telephone boxes from which guileless users are driven away under threats.[109]

The scene described was evidence of historical change. The "flower-hippies" of the 1960s were still there and so was the public consumption of cannabis and LSD. Yet the symbols of the counter-cultural underground in which drug use had been understood as a mind-expanding and rebellious experience had undergone a significant change: the colourful ribbons had ceased to signify the lust for living and were instead used in the act of injecting heroin, whose German designation as *Rauschgift*, or "intoxicating poison", evoked a notion of death rather than life. Media and general public witnessed the shooting-up of heroin with an unsettling mixture of fascination and fear, lust and angst.

The report by *Der Spiegel* exemplifies many of the facets that would dominate the drug discourse of the 1970s and 1980s, which will be discussed throughout the following chapter. Heroin use was, *first*, discussed as a problem of public urban spaces. Two worlds, that of orderly citizens and that of drug users, were colliding in the same place. Drug users were also using the easily accessible "B-level" as a site of consumption, yet their needs collided with that of "ordinary" consumers. Drug users did not use public places to stroll from shop to shop but rather, to sojourn there. Telephone boxes were used to prepare and inject freshly acquired heroin in relative peace. The topic of heroin use urgently needed to be addressed partly because it created conflicts about the proper use of public urban spaces.

These conflicts were fuelled by the conspicuous character of the heroin scene. One of the

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109 "Viele fixen und haschen in aller Öffentlichkeit. In der 'B-Ebene' unter der historischen Frankfurter Hauptwache beispielsweise, als Fußgänger-Zentrum, U-Bahn-Station und Einkaufsetage täglich von Tausenden frequentiert, geben sich vom Morgengrauen bis Mitternacht Blumen-Hippies und Pflastermaler ein Stelldichein bei Hasch und LSD.
Kaum behelligt von gelegentlichen Zwei-Mann-Streifen oder Razzien, schnüren sie sich vor den Augen der teils schockierten, teils faszinierten Passanten die Handgelenke mit bunten Bändern ab und stoßen sich die Drogenspritzen in die Venen – auf Treppenstufen oder in Telephonzellen, aus denen arglose Benutzer zuweilen unter Drohungen vertrieben werden." "Alte Sehnsucht," *Der Spiegel*, 16.08.1971: 51-52.

main problems of heroin use was, *second*, the visibility of those who were engaged in this practice. The heroin users' greatest affront was not that they were breaking the law, but that they were doing it in public, in view of passers-by and even the police. The visibility was further enhanced by the negative effects of diluted heroin on drug users' bodies. Even if no criminal acts could be witnessed, visible milieus of delinquency continued to exist and could not be avoided by orderly citizens. One of the main focal points of contemporary drug discourses was therefore the visible presence of heroin users in public urban spaces—and not the criminal act of consuming illegalized substances itself.

The visibility of the heroin problem was, *third*, significantly enhanced through media reports such as the one cited above. Heroin use has always been a phenomenon that concerned only a very small minority of the overall populace. It could be encountered in public spaces, especially in the bigger cities, yet most people knew heroin use and heroin users solely through the media. Heroin might have been understood as a phenomenon of the margins or periphery of society. In public urban space and through the news coverage, though, it was extending into society's very core and became a topic that concerned everyone.

Starting from these deliberations, this chapter will examine the creation of visible heroin scenes both discursively and spatially. Discursively, heroin was conceived as a problem of youth delinquency and linked to other forms of social, economic, and cultural crises. These crises were translated into a terminology of space: heroin users became the symbols and reminders of a potentially all-encompassing crisis, a crisis that was about to follow in the footsteps of heroin, spreading to all corners of society.

The focus on the visible symptoms of heroin use, that is, on groups of heroin users in public space instead of individual consumers, also allowed for new ways to govern problems of transgressive youth. The example of the Berlin train station Bahnhof Zoo will show how the

media turned one of many meeting points of the local heroin scene into a symbolic site of heroin consumption and indeed of many other forms of threatening social developments. On a symbolic level, certain forms of behaviour and groups of people could thus be socially excluded and spatially contained. The discourse on heroin use by adolescents became one of the sites at which society could reassure itself of its fundamental norms and values. And by conceiving the Bahnhof Zoo as a counter-site to the rest of the city, it was seemingly possible to prevent youth from pervasive danger by keeping them from this singular space, that is by exerting strict spatial control.

These assumptions in turn informed governmental strategies to combat juvenile drug use. While funding for therapeutic programs remained scarce after the economic crisis of 1973, the policing of open heroin scenes intensified in the early 1980s, which in turn fostered perceptions of heroin use as a spatial problem. This repressive strategy, implemented most strictly in the city of Zurich, could not prevent youth from taking illegalized drugs, nor could it dissolve local heroin scenes. Instead, the young heroin users were forced to constantly change their meeting places and to move through the city; as a consequence their situation worsened significantly. This chapter shows how it was nevertheless possible to present policing the heroin scene as a replacement for the care for and disciplining of individual drug users and how drug consuming teenagers—and the encompassing social crisis they signified—could seemingly be brought under control, once again, through the control of urban space.

2.1. Vice city: spatializing juvenile heroin consumption in the 1970s

For youth delinquency, as for epidemics, there are foci of infection.
– Der Spiegel, 1973[110]

After the "double dissolution of boundaries" of youth delinquency during the 1960s it was impossible to locate this delinquency either spatially or in certain individuals.[111] The emergence of visible heroin scenes seemed to confirm this development and even cause it to gain momentum. Mass media, relying on a "deviance defining elite"[112] of police, criminologists, physicians, and politicians, reported that with the new "hard drug wave" consumers were also becoming ever younger; even children were about to fall for heroin. Yet this was not just of concern for the parents of these children, as youth—and children in particular—also represented the future of society in general. "To secure that future and to solve the problems of the present, 'youth' is a consistent referent" in the discourse on crime, as John Muncie has pointed out.[113] The topic of teenage drug consumption was therefore strongly linked with anxieties regarding a nation's future. These anxieties were fuelled by the experience of a severe crisis that affected the economy as much as matters of culture, migration as much as sexual norms, and the nation-state as much as the city. I will show how heroin consumption, understood as a youth phenomenon, came to signify these crises; and in particular, how the social crisis of the 1970s was translated into a crisis of youth.

I will further argue that this interpretation was supported by a second translation, that of social phenomena—changing consumption patterns, youth delinquency—into questions of space. The countryside and private spaces especially were perceived as untouched bulwarks

110 "Für Jugendkriminalität gibt es, wie für Seuchen, Ansteckungsherde." "Von da an war ich eine miese Type - 1. Fortsetzung," *Der Spiegel*, 08.01.1973: 78.

111 Weinhauer, "Polizei und Jugendliche," 79f.

112 Muncie, *Youth & Crime*, 11.

113 Ibid., 10.

against the negative influences of modernity. Their innocence was as much endangered by the spread of heroin as the innocence of children. In turn, it was not so much social conditions or individual behaviour that needed to be addressed in order to govern the problem of juvenile heroin consumption and to mitigate the effects of the crisis. Rather, it was necessary to control the spreading of heroin which usually was synonymous with controlling the movement of heroin users in the city. The phenomenon of heroin use was turned into a matter of control over public urban space.

2.1.1. "...increasingly youth and adolescents"? Heroin use as a youth phenomenon

> *Adult anxiety has consistently been expressed in terms of youthful vulnerability, nuisance and misbehaviour and has focused on the simply undesirable, worrying and disobedient as well as criminality.*
> *– John Muncie, Youth and Crime*[114]

The conspicuous use of illegalized substances by hippies and loafers, meant to distinguish them from the generation of their parents and grandparents (and many of their basic norms and values), had tied the drug discourse closely to the discourse on youth.[115] Scholars like Klaus Weinhauer have argued that since the 1960s publicly visible drug consumption had been interpreted as an international problem of youth, a supposition that since then has never been called into question. As only one aspect of a more general juvenile delinquency, drug consumption had been perceived as an especially "threatening social development" throughout the late 1960s.[116] In the early 1970s, this connection even seemed to undergo a further significant radicalization. *Der Spiegel* summarized the knowledge of experts and politicians

114 Ibid., xiii.
115 Weinhauer, "Polizei und Jugendliche," 79f.
116 Weinhauer, "Heroinszenen," 249.

about drug consumption in 1972 as follows: drug consumers were believed to be becoming younger and younger and to be taking harder and a larger variety of drugs. At the same time, drug use was perceived to be spreading from urban centres to the countryside and from upper to lower classes.[117]

Yet the development of drug consumption in the early 1970s was much more complex than these seemingly unambiguous trends—"younger", "harder", "more"—suggested. Probably the best example was the idea that cannabis was a gateway-drug, the consumption of which would lead young people to other, harder drugs like heroin. By subsuming all illegalized substances under the term drugs, contemporaries missed the development of two different, and distinct, drug scenes. While the use of cannabis and LSD had been popular amongst upper class pupils and university students and was already on the decline, heroin consumption became more and more popular, though primarily among working-class adolescents who had not been part of the hippie underground of the late 1960s.[118] Instead of ever younger consumers using more and harder drugs, a different group of young consumers had started to consume a newly available drug—heroin.[119]

This distinction explains the sometimes contradictory perceptions of a fading or growing "drug wave" among youth. Official police statistics reported in 1977 that the "trend towards ever younger addicts" had seen a complete reversal in the last couple of years.[120] While in 1971 about 22 percent of all people suspected of offences against narcotics laws had been "youth",

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117 "Härterer Trend," *Der Spiegel*, 06.11.1972: 66.

118 Briesen, *Drogenkonsum*, 288-89, 295-305; Weinhauer, "The End of Certainties," 384.

119 Briesen goes as far as to speculate that without the prevalence of opiates, these adolescents would probably have become addicted to alcohol or psychopharmaceuticals instead. Briesen, *Drogenkonsum*, 288-89.

120 "Ins Gegenteil verkehrt hingegen hat sich, wie Kriminaldirektor Erich Strass, Leiter des Rauschgiftdezernats beim Bundeskriminalamt in Wiesbaden, konstatiert, der bis 1971 andauernde 'Trend zu immer jüngeren Süchtigen': Während 1971 noch rund 22 Prozent aller polizeibekannten Süchtigen Jugendliche waren, sank im letzten Jahr ihr Anteil auf 10,8 Prozent." "Heroin-Welle: Mord auf Raten," *Der Spiegel*, 30.05.1977: 186.

that is between fourteen and eighteen years of age, this number had fallen to 10.8 percent.[121] The portion of "adolescents" (18 to 21 years) had also fallen since 1973, accounting for 33.9 percent in 1976. Only the group of "young adults", a category introduced in 1972 and including people between the age of twenty-one and twenty-five, had grown from 23.6 to 36 percent of all suspects.[122] Even these statistics might still exaggerate the portion of youth among drug addicts or consumers. Later studies showed that minors were disproportionately charged with offences against narcotics laws, largely because of illegal consumption, while the actual number of teenage and adolescent drug consumers was significantly lower than statistics based on police controls suggested.[123] Later studies indicate that heroin consumption in the mid-1970s and early 1980s was in large parts a practice more common among young adults rather than youth or even children.[124]

Contemporary media reports, on the other hand, drew a picture that was quite different from police statistics and often evoked the image of a scene that became ever younger. *Der Spiegel*, for instance, reported as early as 1970 that it was "increasingly youth and adolescents who become known to the police"; one year later a caption told readers that among the unspecified group of "drug consumers in Frankfurt" one could find "increasingly even thirteen

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121 Arthur Kreuzer, *Jugend, Rauschdrogen, Kriminalität* (Wiesbaden: Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft, 1978), 18.

122 Ibid.

123 The same studies also indicated a gap of more than three years between the average first consumption of "soft" and "hard" drugs. Of the drug users at Zurich's Platzspitz park in 1992, the average user had started using heroin at the age of nineteen, although some claimed to have started when they were only twelve years old. Thomas Müller and Peter J. Grob, *Medizinische und soziale Aspekte der offenen Drogenszene Platzspitz in Zürich 1991. Vergleichende repräsentative Befragung von 758 DrogenkonsumentInnen*, edited by ZIPP-AIDS [Zürcher Interventions-Pilotprojekt gegen Aids für Drogengefährdete und Drogenabhängige], Institut für klinische Immunologie, Universitätsspital Zürich. (Zurich, 1992), 14. Cf. also section 2.3.1.

124 Hanspeter Künzler, *Analyse der offenen Drogenszene am 'Platzspitz' in Zürich. Sozio-ökonomische und medizinische Aspekte* (PhD diss, Universitalsspital Zürich [1990]), 45 argues that most consumers had started to use hard drugs in the time of their professional training, not as pupils. The younger people started with heroin, though, the longer and more intensely they would continue to do so, an effect that has been observed in the case of nicotine consumption as well.

year-olds".[125] In 1978, it was still "ever more frequently" youth who were consuming hard drugs; even "eight to eleven year old children" were now getting into the drug scene.[126] One year later, *Der Spiegel* confirmed that addiction "hits almost exclusively youth, more recently even children"; "a few hundred" of the addicts in Berlin were below the age of sixteen and in Frankfurt, too, it was primarily "little girls and boys" that were "falling for the dealers".[127]

The coverage of juvenile drug addicts or even children reached a climax with the publication of a study that had been conducted on behalf of the youth authorities in Berlin in 1980. The study showed that the number of heroin addicts was much higher than had been assumed previously. Instead of an estimated 3,500 addicts in West Berlin, the study concluded that about 6,000 people were addicted to heroin and other opiates. Extrapolating from these figures, estimates for West Germany spoke of approximately 150,000 heroin addicts—three times as much as the official 45,000.[128] In media reports this "drug wave" was imagined to flood the spaces of childhood and adolescence: "In Frankfurt police witnessed that dealers are loitering around schools; on the grounds of a primary school children found two heroin syringes".[129] School yards were sites of drug trade and some high school students were getting "the first shot during recess", according to the title of a *Spiegel* article, leaving it open to

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125 "Und zunehmend sind es Jugendliche und Heranwachsende, die im Zusammenhang mit dem Opiumgesetz polizeibekannt werden." "Hoher Preis," *Der Spiegel*, 10.08.1970: 39; "Rauschmittel-Konsumenten in Frankfurt: 'Zunehmend auch Dreizehnjährige'." "Alte Sehnsucht," *Der Spiegel*, 16.08.1971: 51.

126 "Immer häufiger sind es Jugendliche, wie etwa ein Überblick in Rheinland-Pfalz aufzeigt, die zu harten Drogen greifen. Bernhard Prahlow, Sozialdirektor des Paritätischen Wohlfahrtsverbandes in Baden-Württemberg: 'Heute steigen in die Drogenszene acht- bis elfjährige Kinder ein.'" "Wie Babys, die gefüttert werden wollen," *Der Spiegel*, 25.12.1978: 41.

127 "Es trifft fast nur die Jugendlichen, neuerdings auch schon die Kinder. In Berlin hängen 'von den unter Sechzehnjährigen einige Hundert an der Nadel', wie der Berliner Drogenbeauftragte Wolfgang Heckmann weiß. In Frankfurt sind es, wie der Kriminalhauptkommissar Peter Loos beobachtet hat, gleichfalls 'kleine Mädchen und Jungen, die auf die Dealer reinfallen'." "Heroin: Die Szene wird vollgepumpt," *Der Spiegel*, 27.08.1979: 86.

128 "Die erste Spritze in der großen Pause," *Der Spiegel*, 09.06.1980: 55-69.

129 "In Frankfurt beobachtete die Polizei, daß Dealer an den Schulen herumlungern; auf dem Hof einer Grundschule fanden Kinder zwei Heroinspritzen." Ibid.: 67.

interpretation whether it was the first injection of the day or in the young person's life. And if not in school, children were in danger on their way home as pushers were luring "boys and girls into their hangouts and hooking them up [*anfixen*] there".[130] Future prospects appeared dim. A US-American drug specialist forecasted the spread of drugs "like an epidemic. […] Children, hooked up by adults, will take to the killer-drug heroin in an ever younger age as in the USA, also as a result of the child sex wave [*Kindersexwelle*]".[131] The press discourse constructed heroin as a youth phenomenon not in a biological sense but rather in a cultural one. It appeared to be common sense that if only youth were taking drugs, then all those who were consuming heroin should be categorized as "youth" or "children", independent of their biological age or police statistics.

Although the majority of heroin users and addicts were young adults, there *were* some twelve to fourteen year-old drug addicts. Yet these clearly *atypical* representatives of the heroin scene were presented as *stereotypical*, as symptomatic of a wider trend in drug consumption and, not the least, for a whole society for which its base and future were (about to be) poisoned. This reliance on stereotypical images was, and is, characteristic of mass media coverage of juvenile delinquency, including drug use.[132] According to John Muncie, children and youth, as the future of the nation, are usually portrayed as a risk both for society and for themselves, often to the extent of a "moral panic". In the 1970s and 1980s, media reports[133] thus also

130 "Selbst auf Schulhöfen wird oft gedealt, und die erste Spritze gibt sich mancher Pennäler in der großen Pause." "Im Frankfurter Vorort Höchst, berichtet Kurt Moog von der Frankfurter Beratungsstelle 'Die Zuflucht', lockten Dealer 'Jungen und Mädchen in ihre Bude und fixten sie dort an'." Ibid.: 57; 67.

131 "Und die Drogenwelle, das ist sicher, wird sich weiter aufsteilen. 'Das Suchtproblem wird ansteigen wie eine Epidemie', sagt der amerikanische Drogenarzt Karl J. Deissler voraus, mit neuen Erscheinungsformen: 'Kinder werden immer jünger zur Mörderdroge Heroin greifen, angefixt von Erwachsenen, auch als Folge der Kindersexwelle wie in den USA.'" Ibid.: 57. On the discursive connection of drug use and teenage sexuality see section 2.1.2, especially p. 52ff.

132 Muncie, *Youth & Crime*, here especially p. 11.

133 And popular biographical stories like the one of Christiane F. and the "children"(!) from Bahnhof Zoo. Hermann, Rieck, and F[elscherinow], *Wir Kinder vom Bahnhof Zoo*; *Christiane F. - Wir Kinder vom Bahnhof Zoo*, FRG, 1981, directed by Uli [Ulrich] Edel, script by Uli Edel, Kai Hermann, Horst Rieck, and Herman

created an *overtypical* image of "pure" children; their bodies unpolluted by dangerous substances, their minds unpolluted by deviant desires, and in need of constant protection against evil seducers.

One of the unuttered bases for the moral panic about teenage drug use was the disturbing fact that children turned into youth and finally into adults precisely by taking drugs, whether it was the largely accepted alcohol or illegalized heroin.[134] Drug consumption was not the sign of a failed but of a successful coming-of-age. If anything, stories of drug addicts becoming ever younger might therefore indicate an earlier end of childhood in general, at least as perceived by adults.[135] Yet as Muncie has shown, crime waves, largely a product of the mass media, have "more to do with fears of social transformation than with any significant shifts in the actual behaviour of youth".[136] The alarming reports on juvenile drug use were thus, more than anything else, sign of a deep crisis and transformation of 1970s society. In a way, the individual crisis of adolescence was a means of understanding and coping with an impersonal and much larger societal crisis. One that even adults couldn't control.

Weigel, 131 Min.

134 One TV documentary about a drug addicted teenager, shot by police, which aired on the public TV channel *ARD* in 1980 was pathetically titled "Sorrow about a Lost Son", leaving it open whether the son was lost the moment he was shot, started shooting up, or when son and parents ceased to understand one another. Cf. the review of the film in Klaus Umbach, "Kaskade des Grauens," *Der Spiegel*, 08.09.1980: 225-230.

135 The fear of parents of "losing" their children to heroin dependence might also be understood as a projection of their fear of losing them to other youth and ultimately to adulthood; a fear, that is, that the childrens' dependency on their parents would end.

136 Muncie, *Youth & Crime*, 11. In the United States, a report on an eight year-old heroin addict even won the Pulitzer prize in 1980, but later turned out to be a hoax. Craig Reinarman and Ceres Duskin, "Dominant Ideology and Drugs in the Media," in *Making Trouble. Cultural Constructions of Crime, Deviance, and Control*, edited by Jeff Ferrell and Neil Websdale (New York: de Gruyter, 1999), 73-87.

2.1.2. Youth, nation, and the city in crisis: making sense of teenage drug consumption

> *Risks are no immediate effect of the industrial-social reality; rather, they represent a form of thinking about reality – with the objective to make it 'governable'. Based on this risk-rationality it is possible to identify potential subjects of intervention and to determine objects and limits of 'legitimate' actions.*
> *– Lemke, Krasmann, Bröckling, Gouvernmentalität, Neoliberalismus und Selbsttechnologien*[137]

The ever-growing number of young heroin consumers in the early 1970s demanded explanations that were not simply based on an individual's disposition towards delinquency. If so many youth were taking to illegalized drugs, there needed to be social, economic and/or political factors that were fostering this delinquent behaviour. Drug use was thus interpreted as a symptom of a profound social crisis in a "general situation of change".[138] By the late 1970s, in expert and press discourses, juvenile drug consumption was being connected to (and understood through) very different forms of crisis which were nonetheless closely related: the assumed crisis of youth, the Fordist welfare state, the nation, and the city "after the boom" of the "long sixties".[139]

As drug consumption was perceived as a youth phenomenon, it was near at hand to relate it to youth as a critical stage in a person's life. The consumption of illegalized drugs could thus be understood as a failed attempt to master the transition from child to adult. As perceptions of puberty and coming-of-age were dominated first and foremost by the development of

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137 "Risiken folgen also nicht unmittelbar aus der industriell-gesellschaftlichen Realität, sondern sie repräsentieren eine Form des Denkens der Realität – mit dem Ziel, sie 'regierbar' zu machen. Auf der Grundlage dieser Risiko-Rationalität lassen sich mögliche Subjekte von Interventionen bestimmen und Gegenstände wie Grenzen 'legitimen' Handelns festlegen." Thomas Lemke, Susanne Krasmann, and Ulrich Bröckling, "Gouvernmentalität, Neoliberalismus und Selbsttechnologien. Eine Einleitung," in *Gouvernmentalität der Gegenwart. Studien zur Ökonomisierung des Sozialen*, edited by Ulrich Bröckling, Susanne Krasmann, and Thomas Lemke (Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp, 2000), 22.

138 "Die Phase körperlichen, geistigen und sozialen Reifens junger Menschen in dieser Gesellschaft ist mit mancherlei Unsicherheit, Risiko, Gefährdung verbunden. Sie fällt in eine allgemeine Situation des Umbruchs." So the criminologist and drug expert Arthur Kreuzer in *Jugend, Rauschdrogen, Kriminalität*, 24.

139 Cf. section 1.2.3.

young people's sexuality, contemporaries were quick to link the topics of youth, sex and drugs. In 1978, the soon-to-be standard work on "Youth, Drugs, Crime" by criminologist Arthur Kreuzer popularized a conservative explanation for drug consumption among youth in which teenage sexuality figured quite prominently.[140] Sexuality and drug consumption both started to develop at the same stage and under similar circumstances, Kreuzer proposed. "They are taking place during spare time, outside the familial realm, secretly, among peers [*Gleichaltrige*], and they are touching on tabooed regions [*Tabuzonen*]."[141] Yet these similarities were not viewed as just a mere concurrence of otherwise independent forms of behaviour. The more intensive someone's drug consumption, the more likely he or she was to have sexual experiences as well, starting from an earlier age, with more frequent changes of sexual partners, and with a wider range of sexual practices employed. Experts viewed this confluence in light of the social conditions of youth: a broken home would cause inclinations both to early sexual activities and drug use.

The use of heroin was thus understood not only in terms of youth but also of sex and gender. Young girls were believed to be the passive victims of seduction to both drugs and sexual intercourse, which in turn implied a greater need for control. They were thought to be seduced to drug use "once their integrity and steadfastness" had been loosened "in the course of early sexual contact".[142] Although girls were believed to be "more resistant" against "the most important forms of deviant behaviour", their willingness to imitate the behaviour of young men, including drug use, was higher "if the girl is also willing to have sexual intercourse and, in the context of this commitment, is already used to a higher degree of clandestine

140 Kreuzer, *Jugend, Rauschdrogen, Kriminalität*. The book was based on a larger study from 1975, the underlying data had been collected in 1972/73.

141 "Sie geschehen in der Freizeit, außerhalb des familiären Bereichs, heimlich, unter Gleichaltrigen und berühren Tabuzonen." Ibid., 32.

142 Ibid., 33.

actions against her family. […] It thus turns out […] that girls – in contrast to boys – are apparently getting into drug rings and the drug milieu only indirectly through heterosexual relationships."[143] The demoralization that accompanied a drug career would in turn lead to "sexual permissiveness and indiscriminate choices of sexual partners up to professional prostitution".[144] Deviant sexual behaviour and drug consumption among youth were mutually reinforcing. This gendered difference was also based on different meanings in regard to the nation state: while all youth symbolized the future of the nation (along with related anxieties about this future), young girls, in their role as potential future mothers, embodied this future even more.

These general convictions about *youth as crisis* were complemented by a historically specific perception of *youth in crisis* during the 1970s. Following on the economic crisis of 1973 and the successive dismantling of the welfare state, the social conditions of youth and especially their prospects for upward mobility looked rather dim; from the mid-1970s, youth unemployment continued to be alarmingly high. Drug consumption was seen as a reaction to

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143 "Deutlich liegen bei ihnen erster Rauschmittelumgang und erster Geschlechtsverkehr öfter zeitlich beieinander. Hier spielt eine frühe Orientierung von Mädchen am Verhalten eines Partners eine Rolle. Im Laufe sich intensivierender erster sexueller Bindungen ist das junge Mädchen eher bereit, Verhaltensweisen des Partners – wie Rauschmittelumgang – zu übernehmen. Diese Bereitschaft ist besonders groß, wenn das Mädchen auch zum Geschlechtsverkehr bereit ist und im Rahmen dieser Bindung ohnehin an ein größeres Maß heimlichen Tuns gegenüber der Familie gewöhnt ist. [...] In der großen Überzahl sind sie [die Mädchen, JHF] gegenüber den wichtigsten Formen abweichenden Verhaltens – so auch des Rauschmittelumgangs – widerstandsfähiger. Lockert sich aber erst einmal ihre Bewahrtheit und Standhaftigkeit im Zuge frühen sexuellen Umgangs, kann über den jeweiligen Partner eine Reihe mit dem Risiko des Verwahrlosens verbundener Verhaltensweisen übernommen werden. [...] Damit stellt sich heraus, [...] daß Mädchen offenbar häufig – anders als Jungen – erst mittelbar über heterosexuelle Beziehungen in Rauschmittelcliquen und in das Drogenmilieu gelangen." Ibid.

144 "Die starke Verbreitung von Prostitution und prostitutionsgleichen Verhaltensweisen unter jungen extremen Rauschmittelkonsumenten hat zu tun mit der ganz allgemein zu beobachtenden sexuellen Freizügigkeit unter jungen Menschen, mit der besonderen Verwahrlosungsdisposition der Fixer-Population und mit der von der Rauschmittelkarriere herrührenden Demoralisierung. So reichen die zu beobachtenden Verhaltensweisen von bloßer sexueller Freizügigkeit über Wahllosigkeit der Intimpartnerschaft bis hin zu gewerbsmäßiger Prostitution." Ibid., 113.

this loss of prospects ("no future").[145] Yet drug users were not just perceived as victims of circumstances but also as youth who deliberately chose to react to these circumstances in an unacceptable way. By rejecting social norms and values in favour of "dropping out" into a deviant subculture, drug users were comparable to those youth who were "dropping out" into "pseudo-religious mysticism" or "political extremism and terrorism", including squatting.[146] The idea of a youth in crisis eventually came to a head with the emergence of "youth riots" and a "youth movement" in many Western European cities in 1980.[147]

The danger youth and their wish to "drop out" seemed to pose to society was intensified by the presumed damaging effects of modernity. "Modernization" had been the leitmotif of the decade between the mid-1960s and mid-1970s,[148] but it had come at a price. Conservatives like Arthur Kreuzer were lamenting the loss of religiosity, the decline of the nuclear family, a plurality of values, an "overemphasis on the rational and neglect of the emotional", a growing permissiveness and a lacking control of youth.[149] Yet this general critique of modernization and

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145 Later sociological studies showed no evidence for such a connection. The unemployment rate among heroin users was higher the longer and more severely heroin was used. Unemployment was (and is) an effect rather than a cause for heroin consumption. Künzler, *Analyse der offenen Drogenszene am 'Platzspitz'*, 16. Cf. also p. 68 of this dissertation.

146 "So fliehen viele in Scheinideologien - etwa der Verweigerungshaltung, des 'Aussteigens', des 'Gammelns', des 'Psychedelismus' – und wenden sich pseudoreligiösen Mystizismen zu, unterstützt jeweils durch entsprechende Drogen und Riten." "[…] Rauschmittelumgang in Kerngruppen studentischer Protest- und Demonstrationsteilnehmer bis zum Höhepunkt dieser Welle 1968. Manche Dauerdemonstrierer nahmen regelmäßig und oft übermäßig Aufputschtabletten, um durchhalten zu können." "Personen und Organisationen des politischen Extremismus und Terrorismus [...]. [...] scheinen politische Extremisten und Terroristen später bewußt die Verbindung zu Rauschmittelabhängigen gesucht zu haben, weil sie diese wegen der Abhängigkeit zu schwerer Kriminalität bereiten, demoralisierten, unreflektiert gesellschaftsfeindlichen Personen leichter in bestimmte Aktionen einbeziehen konnten. Bezeichnenderweise fanden sich bei Demonstrationskrawallen, gewaltsamen Hausbesetzungen, Gefangenenbefreiungen und Terroristenaktionen Personen aus der Drogen-Szene oder mit Verbindungen zu ihr." Kreuzer, *Jugend, Rauschdrogen, Kriminalität*, 24, 39, 43ff. In the same sense argued the Minister for Interior Affairs, Gerhart Baum (FDP), in an interview with *Der Spiegel*: Hans-Wolfgang Sternsdorff and Paul Lersch. "'Es muß von allen Seiten Proteste hageln'," *Der Spiegel*, 14.01.1980: 72.

147 Cf. sections 3.1. and 4.1.; see also Friedrichs and Balz, "Individualität und Revolte," 14-16.

148 Doering-Manteuffel and Raphael, *Nach dem Boom*, 22.

149 Kreuzer, *Jugend, Rauschdrogen, Kriminalität*, 24. As scholars like Robert P. Stephens have shown, two positions

the liberalization and growing permissiveness that supposedly came with it was complemented by a critique of the Fordist welfare state and its supposed passivating effects on young people in particular:

> There is a lack of demand in regard to the shaping and mastering of one's life: Individual and familial provisions [*Daseinsvorsorge*] are being handed over to collective governmental and social institutions (welfare state). Young people are learning passive experiences on multiple levels (e.g. television).[150]

Drug consumers and other maladjusted youth embodied this tendency to extremes by retreating into "counter-societies of passivity".[151] Critics claimed that modernity in general and the Fordist welfare state in particular fostered the crisis of youth by reinforcing negative influences (permissiveness, passivity) and letting potential counter measures (nuclear family, religion, conservative values) deteriorate. Drug use thus needed to be viewed as one possible effect of this deep social crisis.

The crises that were touching the core of society were met with a crisis of its borders. Although heroin and other opiates had first been brought to West Germany by travelling German youth, police and press suspected "guest workers", together with black GIs and French soldiers of Moroccan origins, of having introduced these "new drugs, imported from other cultures and societies".[152] These assumptions were reinforced when it became clear that

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stood against each other in the debate on juvenile drug consumption: the "youth protection paradigm" which viewed modernization as a major threat to youth, for example through the dissolution of values and institution like the nuclear family; and the "therapeutical mind set" that viewed drug consumption as a result of consumer capitalism and as a legitimate form of protest against the demands of modernization. Stephens, *Germans on Drugs*, 157-159. Liberal and left-wing views on drug consumption will be explored in more detail in section 4.1.1.

150 "In der Lebensgestaltung und Lebensbewältigung mangelt es an Gefordertsein: Individuelle und familiäre Daseinsvorsorge werden kollektiven staatlichen und gesellschaftlichen Einrichtungen anheimgegeben (Wohlfahrtsstaat). Junge Menschen lernen vielfach passives Erleben (z.B. Fernsehen)." Kreuzer, *Jugend, Rauschdrogen, Kriminalität*, 25. The idea of the passivating effects of the welfare state would become part of the neoliberal "common sense" during the following two decades.

151 "[…] Gegengesellschaft der Passivität mit Hilfe von Rauschmitteln; hier vereinten sich resignierende Teilnehmer früherer Demonstrationsgeschehen." Kreuzer, *Jugend, Rauschdrogen, Kriminalität*, 40.

152 "[...] mit den neuen, aus anderen Kulturen und Gesellschaften importierten Rauschgiften." "Die erste Spritze in der großen Pause," *Der Spiegel*, 09.06.1980: 66; Kreuzer, *Jugend, Rauschdrogen, Kriminalität*, 39; Weinhauer,

the number of "foreigners" was constantly rising despite a "recruitment ban" for foreign workers imposed in 1973. Immigration and drug import both demonstrated the fragility of national borders (and of national identity based on ethnic purity) in a globalized world.[153] Metaphors of a wave, flood or invasion were used to describe growing numbers of drug users and immigrants alike, so that global drug trade and global migration movements appeared as inseparably intertwined.[154] Discursively connecting migration and drug use had an ambivalent effect: it made migration appear as even more threatening, but it also served to extra-territorialize the reasons for drug use by German youth who could thus be perceived as victims rather than perpetrators.[155]

Again it was primarily young girls who came to symbolize the threatened nation, especially in the mass media. The topic of migration and convictions regarding drug use and sexually deviant behaviour of young girls were connected in the motif of white slavery. "Trafficking rings of all nations, Lebanese, Algerians and Moroccans", *Der Spiegel* wrote in 1976, "are foisting the white powder on young girls who just want to get carried away on a hashish cloud, in order to press them into smuggling trips afterwards."[156] Sexual implications

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"Polizei und Jugendliche," 82; "Vermieste Schüsse," *Der Spiegel*, 08.12.1975: 64-67.

153 Cf. Jan-Henrik Friedrichs, "Milieus of Illegality. Representations of Guest Workers, Refugees, and Spaces of Migration in Der Spiegel, 1973-1983," in *Images of Illegalized Immigration. Towards a Critical Iconology of Politics*, edited by Christine Bischoff, Francesca Falk, and Sylvia Kafehsy (Bielefeld: Transcript, 2010), 31-46. West Berlin was seen as especially vulnerable in this regard. As West German authorities did not acknowledge the German Democratic Republic as a state, its borders were not being controlled by West German customs agents. Drugs could therefore reach West Berlin quite easily via the East German airport at Berlin-Schönefeld. See for instance "Hauptstadt der Fixer," *Der Spiegel*, 02.01.1978: 52.

154 In 1977, for example, *Der Spiegel* described Turkish drug traders as follows: "They are flooding the scene with heroin from the Middle and Near East, they are coming across land and water, they are invading [us] with a jet and are rolling in on the *Hellas-Express* […]." "Heroin: Die Türken kommen," *Der Spiegel*, 21.11.1977: 88.

155 It was also used as an argument to further control immigration and to dismantle the constitutional right for political asylum, especially since 1980/81. Cf. "Die erste Spritze in der großen Pause," *Der Spiegel*, 09.06.1980: 69; "Tote abgerechnet," *Der Spiegel*, 25.07.1983: 55-60; "Interne Sache," *Der Spiegel*, 08.07.1985: 77; "Die Spreu vom Weizen trennen. SPIEGEL-Serie über Asylanten und Scheinasylanten in der Bundesrepublik (III): Türken und Kurden," *Der Spiegel*, 08.09.1986: 86-103.

156 "Händlerringe aus aller Herren Länder, Libanesen, Algerier und Marokkaner, jubeln noch jugendlichen

added a good deal of fascination to these stories, especially in reports of girls smuggling drugs in their underwear or even vaginas.[157] According to a 1979 *Spiegel* article the "charm and chic" of their African drug dealers made prostitutes want to "repay" this kindness through smuggling: "A certain 'Chris' easily bunkered for her 'Andy' two ounces in her body during a train ride."[158] Rising drug use, youth as a stage of crisis and youth in crisis, sexual deviance and prostitution, and finally migration—they were all perceived as interconnected phenomena, the unsettling result of modernization, liberalization and as a threat to the very future of society.

These threatening interconnected developments could be attributed, at least in part, to specific urban spaces. Districts with a high proportion of immigrants were seen as a hideout and breeding ground for drug dealers,[159] as well as, in the words of Arthur Kreuzer, "infection foci with foreign links" (*Ansteckungsherde mit Auslandsbezug*).[160] As such, they were similar to airports, harbours, train stations, and Allied military barracks as sites where the threatening alien entered the nation and the city.[161] Harbour districts and areas around train stations were some of the "classic" sites at which deviance and delinquency had been located until the 1960s, especially when they were linked to local red-light and night-life districts, such as the Frankfurt

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Mädchen, die nur mal wieder auf einer Haschwolke entrücken wollen, das weiße Pulver unter, um sie dann zu Schmuggelfahrten zu pressen." "Frankfurt: Karate, Seven-eleven und Heroin," *Der Spiegel*, 19.01.1976: 52.

157 "Heroin: Die Szene wird vollgepumpt," *Der Spiegel*, 27.08.1979: 86-90; "Frankfurt: Karate, Seven-eleven und Heroin," *Der Spiegel*, 19.01.1976: 52. See also "Erst der Stoff und dann der Strich," *Der Spiegel*, 27.10.1975: 73-78.

158 "Süchtige Prostituierte zogen sie an durch Charme und Chic. Die Dirnen dankten den netten Umgang durch bereitwilligen Dienst beim Herointransport. Da bunkerte 'Chris' während einer Bahnfahrt für ihren 'Andy' mal schnell zwei Unzen im Körper, schmuggelte 'Gypsy' ihrem 'Ola' fünf Gramm im toupierten Haar in die Vollzugsanstalt Butzbach." "Drogen-Szene: Alles wie im Dschungel," *Der Spiegel*, 12.03.1979: 108.

159 "Heroin: Die Türken kommen," *Der Spiegel*, 21.11.1977: 93; "Natürliche Lust," *Der Spiegel*, 11.08.1980: 79-80; "Heroin: Die Szene wird vollgepumpt," *Der Spiegel*, 27.08.1979: 89; "Frankfurt: Karate, Seven-eleven und Heroin," *Der Spiegel*, 19.01.1976: 52-63.

160 Kreuzer, *Jugend, Rauschdrogen, Kriminalität*, 38.

161 Ibid., 43; "Erst der Stoff und dann der Strich," *Der Spiegel*, 27.10.1975: 73-78; "Drogen-Szene: Alles wie im Dschungel," *Der Spiegel*, 12.03.1979: 104-111; "Heroin: 'Die Lage war noch nie so ernst'," *Der Spiegel*, 24.05.1982: 142-154; "Tote abgerechnet," *Der Spiegel*, 25.07.1983: 55-60.

Bahnhofsviertel or the *Reeperbahn* in Hamburg-St.Pauli. Here, criminologists like Arthur Kreuzer suspected the merging of milieus of drugs, migration and prostitution, turning these districts into counter-sites to the bourgeois order of the city.[162]

Yet the newly (re-)discovered sites of (youth) delinquency did not signify a simple return to the *status quo ante* after a time of liberalization and dislocation during the 1960s. For the city did not just provide spaces for an already existing delinquency. In contrast to previous decades, urban space was now also seen as a potential cause for aberrant adolescent behaviour, including drug use. "The environment is getting more and more inhospitable. Urbanization, industrialization, the rise of technology and overstimulation of the senses are all playing a part", Kreuzer noted, adding that to many youth modern society gave an impression of "emptiness, isolation, anonymity, lack of orientation, and anxiety instead of security".[163] These feelings were only fostered by their uncontrolled gathering at the new sites of youth culture like music festivals, bars or nightclubs. Kreuzer went on to relate these supposed effects of modernity to Fordist concepts of urban architecture: "One just has to think of sterile high-rise settlements in commuter towns [...]. All this can foster the search for supposed ways out: youth alcoholism, youth suicide, affiliation in aggressively acting youth gangs or in groups of drug users [*Rauschmittelgruppen*]."[164] The modern city thus appeared as much as a *city in crisis* as it was

162 Kreuzer, *Jugend, Rauschdrogen, Kriminalität*, 43; Bundeskriminalamt, Ständige Arbeitsgruppe Rauschgift, "Betr.: Bekämpfung der Rauschgiftkriminalität; hier: Intensivierte Anwendung ausländerrechtlicher Maßnahmen gegen Rauschgifttäter," 19.06.1980, StA Hamburg, 136-1, 1768, Bekämpfung der Rauschgiftkriminalität. 1.4.1980-31.8.1980; Jan-Henrik Friedrichs, "'Hamburg voll bedröhnt.' Illegalisierter Drogenkonsum im urbanen Raum," in *19 Tage Hamburg. Ereignisse und Entwicklungen der Stadtgeschichte seit den fünfziger Jahren*, edited by Forschungsstelle für Zeitgeschichte in Hamburg (München: Dölling und Galitz, 2012), 303-306.

163 "Die Umwelt wird zunehmend unwirtlicher. Verstädterung, Industrialisierung, Technisierung und Reizüberflutung tragen dazu bei [...]. Im Besonderen ist es aber eine teilweise durchaus auch anders vorstellbare äußere Gestaltungsweise des Lebens für junge Menschen in dieser Gesellschaft, die von vielen als abstoßend empfunden wird und die Leere, Isoliertheit, Anonymität, Orientierungslosigkeit und Ängste statt Geborgenheit vermittelt." Kreuzer, *Jugend, Rauschdrogen, Kriminalität*, 25.

164 "Man denke nur an sterile Hochhaussiedlungen in Trabantenstädten [...]. All dies kann die Suche nach vermeintlichen Auswegen begünstigen: Jugendalkoholismus, Jugendselbstmord, Zusammenschluß in sich

a city providing spaces *for crises*.

The discourses on drug consumption, youth deviance, modernity, the nation, and the city were related through an all-encompassing experience of social transformation and crisis. The debate on adolescent drug use allowed to understand these crises and to negotiate and reestablish fundamental social norms and values, for example in regard to gender roles and national identity. The city played a crucial part in this process: it appeared as a stage on which aberrant juvenile behaviour, first of all drug use, was performed and thus becoming visible; as a possible reason for this deviant behaviour; as a symbol for failed Fordist urban and social policies; finally, as a potential container for deviant behaviour or, at least, the battleground on which the struggle for youth and society in crisis would be fought. Yet even though some sites of youth delinquency could be identified—red-light districts, neighbourhoods with a high proportion of immigrants, but also sites of youth culture like nightclubs and bars—their boundaries were blurred and the exact effects of their architecture on youth behaviour remained uncertain. As both drug workers and police expected the further spread and decentralization of local heroin scenes,[165] the "end of certainties" was far from being resolved. On the contrary, heroin use was perceived as a wave that was threatening to flood and poison ever more strata and spaces that had hitherto remained seemingly untouched by the vices of modernity.

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aggressiv gebärdenden Jugendbanden oder in Rauschmittelgruppen." Ibid., 25-26.

165 Drogenberatung im Haus der Mitte, ed., *Harte Drogen in West-Berlin* (Berlin, June 1977), 29; "Heroin: Die Szene wird vollgepumpt," *Der Spiegel*, 27.08.1979: 89.

2.1.3. Translating social crises into spatial movements: country-side and private space as threatened heterotopias of innocence

> *At one point 98% of the dealers blasted off onto a private level, into private apartments, it's not as hot.*
> *– Heidi S., drug consumer, describing the situation of the late 1970s*[166]

Similar to the idea of ever younger consumers,[167] the "heroin wave" was thought to infiltrate ever more spaces. While drug use had become most visible in urban public spaces, its perceived spreading from there outwards to rural and private spaces was even more disquieting. Both countryside and the private were constructed as positive counter-sites to the vices of the city. The discourse of heroin reaching these heterotopias of presumed innocence and order can thus be understood as another expression of insecurity in a time of social change. Media reports and experts added to a fetishization of heroin by focusing on the substance instead of behavioural patterns. Teenage drug consumption could thus be conceived as a problem of spaces rather than as a side-effect of successful modernization.[168] As such, it appeared as a problem that could possibly be contained by stopping its spatial expansion.

It is impossible to make any verifiable statements about the distribution level of heroin in rural areas for the 1970s and 1980s. There is evidence, however, that heroin had been available outside the urban centres right from the beginning. Heroin was first imported to West Germany by individual young members of the counter-cultural underground of the late 1960s and early 1970s. Small amounts of opiates had been brought from Afghanistan, Pakistan, or India via the "hippie trail"; others had brought the new drug from Morocco to share among friends. Some might have come into contact with heroin through Allied forces stationed in

166 "Irgendwann sind die Dealer dann zu 98 Prozent auf private Ebene abgedüst, in Privatwohnungen, ist nicht so heiß." Heidi S. "'Eigentlich bin ich nur 'ne lebende Leiche'. Aus dem Tagebuch der Fixerin Heidi S.," *Der Spiegel*, 07.09.1981: 109.

167 Cf. section 2.1.1.

168 Cf. Stephens, *Germans on Drugs*, esp. p. 87.

barracks throughout the country or through work migrants (*Gastarbeiter*), though it is not clear to what extent the press reports[169] and criminological surveys[170] were influenced by racist stereotypes.[171] Yet although this meant that drugs could be encountered everywhere, heroin (and cannabis) were understood primarily as *urban* phenomena. There were several reasons for this: the hippie scene or "underground" was concentrated in bigger cities as these allowed for a relative tolerance towards non-mainstream youth lifestyles, compared to the often more restrictive milieu of rural villages; cities also were the central market place for 'exotic' and 'young' consumer goods such as rock music, fashion, and drugs which added to the city's pull for 'alternative' youth; and the concentration of drug consuming youth in bigger cities made drug consumption visible and thus perceptible to the rest of society. Additionally, the first loads of heroin reached West Germany in the form of unprocessed opium that had to be boiled up with (acetic) acid before it could be injected. This mixture, a dark-brown liquid, was called *Berliner Tinke*, Berlin tincture, and sold for as little as fifteen Deutschmarks in the early and mid-1970s.[172] This first brand name of illegalized heroin in West Germany supported a perception of drugs as an urban consumer good, something that came from the big city, in this case Berlin, and spread from there to the rest of the country.

In the early 1970s police and press reported on this movement from the city towards the countryside and connected it to matters of age. As early as 1970 *Der Spiegel* summarized recent

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169 E.g. in "Vermieste Schüsse," *Der Spiegel*, 08.12.1975: 64: "From Böblingen, where an American army unit serves as a trading centre for drugs, and from Tübingen, where members of the French army are stationed and mostly Moroccans with French passports are running the drug business, customers in the cities of Nürtingen, Göppingen, Reutlingen, Sindelfingen, and Esslingen are being supplied." On the earlier introduction of cannabis to Germany that had followed similar patterns see Stephens, *Germans on Drugs*, 70-72; on the global changes in drug production and distribution see ibid., 88-120.

170 E.g. in Kreuzer, *Jugend, Rauschdrogen, Kriminalität*, 39: "Also, in centres like Frankfurt and Heidelberg, such foci of infection were rings of drug consuming soldiers of the stationed forces [i.e. US army forces, JHF]."

171 Cf. Stephens, *Germans on Drugs*, 119; Weinhauer, "Polizei und Jugendliche," 82.

172 Kreuzer, *Jugend, Rauschdrogen, Kriminalität*, 89; Heidi S. "'Eigentlich bin ich nur 'ne lebende Leiche'. Aus dem Tagebuch der Fixerin Heidi S." *Der Spiegel*, 07.09.1981: 99.

reports by various regional authorities on the growing aspect of drug-related crime:

> The use and trade of hashish is recently being reported from rural areas, too; in Bavaria alone from at least 63 rural and urban districts [*Landkreisen und kreisfreien Städten*]. […] But now only two thirds of registered drug offences are related to hashish—the rest involve harder drugs. And it is increasingly youth and adolescents who become known to the police in the context of the opiate law.[173]

Two years later the "trend […] from the city to the countryside" was confirmed; a trend in which, according to the Minister of Interior Affairs of Baden-Württemberg, "even villages" were "no longer spared".[174]

In the mid-1970s, heroin was clearly available "ever more often in small towns and in the countryside" although the market for drugs had not expanded since 1969, according to the head of the *Bundeskriminalamt*, Horst Herold. Yet again, this *situation* was perceived as a *process*: "since the beginning of this year drug squad agents in all *Bundesländer* are registering that drug consumption is successively spreading from big cities to small towns and rural regions".[175] And while a Frankfurt physician who was working with drug addicts stated in 1975 that there were "small scenes" outside of Frankfurt of "about 20 to 100 *fixers* strong", he summarized it as a movement that was "swashing now into the countryside as well".[176]

There are two remarkable aspects about this discursive element: first, the description of a growing circle of young drug users as a spatial movement instead of, for instance, as a result of

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173 "Haschischgebrauch und -handel werden neuerdings auch aus ländlichen Gebieten gemeldet, in Bayern allein aus mindestens 63 Landkreisen und kreisfreien Städten. [...] Doch nur mehr zwei Drittel der registrierten Rauschgiftdelikte betreffen Haschisch – bei den übrigen geht es um härtere Drogen. Und zunehmend sind es Jugendliche und Heranwachsende, die im Zusammenhang mit dem Opiumgesetz polizeibekannt werden." "Hoher Preis," *Der Spiegel*, 10.08.1970: 38-39.

174 "[...] von der Stadt aufs Land (selbst Dörfer blieben etwa im Flächenstaat Baden-Württemberg – wie das Innenministerium klagt 'nicht mehr verschont')." "Härterer Trend," *Der Spiegel*, 06.11.1972: 66.

175 "Heroin ist jetzt immer häufiger auch in Kleinstädten und auf dem Lande zu haben. […] Rauschgiftfahnder in allen Bundesländern registrieren seit Anfang dieses Jahres, daß der Rauschgiftkonsum zunehmend von Großstädten auf Kleinstädte und ländliche Regionen übergreift [...]." "Der goldene Schuß," *Der Spiegel*, 11.10.1976: 60.

176 "'Drop in'-Arzt Berger stellte fest, daß sich auch außerhalb Frankfurts 'kleine Szenen' bilden, 'so 20 bis 100 Fixer stark'. Der Mediziner: 'Das schwappt jetzt auch aufs Land.'" "Erst der Stoff und dann der Strich," *Der Spiegel*, 27.10.1975: 78.

changing consumption patterns.[177] Second, the relative short time-span (c. 1970-1976) in which this topic appeared in the media, at least in *Der Spiegel*. Two possible explanations can be given for this phenomenon that do not necessarily exclude each other. The establishment of *visible scenes* of juvenile heroin consumers in small towns and even villages probably was a process that had been completed by the mid-1970s, despite *individual heroin consumption* that preceded this development. But the perceived movement *from city to countryside* was superimposed by the seeming movement of users *through the city*, once the strategy of policing visible heroin scenes had been implemented.[178] This very real experience of the drug scene's mobility seemingly confirmed other perceptions of the drug scene in terms of spatiality.

As with youth, the countryside had been envisioned as an endangered site. It was imagined as a heterotopia of purity and innocence, threatened by contamination from people and substances from the city. The rural environment was constructed as a pastoral idyll, as a heterotopic counter-site to the city that in turn became a symbol for the evils of modernity.

The dichotomy between city and countryside was complemented on the micro-level by the one between public and private spaces. Heroin, like other illegalized drugs, had been consumed and also traded in private apartments since the beginning of its availability. This was most notably the case for all those consumers who did not depend on the open heroin scene for their supply. For those who had established a stable business relationship with one or more drug dealers, there was no necessity to buy in public places. Yet even those who did meet their

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177 Juvenile alcoholism was a serious problem since the mid-1970s, "no district [*Landstrich*] being save". In 1973 the per-capita consumption of alcohol had reached its highest level since the first statistics in 1888. Each German citizen consumed 12.22 litres of pure alcohol per year, an equivalent to 588 glasses of beer plus eleven bottles of wine plus eleven bottles of hard liquor. The emergence of visible drug scenes in rural areas could therefore also be interpreted as a shift from alcohol to other drugs, the biggest difference being the illegal character of the latter. "Da is nix, da kann man nur saufen, saufen," *Der Spiegel*, 09.12.1974: 68-78.

178 This process will be described in more detail in section 2.3.

suppliers in public would often just negotiate in the open. The actual sale took place elsewhere, including private apartments.

Yet as with the countryside, the trade and use of heroin in private space was perceived as one of constant movement. In 1976 *Der Spiegel* reported that "the drug scene has successively moved into apartments".[179] As evidence, the newspaper counted the sites at which drug-related deaths had been discovered. Of the 337 victims who had been found in West Germany that year, sixty percent were discovered in private homes. Seventeen percent were found dead on toilets and subway stations; the rest had died in hospitals, on the street or in hotels. Although it is doubtful to what degree the places of consumption and overdoses can be considered indicators for "the scene" (understood as a combination of bodies, practices, and places), the interesting aspect is the representation as a movement—the scene "has shifted [*hat sich verlagert]*". This movement was invoked repeatedly in descriptions of the heroin scene. From a 1980 article of the *Frankfurter Rundschau*[180] to a *Spiegel* article on West Berlin in 1983 in which a drug squad officer lamented that "the market scene has disintegrated", concluding that "the trade is shifting [*verlagert sich*] into the apartments of fixers and dealers, at the traditional exchange places mostly addresses are being traded".[181] And still in 1988, the *Bundeskriminalamt* stated that the "shifting of the scene [...] towards private objects" that could be witnessed everywhere was limiting attempts to build up more "persecution pressure" on the scene; a shift that had already been witnessed by their local colleagues in Frankfurt, Zurich and Berlin for almost a decade.[182]

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179 "Die jüngste Statistik der Drogen-Taten dokumentiert auch, daß sich die Rauschgift-Szene zunehmend in die Wohnungen verlagert hat." "Heroin-Welle: Mord auf Raten," *Der Spiegel*, 30.05.1977: 186.

180 Klaus Lange and Jutta Stössinger. "Der Markt liefert weiter Tote," *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 07.07.1980.

181 "'Die Marktszene hat sich aufgelöst', klagt Fahnder Ulber. Der Umschlag verlagert sich in die Wohnungen von Fixern und Dealern, an den traditionellen Tauschplätzen werden jetzt vor allem Adressen gehandelt." "Tote abgerechnet," *Der Spiegel*, 25.07.1983: 55.

182 "Die Kriminaler wollen, um den Markt zu verunsichern, für mehr 'Verfolgungsdruck' sorgen. Die überall beobachtete konspirative 'Verlagerung der Szene von bekannten Treffs hin zu privaten Objekten', stellte das

In these instances—retreat respectively disappearance into private homes and side streets—the accounts could still be read as descriptions of singular events. Whenever the police came, the scene moved temporarily to side streets, only to come back later; whenever the policing of a certain scene intensified, people evaded the pressure by relocating to apartments only to gather again on the streets when the intensity of the raids allowed for it.[183] This certainly was the case, but there is another aspect to these reports that seems to me far more important. For although the apartments in which the scene was believed to have disappeared were those of drug users and dealers themselves, horror stories of addicts invading apartment blocks "up to the third floor" to shoot up heroin also found their way into the press.[184] On a symbolical level the (imminent) movement of drug users into apartments came disturbingly close to the realm of the private of every citizen. The conceived movement of deviant behaviour into apartments can therefore also be understood as an expression of fear: the fear that the boundaries between public and private space, norm and deviance, Self and Other could prove to be more fragile than was generally assumed.

BKA schon resignierend fest, setze dieser Taktik 'jedoch Grenzen'." "Als hättest du eine Rakete im Kopf. Weltmacht Droge (III): Wie der deutsche Markt mit Rauschgift überschwemmt wird," *Der Spiegel*, 21.11.1988: 143. The same mechanism was at work when *Der Spiegel* described the attempts to dissolve the scene at Frankfurt's Kaisersack in 1987. The difference was a focus on side streets and with a racist undertone, regarding "coloured dealers" from Senegal. "Absolut zu," *Der Spiegel*, 10.08.1987: 62.

183 Cf. section 2.3.

184 Bruno Glaus, "'Jetzt haben wir 'die Giftler' am Hals'," *Tages-Anzeiger*, 20.03.1982.

Flash: Intruders[185]

"The citizens are feeling the consequences of drug-related crimes [*Beschaffungskriminalität*] more and more where they are feeling most secure: in their own private homes. […] In Hamburg alone thieves broke into 15,000 apartments, 40 percent more than in the previous year."[186]

In the images of heterotopic sites of innocence threatened by drugs, time and space were inseparably intertwined. The countryside referred to the "good old times" threatened by modernity in the same way that school yards and playgrounds were symbols for the threatened age of youth and childhood *and* of the innocent youth of days gone by.[187] In other words: just like countryside and private spaces, youth and childhood were imagined as pure counter-sites to the adult world that had to be defended against the vices of the city and modernity symbolized by illegalized drugs. The image of increasingly younger heroin addicts was so successful because it fit well into a perception of drugs invading spaces of order, purity and innocence—a perception that could not be troubled by developments that indicated the contrary.[188] Framing the increasing consumption of heroin in terms of a spread, both in a

185 Throughout this dissertation I will use "flashes" to break up the linear argument and open a space for side-aspects or associations with seemingly disconnected phenomena in past or present. As Walter Benjamin once said: "The true picture of the past whizzes by. Only as a picture, which flashes its final farewell in the moment of its recognizability, is the past to be held fast. 'The truth will not run away from us' – this remark by Gottfried Keller denotes the exact place where historical materialism breaks through historicism's picture of history. For it is an irretrievable picture of the past, which threatens to disappear with every present, which does not recognize itself as meant in it. […] The materialist writing of history [...] is based on a constructive principle." Walter Benjamin, "On the Concept of History," in *Selected Writings*, vol. 4 (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 2003), 389-411, theses V and XVII. See also Vanessa R. Schwartz, "Walter Benjamin for Historians," *The American Historical Review* 106, no. 5 (2001): 1721-1743.

186 "Die Bürger spüren die Folgen der Beschaffungskriminalität zunehmend da, wo sie sich am sichersten fühlen: in den eigenen vier Wänden. [...] Allein in Hamburg knackten Diebe 1987 über 15 000 Wohnungen, 40 Prozent mehr als im Vorjahr." "Wer singt, kriegt eine Überdosis," *Der Spiegel*, 25.07.1988: 34.

187 "Heterotopias are most often linked to slices in time – which is to say that they open onto what might be termed, for the sake of symmetry, heterochronies." Foucault, "Of Other Spaces": 26.

188 Cf. section 2.1.1. Still in 1988, *Der Spiegel* quoted a drug expert from Hamburg, saying that addicts "are becoming increasingly younger" and that "15 year-olds shooting up" were "not longer a rarity". "Als hättest

spatial sense—from city to countryside, from meeting places of the scene to school yards and playgrounds—and a social sense—from upper to lower classes, from adults to youth to children—, had become a meaningful way to understand the growing number of heroin consumers, addicts and fatalities by 1980. By focusing on substances moving through spaces, conquering increasingly more room and bodies, possible social roots of juvenile drug consumption would largely disappear from view.

2.1.4. Bodies in space: seeing, meeting, and avoiding heroin users in public space

It was not the rising number of young heroin addicts that had triggered public interest but the appearance of the addicts in public space.[189] But why was the mere presence of drug-consuming teenagers so disturbing to contemporaries? The most obvious reason was the performance of criminal acts in public. Descriptions of teenagers who were dealing and consuming illegalized substances in front of the police served to point out the exceptional character of the acts; not only were these young people breaking the law—they were doing it in sight of the law![190] In a society based on legally codified norms and interactions, such defiance added to the seriousness of the crime. Furthermore, such descriptions implicitly asked for the police to no longer stand and watch but to act and restore law and order.

Yet there was more at stake than just crime prevention or persecution. A "scene" of drug users was not just a series of criminal acts; it was perceived as a milieu, involving a certain

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du eine Rakete im Kopf. Weltmacht Droge (III): Wie der deutsche Markt mit Rauschgift überschwemmt wird," *Der Spiegel*, 21.11.1988: 142.

189 Weinhauer, "The End of Certainties," 382.

190 "Alte Sehnsucht," *Der Spiegel*, 16.08.1971: 51-52. "For years the fixer had pegged out their patch on Frankfurt's 'hash meadow'. Before the eyes of police and passers-by addicted pupils got the dope, dealers sold a few grams for a profit – money for their own demand." "Drogen-Therapie: 'In Hessen nichts da'," *Der Spiegel*, 17.03.1980: 137.

group of people. The question was not just what individual persons did, but if they belonged to a group of young people that was only vaguely characterized by the term "scene" and that could include severely addicted heroin users as well as occasional consumers of cannabis. The problem with the (supposed) members of the drug scene was therefore not simply their individual delinquent behaviour but their belonging to a group that visibly defied hegemonic expectations regarding proper behaviour in public space. The individual mattered only insofar as their being formed part of the heroin scene as a visible "milieu of delinquency"[191] or, as James Q. Wilson and George L. Kelling put it in "Broken Windows" in 1982, as a group of "disreputable or obstreperous or unpredictable people".[192] It was therefore their *visibility*—independent of individual violations of a law—that was the main problem for contemporaries, as members of the heroin scene signified the lack of social control in public urban space.

The members of the heroin scene were also visible reminders of social crisis. Those who were recognizable as heroin users, as "junkies", by gathering in public spaces were only the most desperate and poorest of all drug users. They were viewed as drop-outs not so much because they had chosen to but because they had failed to live up to society's expectations. This becomes most obvious when one looks at the importance of the willingness or capacity for labour in the discourse on drug addicts. From the early to mid-1970s especially, drug addicts' inability to work was posed as a significant problem. *Der Spiegel* made out an "invalid pensioner trend" in 1972, counting about 10,000 drug addicts who were so worn out that they were unable to work.[193] The consumption of drugs and, even more importantly, individuals'

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191 Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 272.

192 George L. Kelling and James Q. Wilson, "Broken Windows. The Police and Neighborhood Safety," *Atlantic Monthly*, no. 3 (1982): 30.

193 "Im harten Kern der westdeutschen Drogen-Szene sind 10 000 Rauschgiftsüchtige so 'abgeschlafft' und 'ausgebufft', daß sie nicht mehr arbeiten können. Der Frührentner-Trend wird verschärft durch härtere Drogen." "Härterer Trend," *Der Spiegel*, 06.11.1972: 66.

contact with the heroin scene was believed to foster a "refusal to work [*Leistungsverweigerung*]".[194] "A majority of drug users today were youth without a job", the head of Berlin's most important drug clinic (*Karl-Bonhoeffer-Nervenklinik* or *Bonnies Ranch*) was quoted by *Der Spiegel* in 1979. Many members of the "de-ideologized" drug scene were, he added, "nothing, not even students".[195] Consequently, hard physical labour as a solution dominated early therapeutical programs[196] and popular opinion alike—although not everybody went so far as to demand a renewed "*Reichsarbeitsdienst*" or to "send the long-haired to Dachau" since the barracks of the former concentration camp were "empty after all."[197] Yet even until today an addict is considered to be healed when his or her capacity to work has been restored.[198] Heroin users were marked as fully responsible for their own fate which in turn assured everyone else that it was still possible to get a job if only one had the right attitude—a welcome message in times of rising unemployment rates (and a core element of neoliberal ideology).

Again, the crime of heroin users was not so much the act of selling, buying or using illegalized substances but their *being* addicts or, more exactly, their being *perceived* as addicts.

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194 Kreuzer, *Jugend, Rauschdrogen, Kriminalität*, 30; "Der goldene Schuß," *Der Spiegel*, 11.10.1976: 62.

195 "Inzwischen, so Keup, sei die Szene 'entideologisiert'. Die meisten Drogenabhängigen heute seien Jugendliche ohne Beruf; ein großer Prozentsatz sei 'nichts, nicht mal Student'." "Lebenslange Aufgabe für den Süchtigen," *Der Spiegel*, 03.12.1979: 258.

196 See for instance "Einfach zackig," *Der Spiegel*, 07.02.1977: 69-72; Gerd Kröncke, "Spür das, spür dein Zittern," *Der Spiegel*, 30.05.1977: 195-200; "Wie Babys, die gefüttert werden wollen," *Der Spiegel*, 25.12.1978: 40-47.

197 *Reichsarbeitsdienst* or Reich Labour Service had been a compulsory labour service for all male youth between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five under the National Socialist regime. Ibid.: 47; "Bürger des oberbayrischen Dorfs Tandem – 674 Einwohner, 2 Gastwirtschaften, 1 Gemischtwarenhandlung – vereitelten am Freitag vorletzter Woche das Vorhaben der Münchner 'Drogenberatungsstelle', im Dorfschloß ein Rehabilitationszentrum für jugendliche Rauschgiftsüchtige einzurichten: 'Steckt's doch die Langhaarigen nach Dachau, da sind doch die Baracken leer.'" "Hinten dran," *Der Spiegel*, 26.07.1971: 58-59.

198 B. R. (Drogengruppe Zürich), "Ansätze zu einer kritischen Analyse des Zuercher Drogenproblems," April 1982, SozArch ZH, Ar 201.89.4 - Mappe 1: AG Drogen, Drogengruppe ZH, 1980-82, Drogengruppe AJZ & Drogengruppe ZH, theoretische Debatte/Aufarbeitung, bes. Tschönkie-Raum, 1981-84; Viktoria B. Bergschmidt. "Pleasure, power and dangerous substances: applying Foucault to the study of 'heroin dependence' in Germany," *Anthropology & Medicine* 11, no. 1 (2004): 59-73.

Their crime was visibility. The insecurity that the crisis and transformation of society caused so many people was reinforced by visible misery. It was a reminder of the possibility of one's own social fall—a possibility that had to be repressed in order to continue to lead a normal life. The prevailing drug phobia thus also served, as Lorenz Böllinger has pointed out, as a "defence for the anger about actually experienced dependency and the consequent fear of a loss of control".[199]

Social descent was manifested in individual bodies. Heroin addicts could easily represent "social decay" because their own decaying bodies appeared like a manifestation of their social descent. By sojourning at certain places their decaying bodies seemed to represent the decay of these sites as well. Modernist architecture was discussed widely as a possible reason for drug consumption and drug users strengthened the perception of the city as a space of and in crisis. The presence of a visible drug scene thus seemed to prove the perceived social and urban crisis while at the same time contributing to and intensifying it. Or, on a more abstract level, urban decay produced decaying bodies which in turn symbolized and accelerated this urban decay. For it was the heroin users' decaying bodies whose presence created a space of deviance and whose visibility was hard for many to bear. It was hard to tolerate, as sociologist Imke Schmincke has pointed out,

> because physical misery [*Verelendung*] touches one's own physical vulnerability while at the same time indicates a social condition that has not prevented this misery. Through the discomfort in sight of a misery that becomes corporeal a social discrepancy is articulated that manifests itself on the individual bodies.[200]

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199 "Die gesellschaftliche Drogenphobie dient - wie das Todestabu - auch der Abwehr der Wut über tatsächlich erlebte Abhängigkeit und daraus folgender Angst vor Kontrollverlust, Aggressionsdurchbruch, Wahnsinn." Lorenz Böllinger, "Lust und Last - Zur sozialen Kontrolle von Ekstase," in *Rausch - Sucht - Lust. Kulturwissenschaftliche Studien an den Grenzen von Kunst und Wissenschaft*, edited by Stephan Uhlig and Monika Thiele (Gießen: Psychosozial-Verlag, 2002), 64.

200 "Schwer erträglich ist es aber, weil die körperliche Verelendung an die eigene körperliche Verletztheit rührt und zugleich auf einen gesellschaftlichen Zustand verweist, der dieses Elend nicht verhindert hat. So artikuliert sich also in dem Unbehagen gegenüber der körperlich werdenden Verelendung ein gesellschaftlicher Widerspruch, der sich an den individuellen Körpern manifestiert." Imke Schmincke,

The sudden visibility of those who 'did not make it' brought this repressed fear to the fore and sparked anger amongst those who considered themselves "proper" subjects. The more difficult it was to adhere to hegemonic norms and values—due to financial crises and growing rates of unemployment, for instance—the stronger the provocation.[201]

Flash: On compulsive buying

"In Germany an estimated twenty percent belong to this type of consumer […] who uses shopping as a strategy of everyday 'emotional work'. Most of these persons buy impulsively: They are strolling between stores and within the stores between the commodities on offer, aimless, without concrete intention of buying but attracted by atmospheres of intense experiences […]. Then, suddenly, they are getting excited, as this 40-year-old woman describes, looking back at her Christmas shopping:

'It was like, it was almost as if my heart would burst, I couldn't wait to go inside and have a look around. They were such strong sensations. In the shop the lights, the people; they were playing Christmas carols. I hyperventilated and my hands began to sweat and all of a sudden I was touching sweaters and everything I touched was waving at me (...)'.

Gefährliche Körper an gefährlichen Orten. Eine Studie zum Verhältnis von Körper, Raum und Marginalisierung (Bielefeld: Transcript, 2009), 239. A group of medicinal personnel working with drug addicts in Zurich described this mechanism as follows: "The increasing social disintegration of ever larger social strata, the epidemic dimension of addiction is an expression of the emptiness and insecurity of today's social environment. And when all this exemplarily even becomes publicly visible […], becomes consumable as a 'pile of junk' [*Häufchen Kaputtheit*] on a sunday's walk or can be reviled each and every day as an annoying and perturbing gomorrah, it is like a provocation of the honest *Bürger*. It is a punch in the face of a society that is still defined by values like hard work [*Leistung*], profit, success, cleanliness, and control." Team der Auffangstation Tiefenbrunnen, "Und nachher will es keiner gewesen sein .... Pressekonferenz 15. März 1983. Das Fiasko behördlicher Drogenpolitik," 14.03.1983, SozArch ZH, Ar 201.89.4 - Mappe 1: AG Drogen, Drogengruppe ZH, 1980-82, Drogengruppe ZH u.a., 1983, PK zu Razzien an Riviera, 1.

201 This mechanism is still at work and has been extended to the consumption of legal drugs, as several attempts to prohibit the consumption of nicotine and alcohol in public spaces since the mid-2000s show. Urban sociologists interpret this development similar to the situations described in this paper: "It is not the extensive consumption of alcohol in public space that is frightening. It is the fear to be confronted with the visible consequences of the problem of addiction; it is the fear of one's own possible blight and the impending social exclusion that is used to avenge such deviations from the norm." Herbert Glasauer, "Stadt und Unsicherheit. Entschlüsselungsversuche eines vertrauten Themas in stets neuen Facetten," in *Diskurs, Stadt, Kriminalität: städtische (Un-)Sicherheiten aus der Perspektive von Stadtforschung und kritischer Kriminalgeographie*, edited by Georg Glasze, Robert Pütz, and Manfred Rolfes (Bielefeld: Transcript, 2005), 211.

> The touched sweaters were 'waving' at her! This is typical. A compulsive buyer does not experience himself as the centre of action: It is not him who desires the commodity—the commodity desires him, looks at him, calls after him, pursues him. An irresistible suction emanates from it that elevates its prospect to the rank of an exceptional encounter. In the words of a 27-year-old man:
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> 'The product from which emanates a suction is different than all the others. As soon as you see it you stop and look at it for some minutes as if spell-bound, then suddenly it hits you like a stroke and you're getting goose bumps'."[202]

The provocation and the anger were strongest when confrontations with the heroin scene came about suddenly and were not mediated by the media. Most people knew drug addiction only through mass media products.[203] Whether press reports, radio features, TV documentaries or popular feature films (like *The Panic in Needle Park* or *Wir Kinder vom Bahnhof Zoo*)[204]—mass media all allowed for a consumption of the problem of heroin addiction from a safe distance. Rather than perceiving drug addiction as invading people's homes through the media, I suggest

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202 "Schätzungen zufolge gehören in Deutschland um die zwanzig Prozent zu diesem Konsumententypus [...], der Shopping als Strategie alltäglicher 'Emotionsarbeit' [...] einsetzt. Die meisten dieser Personen kaufen impulsiv: Sie flanieren zwischen den Läden und in den Läden zwischen den angebotenen Waren, ziellos, ohne bestimmte Kaufabsicht, aber angezogen von erlebnisintensiven Atmosphären [...]. Dann plötzlich geraten sie in Erregung, so wie dies eine 40jährige Frau im Rückblick auf ihr Shopping zu Weihnachten beschreibt: 'Es war wie, es war fast als würde mein Herz zerspringen, ich konnte es nicht abwarten, hineinzugehen und mich umzusehen. Es waren so starke Sinnesempfindungen. Im Laden die Lichter, die Menschen; sie spielten Weihnachtsmusik. Ich hyperventilierte und meine Hände begannen zu schwitzen, und ganz plötzlich befühlte ich Pullover und alles, was ich anfühlte, winkte mir zu (...)'. Die befühlten Pullover 'winken' ihr zu! Das ist typisch. ein Impulskäufer erlebt sich nicht selbst als Zentrum der Aktion: Nicht er begehrt die Ware - die Ware begehrt ihn, blickt ihn an, ruft ihm nach, verfolgt ihn. Von ihr geht ein unwiderstehlicher Sog aus, der ihren Anblick in den Rang einer außeralltägliche [sic] Begegnung erhebt. In den Worten eines 27jährigen Mannes: 'Das Produkt, von dem ein Sog ausgeht, ist anders als alle anderen. Sobald du es siehst, bleibst du stehen und blickst es einige Minuten lang gebannt an, dann plötzlich trift es dich wie ein Schlag und du bekommst eine Gänsehaut.'" Rolf Haubl, "Consumo, ergo sum - Geld und Konsum als Stimmungsmacher," in Uhlig and Thiele, *Rausch - Sucht - Lust*, 167.

203 It is worth noting that the media portrayed drug consumption almost exclusively as drug addiction, thus narrowing the view of a complex phenomenon to the limited aspect of addiction, decay, and death of young drug consumers, often to the extent of a 'moral panic'. The media "had no touchstone of truth apart from their own scare stories." Reinarman and Duskin, "Dominant Ideology and Drugs in the Media," 82.

204 *The Panic in Needle Park*, USA, 1971, directed by Jerry Schatzberg, script by James Mills (book); Joan Didion,

a different perspective: mediated through the media, drug addiction could be rendered less threatening as long as one could look at it within the safety of one's home. Here, drug addiction was securely contained (within the frame of a newspaper or TV set), excluded (by walls and doors), and controlled (one could always put away the newspaper; there was no troubling smell or noise). One could gaze at addicts without fear of them looking back (thus establishing a connection between 'ordinary' citizens and addicts), without fear of being touched.[205] Consuming media images of drug consumers' misery always had an aspect of voyeurism: by watching "the pain of others" who were not conforming with society's norms, one's own position was elevated above those who were suffering.[206]

All these securities vanished suddenly and unexpectedly if one encountered heroin addicts in person. Although it was a different world from that of most citizens, the public character of the heroin scenes' meeting places made such encounters likely. Heroin users occupied the same geographical place as 'ordinary' citizens but used it for very different ends. While the latter might use a train or subway station to get to work, heroin users would sojourn there to trade, consume, share information or simply socialize. In these instances it was impossible to ignore the (misery of) drug users. "Horrified *Bürger*[207] who so far have occupied themselves with drugs and death only as the readers of newspapers are suddenly and intimately [*hautnah*] confronted with the vices of addiction", *Der Spiegel* described a scene at Frankfurt's main

John Gregory Dunne (screenplay), 110 min.; *Christiane F. - Wir Kinder vom Bahnhof Zoo*, directed by Uli Edel. Cf. Jack Stevenson, *Addicted. The Myth and Menace of Drugs in Film* (Washington, DC: Creation Books, 2000).

205 Cf. Stallybrass and White, *The Politics and Poetics of Transgression*, 135.

206 Susan Sontag, *Regarding the Pain of Others* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2003).

207 The German term *Bürger* comprises a wide range of different meanings, depending on the context of its use. It denotes a citizen, i.e. an active participant in the political life of a community and the carrier of political rights. But the term merges the political category of the citizen with the social class of the bourgeoisie. In a *bürgerliche Gesellschaft* (civil/ bourgeois society), the term also takes on a normative meaning, denoting the compliance with hegemonic norms and values as much as an identification with the political system and a certain social status. As terms such as *Bürger* and *bürgerlich* were often used by youth activists in the 1970s and 1980s in a negative sense as the activists tried to set themselves apart, I will keep the original terminology in those cases where their meaning cannot be reduced to either that of the citizen or the bourgeois.

station.[208] The German term "hautnah", roughly translatable as "skin-close", highlights the physical aspect of these encounters. Even if nothing happened, the simultaneous presence of normal and deviant bodies in the same space caused a fear that was experienced as almost corporeal. This corporeality was enhanced in cases when passers-by witnessed the actual process of shooting up, that is the penetration of a body's borders and its subsequent pollution. This sight could cause physical sickness and revulsion for the viewer.[209] The more fears of social transformation and individual descent were projected onto heroin users, the more disquieting was their visibility in public space and the bigger the shock and uneasiness when they were encountered in person.

2.1.5. Conclusion

From the late 1960s, illegalized drugs had been a common aspect of West German youth culture. By the early 1970s, the use of cannabis by middle- and upper-class pupils was already on the decline, while a growing number of primarily working-class youth took to the newly available heroin. By the mid-1970s, this new hard-drug scene had separated itself from the soft-drug and political scenes and had established a network of meeting places in public urban spaces. This visibility, together with rising numbers of drug-related deaths, sparked a debate on drug use, its causes and its consequences.

Youth figured prominently in the discourse on drug use and drug addiction. The idea of

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208 "Entsetzte Bürger, die sich bisher nur als Zeitungsleser mit Drogen und Tod beschäftigten, werden plötzlich hautnah mit den Auswüchsen der Sucht konfrontiert." "Wer singt, kriegt eine Überdosis," *Der Spiegel*, 25.07.1988: 30.

209 Although the act of shooting-up causes strong reactions in many people, it becomes even more disturbing when it happens outside its appropriate spatial frames, that is not in a hospital but in public urban space. When in 1992 heroin users demonstrated for the installation of safe-injection sites in the city of Bremen by publicly shooting up heroin on the central market place the local press quoted shocked passers-by with terms like "disgusting" or "turns around one's stomach". *Weser-Kurier*, 26.8.1992, quoted in Böllinger, "Lust und Last," 59. More generally Julia Kristeva, *Powers of Horror. An Essay on Abjection* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982).

heroin users becoming ever younger, despite contradictory empirical figures, shows that youth were the screen onto which adults were projecting their fears and anxieties. The concern about youth was also a concern about the nation's future; the crisis of youth had to be regulated in order to solve the crisis of nation and society.[210] Young women in particular were constructed as helpless victims of seduction to both drugs and sexuality. Gender stereotypes resulted in young girls being placed under intensified observation, with implicit calls for stricter guidance for their own good. As potential mothers, their behaviour was strongly linked to the nation's future and as such needed special attention.

The connection between the crisis of youth and the crisis of society that became visible in scenes of young heroin users, worked in both directions. The perceived social, economic, and urban crisis helped to understand the "dropping out" of many youth into deviant subcultures, including that of drug scenes. Yet teenage drug consumption also helped to translate the all-consuming crisis of the 1970s into a crisis of youth, thus providing a potential object for regulatory policies to manage this crisis. The discourse on juvenile drug addiction was therefore also a site at which social norms and values could be renegotiated and reestablished, for instance in regard to national identity, sexuality, work ethics, and the proper behaviour of youth in the widest sense.

The conception of drug users becoming ever younger had no equivalent in reality. Yet it seemed nonetheless true because it fit with similar conceptions of heroin "invading" villages and private apartments. This development was perceived as a "wave" that was threatening to flood and poison spaces of innocence and purity; although illegalized drugs could be encountered everywhere, their presence was conceived as a physical movement.

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210 Youth itself appears thus as a discursive construction that ignored differences between young people, regarding gender, class, education etc. The focus on a seemingly homogeneous youth allowed observers to ignore social and economic factors in the growing consumption of heroin.

Space had become a meaningful way to frame heroin consumption by adolescents and the associated disquieting social transformations. This spatialization also implied a new way of dealing with youth deviance. Until the 1970s, considerable effort had been made to *discipline* and re-integrate deviant *individuals*.[211] Now the focus shifted to the *control* of visible *groups* in public space.[212] Two complementary solutions took shape at the end of the 1970s to make heroin consumption (and thereby social transformation) less threatening. The use of heroin needed to be contained on a symbolic level and the visible heroin scenes needed to disappear from public space. These two solutions are the focus of the following sections.

211 Of great importance was the system of children's homes which had been installed at the turn of the century. Its decline between c. 1965 and 1975 was largely caused by a growing protest movement that articulated the difference between a widespread expectation of social reform and the actually existing repressive climate in youth welfare institutions. Cf. footnote 86.

212 This will be elaborated upon in more detail in section 2.3.

2.2. Containing heroin through heterotopias of deviation: the West Berlin "Bahnhof Zoo" as a symbolic space

> *In no other European city is the drug-related death rate […] as high as in West Berlin.*
> *– Der Spiegel, 1978*[213]

Beginning in the mid-1960s, the consumption of illegalized drugs—mainly cannabis, LSD, and mescaline—had stirred public interest in the city of West Berlin.[214] By the late 1970s, the high death toll among Berlin heroin users had turned the city of West Berlin into the "capital of fixers", whose death-rate even superseded that of New York.[215] Although the real dimensions of the problem of heroin use were even underestimated until 1980, the undeniable omnipresence of heroin use among young people was unsettling.[216]

One way to render the problem of heroin less threatening was to discursively create spaces where heroin use could be contained at least on a symbolical level. The life-story of a young heroin addict turned the train and subway station Bahnhof Zoo, one of many meeting places of the heroin scene, into just such a symbolic space. This media discourse, I want to argue, conceived the Bahnhof Zoo as a heterotopia, or counter-site, that was entirely different from its surroundings and that was marked by the absence of hegemonic social norms or their complete reversal. For adults, the existence of such a space made heroin use among teenagers less threatening, as they could now protect their children from drugs by keeping them from places like the Bahnhof Zoo. The transformation of a random meeting-place of drug-consuming youth into a heterotopia of deviance, seemingly separated from the rest of society, allowed the state to leave the social conditions of drug use aside and to complement the

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213 "In keiner europäischen Großstadt ist die Rauschgift-Todesrate, gemessen an der Zahl der Süchtigen, so hoch wie in West-Berlin." "Hauptstadt der Fixer," *Der Spiegel*, 02.01.1978: 51.

214 Weinhauer, "Heroinszenen," 248.

215 "Hauptstadt der Fixer," *Der Spiegel*, 02.01.1978: 51.

216 "Die erste Spritze in der großen Pause," *Der Spiegel*, 09.06.1980: 55-69.

disciplining of subjects by the control of spaces. Yet these new spaces of deviance were highly ambiguous. Although they were presented in the media as symbols for delinquency and decline, to many teenagers these spaces became an object of fascination rather than sites to be avoided. The reception of stories about the Bahnhof Zoo shows that the presumed absence of (adult) norms and values at these sites turned them into spaces that to many youth promised a freedom that they were not able to find anywhere else in society. Although the assessment of the Bahnhof Zoo by adults and youth differed, the underlying structure was the same; the idea that social conditions could be understood and solved through the management of space.

2.2.1. Development of local heroin scenes in West Berlin in the 1970s

Between 1970 and 1972, the Berlin drug scene, in accordance with a general trend in West Germany, split into a "soft drug" scene, dominated by middle-class pupils and university students, and a "hard drug" scene that consisted mainly of proletarian youth. This split also expressed itself spatially. Under pressure from the police, members of the Berlin drug scene quickly abandoned an established meeting point only to gather at a new one, often just some hundred meters away. One of the earliest meeting points was at the *Gedächtniskirche* on Kurfürstendamm. The scene moved from there to Halenseebrücke and further on to Ludwigkirchplatz and eventually to the train and subway station Bahnhof Zoo, however hashish consumers stayed behind at Ludwigkirchplatz. According to Berlin drug therapists, the separation of soft and hard drug scene was thus completed by 1972.[217]

Young heroin consumers and suppliers continued to establish further meeting places in

217 Drogenberatung im Haus der Mitte, *Harte Drogen in West-Berlin*, 28. Whether this separation was always so absolute is doubtful. At the local scene at Hasenheide park in Berlin-Kreuzberg, heroin users and hashish smokers apparently hung out together even in the mid- and late 1970s. A mutual disdain for each other usually prevented such a mingling, though: while for hashish smokers "junkies" were social losers, heroin consumers looked down on hashish as a "baby drug". Hermann, Rieck, and F[elscherinow], *Wir Kinder vom Bahnhof Zoo*, 252.

the area. Public spaces near subway station Kurfürstentraße and at the intersection of Kurfürstendamm and Joachimstaler Straße (*Kranzler-Eck*) together with the *Mensa* of *Technische Universität* were all populated and supplied, each at different times of the day.[218] Movement and volatility were characteristic of the spaces the heroin scene occupied, right from the start.

In the following years the central market place around the "dealers' promenade", as *Der Spiegel* had called the area around *Gedächtniskirche*, Tauentzienplatz and *Café Kranzler*, was complemented by smaller scenes in several neighbourhoods.[219] By November 1976, local scenes were reported by city councillors for youth affairs for almost all city districts. Often the scene gathered near popular bars or youth centres, like the *Jugendfreizeitheim Alt-Lichtenrade* in Tempelhof, the nightclub *Sound* in Tiergarten or the *Café Heinrich* in Kreuzberg. Subway stations, public places and parks added up to a whole network of local heroin scenes. These meeting points were mostly used by people who wanted to buy drugs or to establish contacts with dealers, while the actual consumption, sometimes even the purchase, took place in private apartments or public toilets.[220] At the end of the 1970s, heroin consumption was thus an omnipresent phenomenon in the "capital of fixers". Young heroin consumers—by 1980 an estimated 6,000—could be encountered virtually everywhere in the city of West Berlin.[221]

2.2.2. "We Children from Bahnhof Zoo": popularizing teenage heroin consumption

In this situation of uncertainty a media report hit the nerve of the Berlin and indeed the entire West German public. In 1978, the weekly *Stern* published a story based on a series of

218 Drogenberatung im Haus der Mitte, *Harte Drogen in West-Berlin*, 28.

219 "Hauptstadt der Fixer," *Der Spiegel*, 02.01.1978: 52.

220 Drogenberatung im Haus der Mitte, *Harte Drogen in West-Berlin*, 29-33.

221 "Hauptstadt der Fixer," *Der Spiegel*, 02.01.1978: 51; "Die erste Spritze in der großen Pause," *Der Spiegel*, 09.06.1980: 55.

interviews with then 15-year-old Christiane Felscherinow, a former heroin addict from Berlin. Paralleling the series in Stern was the story's publication as a book. Although written by two journalists, the story appeared in the form of a first-person account under the title *Christiane F. Wir Kinder vom Bahnhof Zoo*, thereby evoking a high degree of authenticity. The book became a roaring success: it ranked first on the *Spiegel* list of bestsellers for a record-breaking ninety-five weeks and was translated into more than twenty languages. Still in print, more than two million copies have sold of the German version alone.[222] In 1981, the book was adapted for the screen, adding further to the popularity of the story.[223]

The report apparently struck a chord with teenagers and adults alike. It covered Christiane F.'s move away from her divorced mother's home in the notorious Gropiusstadt, a high-rise dormitory town at the fringes of West Berlin, to the heroin scene at Bahnhof Zoo and into drug addiction and prostitution. Her path led first to the *Sound*, a major nightclub, where she was introduced to a clique of teenaged drug users, including her soon-to-be boyfriend Detlef. It was in this nightclub that she took her first LSD trip; and after attending a concert by her idol David Bowie, she started snorting heroin. While Detlef and Christiane grew closer to each other, she learned that Detlef prostituted himself at the Bahnhof Zoo. Although appalled by this fact, soon after her first shot of heroin Christiane herself was forced to work as a prostitute in order to earn the necessary money for her addiction.[224] After an

222 "Christiane F. Wir Kinder vom Bahnhof Zoo," *Stern,* no. 40 (1978) – no. 51 (1978); Hermann, Rieck, and F[elscherinow], *Wir Kinder vom Bahnhof Zoo*. In 2006 the 49th edition was published by Bertelsmann; 1,950,000 copies have been sold since the first edition thirty years ago (publisher's information).

223 *Christiane F. – Wir Kinder vom Bahnhof Zoo*, directed by Uli Edel. The US-version premiered on the same day as the German one under the title "We Children from Bahnhof Zoo"; it was voted "Most Popular Film" on the Montréal World Film Festival. "Christiane F. - Wir Kinder vom Bahnhof Zoo", Internet Movie Database (IMDb), http://imdb.com/title/tt0082176/ (accessed 18 February 2008). For a comprehensive summary see Stephanie Watson and Alex Recht, "German Drug Cinema," in *Addicted. The Myth and Menace of Drugs in Film*, edited by Jack Stevenson (Washington, DC: Creation Books, 2000), 166-175. One year earlier, a sexploitation film based loosely on the story of Christiane F. had already been brought to the movies: *Die Schulmädchen vom Treffpunkt Zoo*, Germany 1979, directed by Walter Boos, script by George Elmer, 87 min.

224 Despite its negative connotations I decided to use the term "prostitute" instead of "sex worker" as it evokes

unsuccessful attempt at quitting, she slipped deeper and deeper into the heroin scene. She moved out of her mother's apartment to live with a friend of Detlef's, only to be forced to move in with one of his regular clients after losing this friend to a fatal overdose. While several of their friends shared the same fate, Christiane would finally be saved by being sent by her mother to her aunt and grandmother in a small village in rural Schleswig-Holstein.

Both the book and film were enormously successful because they took up contemporary assumptions about heroin use and turned them into a meaningful story that, aside from all the dreariness, provided a happy ending. The movie especially, with its inherent necessity to situate every scene in a spatial setting, focused on urban spaces, their meaning and their interconnectedness in telling this story. City space appeared to provide an explanation for teenage drug consumption and possible solutions to it. The film *We Children from Bahnhof Zoo* serves as an important example of how media products combined, and perpetuated, the images of urban space, youth deviance and the social "Other" that have been described in the previous sections. The story of Christiane F. helped transform the crisis of nation, city, and youth into a seemingly manageable question of spatial control and established the Bahnhof Zoo as *the* symbolic site of teenage heroin consumption in the 1980s.

To this end, the film explored some of the assumptions for deviant juvenile behaviour, including the decline of the nuclear family, modernist urban architecture, and youth culture. Christiane was shown to grow up with her sister and single parent mother. Forced to earn a living, the mother was often absent and therefore not able to supervise her children, a fact that was exacerbated by her liberal educational methods. The invisible father thus symbolized a lack of authority that would otherwise have complemented the mother's understanding nature. His

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a long history of "the prostitute" as a symbol for the transgression of social and geographical borders. See for instance Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight*, 21ff.; Stallybrass and White, *The Politics and Poetics of Transgression*, 137ff.

guiding hand could not easily be substituted.[225] When the mother met a new partner, it only increased the estrangement between mother and daughter. By omitting the father's violent behaviour towards his wife and daughters (which had figured prominently in the book) the film constructed an ideal image of 'normal' family life and thus managed to present the decline of the nuclear family—and not its existence—as one of the main reasons for teenage drug use.[226]

In addition to the assumed decline of traditional institutions, the film also picked up the critique of modern architecture and its supposed negative effects on youth. Right at the beginning of the film we see several shots of the bleak high-rises of the *Gropiusstadt* settlement, accompanied by Christiane's voice-over:

> Everywhere just piss and shit. You just have to look closely. No matter how new and lavish everything appears from the distance. With its green lawns and the shopping malls. But in the houses it stinks the most, in the staircases. But what else should the children do when they're playing outside and have an urgent need? Before the elevator arrives and they reach the eleventh or twelfth floor, they already wet their pants and take a beating. So they prefer to relieve themselves in the hallway.[227]

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225 Cf. also p. 88.

226 In a later TV interview Christiane Felscherinow highlighted again the role of domestic violence in her personal development: "Yes, like, the parents were often thinking: 'Ah yes, the child is addicted to heroin, then it will make a withdrawal and then it's going to be alright again.' Right? I mean, my father at that time, like: 'What, a twelve year-old heroin addict? Well, then she has to get her arse kicked, right? And that's the end of it.' But it's not that simple." "Ja, also die Eltern haben oft gedacht, ah ja, das Kind ist heroinsüchtig, dann macht es einen Entzug, und dann ist es wieder in Ordnung. Nicht wahr, also mein Vater damals so: 'Was, ne zwölfjährige Heroinabhängige? Dann muss die mal ordentlich den Arsch vollkriegen. So, dann hat sich da die Sache. So einfach ist es dann aber doch nicht." *Stern TV*, 6 February 2008. Interviews with (former) heroin addicts confirm the role of familial violence in many addicts' biographies, cf. Egartner and Holzbauer, "*Ich hab's nur noch mit Gift geschafft...*". See also Siegfried Schober, "Ich will mich kaputtmachen," *Der Spiegel*, 31.10.1977: 236.

227 "Überall nur Pisse und Kacke. Man muss nur genau hinsehen. Egal wie neu und großzügig von weitem alles aussieht. Mit seinen grünen Rasen und den Einkaufszentren. Aber am meisten stinkt's in den Häusern, in den Treppenhäusern. Aber was sollen die Kinder denn machen, wenn sie draußen spielen und mal müssen? Bis der Fahrstuhl kommt und sie im elften oder zwölften Stock sind, haben sie schon in die Hose gemacht und bekommen Prügel. Da machen sie lieber gleich in den Hausflur." *Christiane F. – Wir Kinder vom Bahnhof Zoo*, directed by Uli Edel, 1:21-1:50.

The high-rises were but a symbol for an inhumane urban development that made children suffer and caused them to adopt deviant behaviour to cope with their environment. The high-rises were also a symbol for a social order whose foundations were rotten, no matter how sparkling its surface might appear. This suggestion had already been presented strongly through the photographs and captions that accompanied the original articles and that had also reappeared in the book version of the report. Here, the "concrete landscape" of the Gropiusstadt was introduced as a "model case of a residential complex that inevitably produces youth delinquency and drug addiction".[228] Yet it was the film that provided the possibility to almost physically *experience* the "emptiness, isolation, anonymity, lack of orientation, and anxiety" that criminologists had related to these settlements, attributing their structures as causes for juvenile drug use.[229]

After several shots of the "concrete landscape" of the Gropiusstadt, the camera focused on a colourful poster: sensual, half-opened lips advertised the *Sound* as "Europe's most modern discotheque". "There I want to go", the voice of Christiane told the audience before the actual story began.[230] It was here, in nightclubs, cinemas, rock concerts—at places where youth were gathering without parental control—that Christiane came into contact with drug using teenagers and the drugs themselves.

As with the causes for heroin addiction, the film repeated contemporary assumptions about the relation between drug use and sexuality. A heroin shot was "like a sexual climax", said a protagonist at one point.[231] And Christiane's descent into the heroin scene was indeed

228 "Heute gilt die Betonlandschaft als Modellfall einer Wohnanlage, die zwangsläufig Jugendkriminalität und Rauschgiftsucht produziert." "Christiane F. - Wir Kinder vom Bahnhof Zoo, 1. Teil," *Stern*, 28.09.1978: 82. In the same sense argued psychoanalyst Horst-Eberhard Richter in his introduction to the book version: Horst-Eberhard Richter, "Vorwort," in Hermann, Rieck, and F[elscherinow], *Wir Kinder vom Bahnhof Zoo*, 9.

229 Cf. footnote 163.

230 "*Sound* – Europas modernste Diskothek. Da will ich hin." *Christiane F. – Wir Kinder vom Bahnhof Zoo*, directed by Uli Edel, 2:27.

231 "[...] wie ein sexueller Höhepunkt." Ibid., 1:00:18.

Fig. 2.1: Christiane F. (played by Natja Brunckhorst) is shown to flog the masochist *Stottermaxe* (Stuttering Max) in a series of film stills in *Bravo* youth magazine. Her wish—"I hope it will be over soon."—will come true shortly afterwards, as she tries to commit suicide by an overdose of heroin. – Source: "Wir Kinder vom Bahnhof Zoo - Film-Foto-Roman, Teil 6," *Bravo*, 04.06.1981: 75.

paralleled by her developing a (deviant) sexuality. As soon as she entered the sites of youth culture she was approached by young men from a clique of drug users and quickly fell in love with one of them. In accordance with criminologists' presumptions she was taking her first shot of heroin mainly in order to understand, and be closer to, her boyfriend Detlef.[232] Shortly thereafter, she asked him to have sex with her for the first time—early sexual activities and drug use were thus shown to go hand in hand. In the following scenes, the causal connection between drug use and the development of a deviant sexuality was confirmed by Christiane's need to prostitute herself. This process culminated in her flogging an adult, male masochist—a reversion of traditional gender roles that appeared as the ultimate perversion (fig. 2.1). Directly after this scene, Christiane attempted to commit suicide by an overdose of heroin.[233]

232 After her first shot Christiane is scolded by Detlef: "Are you copying everything I do?", to which she replies: "I just wanted to know how you feel." Both agree that it is a "*geiles*" feeling, a term that has strong sexual connotations. Ibid., 49:00.

233 Ibid., 1:59:59.

Female sexuality and susceptibility to seduction to both sex and drugs had figured prominently following the publication of the original interview series. The *Stern* magazine had advertized the book version with a photograph of Christiane F. and the headline: "Actually we just wanted love and tenderness" (fig. 2.2). The ad also promised the story of "the life of a girl that fell victim to heroin [*das dem Heroin verfiel*]".[234] Both statements mirrored the convictions of contemporary criminologists that girls were usually seduced to heroin use once they had given in to intimate relationships with young men. In the search for "love and tenderness", the advertisement suggested, the girls found sex and heroin as deviant substitutes.

Fig. 2.2: "We just wanted love and tenderness." – Source: *Stern*, 14.12.1978.

The crisis of modern urbanity and the decline of the nuclear family appeared thus as the two main reasons for deviate adolescent behaviour. The role of urban space was presented as central to juvenile drug delinquency in two interconnected ways: *first*, by fostering alienation and deviance through the inhumanity of modernist architecture and the functionalist division between residential areas and inner-city spaces of consumption; *second*, by providing an escape

234 Stern-Verlag, "Eigentlich wollten wir nur Liebe und Zärtlichkeit," advertisement, *Stern*, 14.12.1978.

into spaces of an uncontrolled youth culture, like nightclubs and bars, but also at certain public places, in these urban centres. The crises of city and nuclear family also meant that teenagers were in danger of developing a deviant sexuality. By paralleling heroin use and sexuality, the film suggested that its topic was not just relevant to a small minority but that it touched upon a problem that potentially concerned *all* teenagers once they reached puberty—and their parents.

2.2.3. The Bahnhof Zoo as a heterotopia of deviation

> *Detlef: You, you better not come here.*
> *Christiane: But why not?*
> *Detlef: Because I don't want my girlfriend to come to the Zoo, that's why. You know, here's the endmost scum. You don't belong here.*
> *– Christiane F. – Wir Kinder vom Bahnhof Zoo, 1981*[235]

At the centre of the story about Christiane F. was the subway station Bahnhof Zoo, which also served as the central train station in West Berlin during the 1980s. Here, the scene was gathering and drugs were being traded. In the station's public toilets, teenagers were injecting heroin into their veins. Sometimes their dead bodies were discovered here as well.[236] But the train station Bahnhof Zoo was not just presented as a site of the local heroin scene; it was also constructed as a container for many other phenomena that were thus marked as alien to West-German society, above all migration and sexual "perversion". The Bahnhof Zoo was thus established as a heterotopic counter-site to the surrounding city, a symbolic space for the

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235 "Du, du kommst aber besser nicht hierher. – Warum denn nicht? – Weil ich nicht will, dass meine Freundin zum Zoo kommt, deshalb. Weißt du, hier ist der letzte Abschaum. Hier gehörst du nicht hin." *Christiane F. – Wir Kinder vom Bahnhof Zoo*, directed by Uli Edel, 1:00:18.

236 The public toilet became one of the primary sites to represent drug-related deaths (and thereby heroin use in general), but it was also traditionally associated with male homosexuality. Exploring further the role of the public toilet as a potential link between discourses on drugs and deviant sexuality would be beyond the scope of this study. See for instance Wilfried Eigeltinger, "Das Niemandsland Klappe," in *Berlin von hinten*, edited by Bruno Gmünder and Christian von Maltzahn (Berlin: Bruno Gmünder, 1981), 149-153; Hans-Georg Stümke, "Die Hamburger Spiegel-Affäre von 1980," in *Schwule, Lesben, Polizei. Vom Zwangsverhältnis zur Zweck-Ehe?*, edited by Jens Dobler (Berlin: Rosa Winkel, 1996), 95-106.

crisis of the late 1970s and early 1980s.

When Christiane enters the train station for the first time to look for her boyfriend Detlef, she passes a group of three middle-aged men who are recognizable as 'foreigners' by their darker skin and their accents. One of them leaves the group, approaches Christiane and asks in poor German: "Ey, 'scuse me. You fuck? I pay much! [*Hey 'schuldigung. Du ficken? Ich viel bezahlen!*]"[237] Only by pushing the man away and telling him to "piss off! [*Verpiss Dich!*]", is one of Christiane's male friends able to clear the situation. In the figure of the young white girl Christiane, it was also the German nation that needed to be protected from foreign influences.

Being escorted to the backside of the train station, Christiane is then shown the site of male homosexual prostitution. By her disgusted views and comments the deviating forms of sexuality that were represented here were clearly marked as being outside of the realm of the acceptable. Homosexuality, male masochism, and urophilia were thus attributed to the Bahnhof Zoo as a space of the abnormal. Not just drug users, but also migrants and sexual "perverts", in the words of Christiane's boyfriend, "the utmost scum" were gathering here.

In real life, neither of these phenomena was limited to the Bahnhof Zoo. In other parts of the city, teenagers' use of heroin was as omnipresent as were the members of migrant communities. "Abnormal" sexuality was not restricted to certain public places and even the Berlin *Babystrich* where young drug addicted girls walked the streets was situated further down Kurfürstenstraße and not directly at the train station itself. Yet the film's merit lay exactly in its creation of a symbolic space at which the omnipresent threats of modern society could be located and, at least symbolically, contained. Berlin's heroin scene had established the area of the Bahnhof Zoo as one of many meeting places during the 1970s; by blinding out the omnipresence of heroin and focusing on this single place, the film transformed the Bahnhof

237 *Christiane F. – Wir Kinder vom Bahnhof Zoo*, directed by Uli Edel, 57:54.

Zoo into *the* space of juvenile heroin use, into a singular heterotopia of deviation.[238] Once this had been accomplished, further forms of behaviour and other groups of people could be marked as the deviant Other by discursively locating them in this heterotopic space. The story of "the children from Bahnhof Zoo" thus served two purposes. The discourse on teenage heroin addiction helped a society in crisis reassure itself about its basic norms and values (e.g. heteronormativity, Germanness) by defining and excluding its threatening Other. Meanwhile, symbolic spaces such as the Bahnhof Zoo provided the comforting certainty that those who deviated from these norms were only to be found in a limited number of places.

The film could thus also provide instructions for the future conformist behaviour of both youth and adults. It was common sense that the consumption of illegalized drugs could have no part in this. But by equating drug use and sexuality the film demanded from its young audience—especially the girls—to develop a sexuality according to heteronormative standards, under penalty of complete moral and physical decay.[239] Scenes like the one in which Christiane is 'saved' from foreigners by the intervention of one of her male friends put on display ideals of a chivalric masculinity and national identity. Teenagers were therefore requested to stay away from certain places—Bahnhof Zoo, nightclubs—but also from foreigners and non-heterosexual relationships.

The lesson for adults was quite similar. For parents of youth and adolescents, the creation of the Bahnhof Zoo as a heterotopia of deviation meant that they could seemingly protect

238 "So tough it's probably only in Berlin", a youth declared in an interview with the *Bravo* youth magazine after watching the film. "Personally at least I cannot imagine such a situation here with us in Munich." "Pro & contra Christiane F. Verherrlicht der Film die Drogen-Szene?" *Bravo*, 30.4.1981: 8.

239 This is best exemplified in the character of Babsi. Directly after telling Christiane about having a permanent client, Christiane comments that Babsi had decayed a lot ("ganz schön 'runtergekommen", 1:12:47), a statement that Babsi shrugs off by remarking that at least she did not do it with foreigners. Babsi continues by claiming proudly to have served seven clients in one hour. Addressing Christiane's question if she had given a blow job to all of them, she answers proudly "Hm, awesome, right?" ("Hm. Toll, wa?"). Babsi's promiscuity, her lack of shame and decency, later turn her into the youngest heroin victim of Berlin. *Christiane F. – Wir Kinder vom Bahnhof Zoo*, directed by Uli Edel, 2:00:24.

their children from drug use (and other harm) by exerting a strict spatial control over them. Christiane's friend Kessi is saved from becoming a heroin addict when her mother finds her and Christiane, both drugged, in a subway station. She grabs her daughter, slaps her in the face several times, and takes her home.[240] In contrast to all the other members of her clique, Kessi never again appears in the movie. The viewers could therefore assume that she had been saved from a life of drug addiction and prostitution due to strict parental control.[241] Although drugs like heroin could be encountered everywhere, from public parks to school grounds, and although they would usually be purchased from, and consumed with, peers rather than strangers, teenage drug consumption now appeared primarily as the problem of a very few identifiable public spaces. After years of dislocation, youth delinquency had seemingly found its place again.

In the heterotopia of the Bahnhof Zoo, space and normalcy were thus constituting each other. By (discursively) locating various forms of deviation at the train station, it became a symbolic counter-site of and a container for everything that was excluded from society. In turn, the station assured everyone who was absent from this space of their normalcy—or of the normalcy of their children. The social crisis of the 1970s and the unease in sight of the vices of consumerism, uncontrollable immigration, and sexual liberalization could be mitigated by transforming these social developments into a matter of public space.[242]

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240 *Christiane F. – Wir Kinder vom Bahnhof Zoo*, directed by Uli Edel, 22:30.

241 This idea was being explained more explicitly in the book version: "The slaps in the face at subway station Wutzkyallee probably spared Kessi a lot. Without these slaps she may have found herself on the scene and on the game even before me and wouldn't be a high-school graduate by now." Hermann, Rieck, and F[elscherinow], *Wir Kinder vom Bahnhof Zoo*, 67.

242 "The containment of the Other seems to become socially necessary when the frontiers of one's own community and the legitimacy to categorically deny other groups access to it become problematical." Klaus Eder, Valentin Rauer, and Oliver Schmidtke, eds., *Die Einhegung des Anderen. Türkische, polnische und russlanddeutsche Einwanderer in Deutschland* (Wiesbaden: Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2004), 14.

2.2.4. The Bahnhof Zoo as a space of liberation? Contesting the nature of heterotopia

> *My first stop on the trail of Christiane F. in Berlin is disappointing. [...] Instead of the expected junkies, railway officials and a bunch of West German tourists are standing around at the station platform. The reality is sobering, doesn't fit at all with the seething* Underground *atmosphere of the movie "We Children from Bahnhof Zoo". The only ones who are hanging around here are five pupils from Böblingen who are also trying, in vain, to catch a gripping motif. A single graffito – "To fix is beautiful!" – is their only prey. Disappointed, the five are leaving.*
> *– "Auf den Spuren von Christiane F." Bravo, 1981*[243]

The story of Christiane F. and the creation of the Bahnhof Zoo as a heterotopia of deviance were meant to symbolically contain youth delinquency, to render heroin consumption less threatening through its spatialization, and to assure society "what a good fortune it [was] to be normal"[244] by showing the horrible fate of those who did not comply with these norms.

Yet many adults were unsure whether youth would really get the message. Didn't the enormous success of *We Children from Bahnhof Zoo* signify an uncanny fascination on the part of youth with its topic, a fascination that the movie might even foster rather than counteract? Across the political spectrum, press reviews of the movie were unanimously concerned with exactly this question: did the film prevent youth from becoming heroin addicts?[245] The

243 "Meine erste Station auf den Spuren von Christiane F. in Berlin ist eine Enttäuschung. […] Statt der erwarteten Junkies stehen Bahnbeamte und ein Haufen westdeutscher Touristen am Bahnsteig rum. Die Wirklichkeit wirkt ernüchternd, paßt überhaupt nicht mit der brodelnden Underground-Atmosphäre aus dem Film 'Wir Kinder vom Bahnhof Zoo' zusammen. Die einzigen, die hier ein bißchen rumhängen und auch mit ihren Fotoapparaten vergebens versuchen, ein packendes Motiv einzufangen, sind fünf Schüler aus Böblingen. Ein einsames Graffito auf den bleichen Kacheln des U-Bahnhofs - 'Fixen ist schön!' - ist ihre einzige Ausbeute. Enttäuscht ziehen die fünf ab." Sandro Baretta, "Auf den Spuren von Christiane F." *Bravo*, 23.04.1981: 10.

244 Thus the theologian Manfred Josuttis in regard to the the old curio galleries, in: Gero von Boehm. "Drogen im Kulturvergleich: Fixerklo und Kneipe," *Die Zeit*, 21.08.1981. The cinema has apparently replaced the galleries of the fair, allowing for a voyeuristic gaze on other people's misery. In the context of "We Children from *Bahnhof Zoo*" see Hans-Georg Behr, "Fixer für Wichser," *Arbeiterkampf*, 25.05.1981: 48. Both the fair and the movie theater have been described as heterotopias. Foucault, "Of Other Spaces": 25f.

245 Hans C. Blumenberg, "Besonders wertvoll," *Die Zeit*, 03.04.1981; Herbert Riehl-Heyse, "Wie vorbildlich ist Christiane F.?" *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 03.04.1981; Michael Schwarze, "Ohne Wut und ohne Wucht," *Frankfurter*

reviewers agreed that the main problem lay in the necessity and danger of displaying the fascinating aspects of drug consumption and not just its negative consequences. Although the assessments of the film's merits in this regard differed significantly—from the suggestion to show it in schools[246] to its condemnation[247]—the reviewers' perspective was the same: this was a movie that was made by adults but directed primarily at youth.[248] The question of drug prevention implied that the story of Christiane F. needed to be regarded as an instruction, even a demand, to youth that they adjust their behaviour.

Much less is known about the way youth read and watched the story of Christiane F., but some of them understood this story in a way that differed significantly from that of adults. Although it can be said that many youth must have identified with the protagonists in some way, they understood *We Children from Bahnhof Zoo* as a story *about youth* but not exclusively *for youth*. "I am just surprised that almost exclusively young people went to see it", a 21-year-old was quoted in *Bravo*. "Including us, there were maybe 20 percent adults. I think this topic concerns everyone."[249] In contrast to the film reviews this youth/ young adult was thus formulating a demand towards adults: to confront the situation and needs of young people through the story of Christiane F., that is, the story of one of them, even if they themselves

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Allgemeine Zeitung, 04.04.1981; Gunar Hochheiden, "Stumpfe Nadel," *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 06.04.1981; Wilhelm Bittorf, "Irgendwas Irres muß laufen," *Der Spiegel*, 06.04.1981: 230-245; "Pro & contra Christiane F. Verherrlicht der Film die Drogen-Szene?" *Bravo*, 30.4.1981: 8. Shortly before the film was brought to the theaters the alternative *Tageszeitung* featured book and film, together with recommendations of other youth books on the topic. "Für alle, die noch nicht gesehen haben, wie man's macht: Christiane F. im Film!" *taz*, 12.03.1981.

246 Gunar Hochheiden, "Stumpfe Nadel," *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 06.04.1981.

247 Herbert Riehl-Heyse, "Wie vorbildlich ist Christiane F.?" *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 03.04.1981; "Für alle, die noch nicht gesehen haben, wie man's macht: Christiane F. im Film!" *taz*, 12.03.1981.

248 The only review that condemned the film for its racist and homophobic undertones appeared in the radical left *Arbeiterkampf*. Hans-Georg Behr, "Fixer für Wichser," *Arbeiterkampf*, 25.05.1981: 48.

249 "Mich wundert bloß, daß da fast nur junge Leute rein sind. Mit uns waren es vielleicht 20 Prozent Erwachsene. Ich find', dieses Thema geht alle an." "Pro & contra Christiane F. Verherrlicht der Film die Drogen-Szene?" *Bravo*, 30.4.1981: 8.

were not addicted to drugs.

A similar notion can be found in a book review, written by a pupil as an assignment for a German class in school and later published in the *Shell* study "Youth '81": "One shouldn't just read the book but also recommend it and discuss it with adults and youth", the young reviewer concluded. Still, he (or she) had doubts about the willingness of "many parents and teachers" to do so, mainly because of the "very open and detailed" descriptions of prostitution. "It is time that prejudices disappear", the review continued and ended with the demand: "Not only do we need to know this from an early stage; we want to know it and to talk about it freely."[250] This story, it seems, provided youth with a site from which they were able to talk about their problems with adults—instead of just being taught what to do or who, and what, to avoid. Therefore, the young reviewer concluded, politicians should read the book as well, "because the environment in the anonymous dormitory town is so inhumane for children and youth". Above all, though, the needs of youth needed to be taken care of by their parents:

> Christiane eventually made it, but many end up dying of heroin. Therefore, the parents in particular have to show love and understanding. And not just once their own children are addicted to alcohol or drugs. Then it often is too late already. Thereafter, many parents want to make up for it quickly. But I think that this is a case in which you cannot make up for everything from one day to the other.[251]

While from an adult perspective the space of the Bahnhof Zoo itself was the crucial site from which children had to be kept away, for at least some youth, it was the parents' own

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250 "Dieses Buch sollte man nicht nur lesen, sondern möglichst weiterempfehlen und darüber mit Erwachsenen und Jugendlichen diskutieren." "Es wird Zeit, daß Vorurteile wegkommen. Wir müssen so etwas nicht nur früh wissen, wir wollen es wissen und darüber frei reden." "Buchbesprechung von 'Christiane F. Wir Kinder vom Bahnhof Zoo'," in *Jugend '81: Lebensentwürfe, Alltagskulturen, Zukunftsbilder*, edited by Arthur Fischer, 3 volumes (Hamburg: Jugendwerk der Deutschen Shell, 1981), 25.

251 "Es wäre auch gut, wenn Politiker dieses Buch genau lesen, denn die Umwelt in der anonymen Wohnstadt ist so unmenschlich für Kinder und Jugendliche. Dies treibt dann die Kinder noch schneller auf eine sogenannte schiefe Bahn (Drogen, Alkohol, Kriminalität)." "Die Christiane hat es nochmal geschafft, aber viele enden mit dem Tod durch Heroin. Darum müssen grade die Eltern Liebe und Verständnis zeigen. Und nicht erst, wenn die eigenen Kinder alkohol- oder drogenabhängig sind. Dann ist es oft schon zu spät. Viele Eltern wollen es dann wieder schnell gut machen [sic]. Aber ich finde, daß [sic] ist eine Sache, bei der man nicht von heute auf morgen alles wieder gut machen kann." "Buchbesprechung von 'Christiane F.'," 25.

behaviour (and therefore the private space of the familial home) that was at the focus of their understanding of Christiane F.'s life story.

These different readings manifested themselves also in the different meanings attributed to the Bahnhof Zoo. For adult society—and probably for many youth as well—the Bahnhof Zoo was a heterotopia of deviance, a counter-site at which the threatening social Other was at the same time contained and visibly condensed. Yet at least for some youth, and not just a few either, the counter-site Bahnhof Zoo was more fascinating than threatening. It was a heterotopia indeed, but one that was invested with longing rather than fear.

Stories like that of "a 13-year-old from Bad Harzburg [who] turned her back on the small-town stuffiness, ran away to Berlin, only to snort the first pinch of H and to prostitute herself on the streets after no more than two days" were surely the exception.[252] But by 1981 the Bahnhof Zoo had become a popular travel destination among West German teenagers. "They should be visiting the wall and the Reichstag on their obligatory school excursions. But what they want to see in the old capital", *Der Spiegel* registered with unease, "are the stations of Christiane F.'s activities and sufferings. The most thorough of them even pilgrimage out to Gropiusstadt, in order to marvel at the concrete playground described in the book."[253] The *tageszeitung* also compared these travels to a pilgrimage, "with Christiane's drug-travel-guide, following the Stations of the Cross of Berlin's Fixer scene".[254] And the youth magazine *Bravo*

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252 "Der gutgemeinte Warnschuß ging freilich nach hinten los: eine 13jährige aus Bad Harzburg kehrte dem Mief der Kleinstadt den Rücken, riß nach Berlin aus, um schon nach zwei Tagen die erste Prise H zu schnupfen und sich auf dem Strich feilzubieten." "Für alle, die noch nicht gesehen haben, wie man's macht: Christiane F. im Film!" *taz*, 12.03.1981.

253 "Sie sollen auf ihren obligaten Klassenausflügen nach Berlin die Mauer besichtigen und den Reichstag. Doch was sie in der alten Hauptstadt sehen wollen, sind die Wirkungsstätten und Leidenswege der Christiane F. Ganz Gründliche pilgern sogar nach Gropiusstadt hinaus, um den im Buch beschriebenen betonierten Spielplatz zu bestaunen." Wilhelm Bittorf, "Irgendwas Irres muß laufen," *Der Spiegel*, 06.04.1981: 242.

254 "Schulklassen auf Berlin-Fahrt pilgern mit Christianes Drogen-Reiseführer auf den Stationen des Berliner Fixerkreuzweges [...]." "Für alle, die noch nicht gesehen haben, wie man's macht: Christiane F. im Film!" *taz*, 12.03.1981.

confirmed that the meeting points of the heroin scene had become "the main attraction" for pupils from West Germany.[255]

Yet what drove these youth to the Bahnhof Zoo? In a way, it was the effect of an 'ordinary' pop phenomenon. *Bravo*, especially, had fuelled the media hype around Christiane F. The whole film had been reproduced as a film-photo-story through several issues,[256] complemented by background information on heroin use[257] and interviews with the director and leading actors.[258] In posters of the leading actors in their respective roles, the differences between impersonators and impersonated became almost indistinguishable.[259]

But this does not entirely explain the positive connotations that the Bahnhof Zoo had for youth tourists and the occasional drop-out. A former heroin addict recalled how impressed she was when she watched the movie as a teenager—"three times in a row"—, while she was still living "in a catholic small-town":

> This crazy music by David Bowie. It caused such a vague longing in me. And then the images of Berlin at night. How the kids were freaking out like urban Indians [*Stadtindianer*][260], how they were smashing the shop windows or kicked up a fuss on the Mercedes tower, that was totally cool. Such a feeling of boundless freedom. […] I wanted to live like this Christiane F., too. Going to the disco at night, being totally happy, not having to give an account to anyone. And of course [I wanted] to try out drugs and get to know the scene.[261]

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255 "Vor allem für Teilnehmer von Schulklassenfahrten nach Berlin ist es zur Hauptattraktion geworden, die im Buch geschilderten und im Film gezeigten Fixer-Treffs zu besuchen." Sandro Baretta, "Auf den Spuren von Christiane F." *Bravo*, 23.04.1981: 10. Tourism to the sites of *We Children from Bahnhof Zoo* is also mentioned in Gunar Hochheiden, "Stumpfe Nadel," *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 06.04.1981 and Hans C. Blumenberg, "Besonders wertvoll," *Die Zeit*, 03.04.1981. *Der Spiegel* and *Tageszeitung* were also describing groups of adult tourists.

256 "Wir Kinder vom Bahnhof Zoo – Film-Foto-Roman," *Bravo*, no. 19 (30.04.1981) – no. 24 (04.06.1981).

257 "Heroin - zum Kotzen!" *Bravo*, 11.06.1981: 32-33.

258 "Fragen an die beiden Hauptdarsteller. 'Wir Kinder vom Bahnhof Zoo': Wie echt waren die Fixer-Szenen?" *Bravo*, 23.04.1981: 4-5; Margit Rüdiger, "Wie ist 'Detlef' privat?" *Bravo*, 07.05.1981: 4-5.

259 "Wir Kinder vom Bahnhof Zoo," poster, *Bravo*, 18.06.1981: 40; "Natja Brunckhorst als Christiane F." poster, *Bravo*, 07.05.1981: 48.

260 Cf. section 3.2.3.

261 "Diese Wahnsinnsmusik von David Bowie. Die hat in mir so eine unbestimmte Sehnsucht ausgelöst. Und dann die Bilder vom nächtlichen Berlin. Wie die Kids da rumgeflippt sind wie Stadtindianer, wie sie Fensterscheiben eingeschmissen oder auf dem Mercedes-Hochhaus tierisch Fez gemacht haben, das war

Youth, as a stage of transformation from childhood to adulthood, needed socio-geographical spaces to experience and articulate new needs and desires. Listening to rock music, hanging out with peers, becoming sexually active, but also delinquent behaviour like the consumption of drugs were all means to establish spaces from which parents and other adults were excluded.[262] Rock music, the big city, the use of drugs and therefore also the Bahnhof Zoo thus held the promise of "boundless freedom", and they did so even more for a girl that was experiencing her own environment as extremely "narrow". To quote, "At night the neighbours had been lurking behind the curtains, [noticing] when and with whom you were coming home. And on Sundays my parents forced me to go to church."[263] Others remembered vividly the "terror of pettiness [*Kleinlichkeits-Terror*]" at home, the struggle about the length of their hair, about the right to wear Jeans.[264] It was perhaps no coincidence that reports on teenage tourism to the Bahnhof Zoo most often featured youth from provincial small towns, like Böblingen or Bad Harzburg.[265] This was not the "inhumane" environment of the Gropiusstadt but the middle-class ideal of a good life. Yet to those who experienced the private space of the nuclear family, embedded in the orderly nature of the small town, the village, or the suburban idyll as a constricting nightmare, the spatial ensemble of *We Children from Bahnhof Zoo* was a space of freedom rather than of deviance and decline.

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total geil. So ein Gefühl von schrankenloser Freiheit. […] So wie diese Christiane F. wollte ich auch leben. Nachts in die Disco gehen, total gut drauf sein, niemandem Rechenschaft schuldig sein. Und natürlich Drogen ausprobieren und die Szene kennenlernen." "Ich wollte auch leben wie Christiane F. Die ehemalige Drogenabhängige Dagmar über den Film 'Wir Kinder vom Bahnhof Zoo'," *Der Spiegel*, 26.12.1988: 103.

262 Manfred Kappeler et al., *Jugendliche und Drogen. Ergebnisse einer Längsschnittuntersuchung in Ost-Berlin nach der Maueröffnung* (Opladen: Leske + Budrich, 1999), 57-58, 113.

263 "Wie sind Sie aufgewachsen? – In einer katholischen Kleinstadt. Alles total eng. Abends haben die Nachbarn hinter den Vorhängen gelauert, wann und mit wem man nach Hause kam. Und sonntags haben mich meine Eltern gezwungen, in die Kirche zu gehen." "Ich wollte auch leben wie Christiane F. Die ehemalige Drogenabhängige Dagmar über den Film 'Wir Kinder vom Bahnhof Zoo'," *Der Spiegel*, 26.12.1988: 103.

264 Siegfried Schober, "Ich will mich kaputtmachen," *Der Spiegel*, 31.10.1977: 236.

265 Sandro Baretta, "Auf den Spuren von Christiane F." *Bravo*, 23.04.1981: 10; "Für alle, die noch nicht gesehen haben, wie man's macht: Christiane F. im Film!" *taz*, 12.03.1981.

This shows that the heterotopic character of the Bahnhof Zoo and, more generally, of the heroin scene was determined by its relation to other sites. As counter-sites, the spaces of deviation can only be understood in their relation to the bourgeois, middle-class ideals of living and housing. For those youth who could not, or did not want to, conform to these ideals and their respective norms and values, the heroin scene and Bahnhof Zoo held a different meaning than it did for adults. The Bahnhof Zoo was but a symbol, an architectural manifestation of the longing for spaces in which youth could be free from adults' regimes of norms and control. It was still a heterotopia, a space that was different from all other spaces. But it was a heterotopia of liberation—not despite, but exactly because it was marked by the absence of hegemonic norms and values.[266]

Flash: Life is beautiful

"...down here in the 'park', everything [is] too loud, too intense, too many *junkies* and hanger-ons, one is laughingly pushing aside the old pervert, in-between the freaks of nature, fat ones, crooked ones, hunchbacks, gnomes, coarse ones, 1,000 clubfeet on 100 cripples, [...] at least here they are tolerated, are not causing disgust, on top of the stairs the three-hundred pound (tons?) woman is sitting and crying, just like that, every night, 10 hours of quiet reproach against us, the 'normals', 'life is beautiful, isn't it?', Dietmar is bumping into you already for the third time tonight, and there is Micha, one of your customers who you happen to know better, a 16-year-old fixer [*Schießer*] with a resume: orphaned, home schooling, first attempted suicide at 12, which the nun answered by striking him in his face with a coat hanger, thereupon 'attempted to murder' her (unfortunately without success), home for maladjusted children, cutting peat in the afternoon, shot at 13 by a guard when attempting to flee from the institution (hit the collarbone, 30 cm to the heart), finally fled when he was 14, since then on

266 This was one of the reasons for Gunar Hochheiden (in his film review for *Frankfurter Rundschau*) to dismiss the movie as a mediocre "educational film" that was lacking the most important aspect of the whole topic: "the awareness of life of youth, children still, who no longer feel at home anywhere; who are being fascinated by anything that promises experiences beyond the clearly defined, extensively normed everyday life between school, workplace, and family home [*Elternhaus*]." Gunar Hochheiden, "Stumpfe Nadel," *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 06.04.1981.

the run, several suicide attempts, repeatedly caught and run away again, irregular sources of income […], shooting up for 6 months; if you walk up to him he shields his face (med.: 'reflexive movement'), there is Dietmar again: 'Life is beautiful, isn't it?' […].”
– Report of Klaus-Dieter G., 27 years, heroin-addict and dealer in West Berlin, 1970[267]

2.2.5. Conclusion

By the mid-1970s, young heroin users had established meeting points all over Berlin, in or near subway stations, in parks, near busy crossroads, in bars, nightclubs, and even on the campus of *Technische Universität*. A whole network of spaces had been spun over the city that was characterized by mobility and volatility. Those members of the heroin scene who could not satisfy their demand through private channels depended on the creation of spaces—to establish contacts, to organize the supply with illegalized drugs, to share information, that is: to constitute a “scene” as a combination of places, bodies and practices. Still, they were not dependent on the stability of specific sites or buildings. Once the pressure from police increased, the scene could, and did, easily move to other places. Some meeting places existed only during certain hours and were otherwise indistinguishable from their surroundings, such as the scene at the Mensa of *Technische Universität*, which existed only in the mornings. This

267 “[...] und hier unten im 'Park', zu laut alles, zu eindringlich, zu viele junkies und Mitläufer, einer stößt lachend den perversen Alten zur Seite, dazwischen die outers der Natur, Fette, Krumme, Bucklige, Gnome, Knotige, 1000 Klumpfüße an 100 Krüppeln, Im Hipp-HippKostüm auch sie, hier wenigstens sind sie geduldet, erregen keine Abscheu, oben an der Treppe sitzt heulend das Drei-Zentner(Tonnen-?)-Weib, einfach so, jede Nacht, 10 Stunden stummer Vorwurf an uns, die 'Normalen', 'Das Leben is schön, nich?', rempelt dich Dietmar schon zum drittenmal heute abend an, und da ist ja auch wieder Micha, einer deiner Kunden, die du zufällig genauer kennst, 16jähriger Schießer mit Lebenslauf: Findelkind, Heimerziehung, 12jährig erster Selbstmordversuch, den die Nonne mit Kleiderbügelschlägen ins Gesicht beantwortet, daraufhin 'Mordversuch' an ihr (leider erfolglos), Heim für Schwererziehbare, nachmittags Torfstechen, 13jährig bei Fluchtversuch aus dem Heim vom Wächter angeschossen (Schlüsselbein getroffen, 30 cm zum Herz), 14jährig endlich getürmt, seitdem auf 'Treebe', mehrere Selbstmordversuche, mehrfach wieder eingefangen und abgehauen, Einnahmequellen unregelmäßig [...], schießt seit 6 Monaten; wenn du auf ihn zugehst, deckt er sein Gesicht schützend ab (med.: 'Reflexbewegung'), da ist schon wieder Dietmar: 'Das Leben is schön, nich?' [...].” “Mit Heroin auf Horrortrip. Konkret-Report: Rauschgift in Deutschland III,” *Konkret*, no. 18 (1970): 46.

meant that heroin use and users became visible in public space but could not be pinned down to stable places with clear boundaries. The uncertainty that existed since the 1960s in regard to youth delinquency was thus intensified rather than mitigated.

The area around the train and subway station Bahnhof Zoo was just one of these unstable meeting places. Yet through the story of Christiane F., it was turned into *the* symbolic site of heroin consumption and addiction. The omnipresence of heroin use was countered by creating an imaginary topography in which heroin was restricted to very few, easily identifiable spaces. The plausibility of this symbolic spatialization lay in the successful combination of contemporary explanations for juvenile drug use, which were packaged into a meaningful story. Drug use was interpreted as a symptom of a more general crisis that concerned youth as much as the nation and changing gender roles as much as urban planning and architecture. These crises were now conceivable in, and through, urban space and therefore seemingly manageable.

Once the Bahnhof Zoo had thus been established as a site of deviance, as a heterotopia that stood in contrast to society and its hegemonic order, social inclusion and exclusion could be translated into spatial terms as well. Those who were shown to be part of the deviant space Bahnhof Zoo—immigrants, homosexuals—were thus marked as outsiders. Stories about spaces like the Bahnhof Zoo were thus not just about teenage drug consumption but also about the renegotiation of social norms and values on a much wider level. The spatialization of heroin use was not simply a symbolic act. It was aimed directly at the social practices, and even the desires, of the members of society. For adults, especially parents, this spatialization had the soothing effect of assuring them that they could save their children from drugs and other threats by keeping them from certain places, by exerting a strict parental control, including violence, against their children. Teenagers on the other hand, were not just told to stay away

from the Bahnhof Zoo and to refrain from illegalized drugs, but also to develop a proper heterosexual identity and to keep away from homosexuals and non-Germans. Young girls in particular were portrayed as easily seduced and prone to deviant behaviour once they escaped strict parental control. The story of Christiane F. and the drug scene at the Bahnhof Zoo was as much a story about young female sexuality and gender roles as it was about the vices of heroin use.

Yet the creation of a counter-site, a heterotopia that was different from all other sites, a space from which the order of society, its basic norms and values, were absent, had a double effect. For teenagers who found these norms suffocating, perhaps as an obstacle for their personal development, the (imagined) absence of control at the Bahnhof Zoo and, more generally, in the heroin scene was a promise rather than a threat. Thousands of young "pilgrims" to the sites of "St. Christiane"[268] proved the longing of many youth for socio-geographical spaces without the strict parental and societal control that the story of Christiane F. presented as a solution to the crisis of youth. For them, spaces like the Bahnhof Zoo promised a freedom that was impossible to find anywhere else in society. The heterotopia of the Bahnhof Zoo was therefore highly ambiguous: created to stabilize social norms and to manage social crises it also provided the necessary space to "drop out" of this social order and, as such, was highly attractive to many youth.

Although the threat of heroin use could be mitigated symbolically, it was clear that the concrete meeting places of the heroin scene would continue to exist. With the transformation of juvenile heroin consumption into a problem of particular urban spaces, though, it became possible to develop an anti-drug policy that was aimed at disciplining or curing the individual subjects as well as dissolving the visible spaces of the heroin scene.

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268 "Für alle, die noch nicht gesehen haben, wie man's macht: Christiane F. im Film!" *taz*, 12.03.1981.

2.3. Policing local heroin scenes in the 1980s

Our society is not one of spectacle, but of surveillance.
– Michel Foucault, Discipline and Punish, 1977[269]

Beginning in the mid-1970s, municipal drug policies had supplemented therapeutic programs for the treatment of individuals with the policing of visible heroin scenes. This shift was partly a result of the economic crisis of 1973/74. In the city of Hamburg, for instance, a general savings plan stopped the expansion of therapeutic programs in 1974, in the midst of the "heroin wave". Experimental and self-organized projects were shut down if they did not produce quantifiable results.[270] The only aspect of drug policy unaffected by the financial cuts of the savings plan was policing.[271] The perception of the drug scene itself had shifted as well. In a government report of the same year, Eckhard Günther, coordinator of Hamburg's drug policy, pointed out that the main problem was not the occasional hashish smoker but a "hard kernel" of approximately 1,200 drug addicts who were responsible for the vast majority of illegal trafficking and drug-related crimes.[272] Such a perception facilitated local policies that were not only concerned with the disciplining and reintegration of individuals through therapeutic measures but also with the policing and control of the "hard kernel" of the heroin scene.

Yet it was not just the economic crisis of 1973 that prevented sufficient funding for therapeutic programs. The idea of a "hard kernel" of drug users fit well with the conception of

269 Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 217.

270 Therapeutic programs for the treatment of drug addiction never amounted to more than a drop in the ocean. In Berlin, for example, with its several thousand heroin users, only six therapeutic *Wohngemeinschaften* existed in 1977, together with three information centres and two mental hospitals which allowed addicts to withdraw but that did not provide any follow-up therapeutic programs. Drogenberatung im Haus der Mitte, *Harte Drogen in West-Berlin*, 73-74.

271 Stephens, *Germans on Drugs*, 181.

272 Eckhard Günther, "Der harte Kern der Drogenszene," Staatliche Pressestelle Hamburg, ed., *Berichte und Dokumente aus der Freien und Hansestadt Hamburg*, no. 402 (Hamburg, 18.4.1974), 3; Stephens, *Germans on Drugs*, 181.

heroin as an urban space issue. If the main problem with heroin consumption was not the individual user's behaviour but the heroin scene's presence in certain spaces, it made sense to aim governmental policies at these spaces rather than at the social conditions of drug users. Although anti-drug policies were also structured by Narcotics Laws on the national level, the actual implementation of these policies took place on a local level and in public urban space. By the early 1970s, the discursive creation of spaces of heroin consumption like the Bahnhof Zoo was thus complemented by an intensified control of these spaces by the police. The main goal behind the policing of heroin scenes was to render heroin consumption invisible by dissolving the scene's local meeting places. Quite quickly, though, police and media realized that the scene's visibility was a necessary precondition for its control.

An example from the city of Frankfurt illustrates this problem. As in West Berlin, public drug consumption had a long tradition in the city of Frankfurt by the early 1980s. Drug consuming youth had been gathering in the infamous "hash meadow", a park between the old opera house and a public pool, since the late 1960s. In the early 1970s, the hippie underground, with its preference for cannabis and LSD, was complemented by a visible heroin scene. But in February 1980 the police started carrying out massive raids at the hash meadow in an attempt to disperse the scenes once and for all.

The soft drug scene separated itself from the heroin scene and moved to Grüneburgpark in Frankfurt's Westend.[273] Parts of the heroin scene on the other hand moved to a shopping arcade at the *Terrassencafé*, which upset the local shop owners who complained about thefts and a "noticeable decline of customers." The police disclaimed any responsibility, stating that already in autumn 1979 a significant amount of people who belonged to the drug scene had been monitored at this arcade. Complaints by residents of the Westend neighbourhood were

273 The following according to Klaus Lange and Jutta Stössinger, "Der Markt liefert weiter Tote," *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 07.07.1980, unless otherwise noted.

largely ignored. Knut Stroh, head of the Frankfurt drug squad, explained that "the residents are basically complaining that there are people in parking lots at all." Some citizens also misinterpreted the presence of large groups of teenagers. These were more likely to be pupils of a nearby US-American high school during their breaks. This confusion shows the difficulty of distinguishing between 'normal' and 'deviant' youth in a time when mainstream youth culture had adopted many aspects of style formerly characteristic of the *underground's* counter-culture. Virtually every teenager could be suspected of being part of a deviant youth scene.[274]

The police experienced a range of problems once the hash meadow was cleared. The heroin scene at *Terrassencafé* could be policed but the police officers who did so soon realized the pointlessness of their activities. A kind of peaceful coexistence developed, at least according to *Frankfurter Rundschau*:

> Two policemen are leaning against the wall in freshly ironed summer uniforms, smoking, apparently gazing at nothing. *Fixers* are handing them a lighter... From time to time the officers are inspecting papers, plastic bags, record covers, powder tins. Seldom they find what they are looking for. "When we show up", they had to accept already on their first day of duty in the arcades, "no one is doing business, everything is taking place behind our backs." A couple of hours on duty (the young officers are changed daily) and they have realized: "We are only complying with our duty to be present here, to reassure the citizen."[275]

The frustration of these young officers was enhanced by the fact that the heroin scene was spread out over large parts of the city, including parks in the area of the former city ramparts and at the banks of the river Main. The former police strategy to keep the scene under control at one specific place—the hash meadow—had suddenly come to an end without

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274 Weinhauer, "The End of Certainties," 389.

275 "An der Hauswand lehnen zwei Polizisten in frischgebügelter Sommeruniform, rauchen, starren scheinbar ins Nichts. Fixer geben ihnen Feuer... Von Zeit zu Zeit kontrollieren die Beamten Papiere, Plastiktüten, Plattenhüllen, Puderdosen. Sie finden selten, was sie suchen. 'Wenn wir auftauchen', haben sie schon bei ihrem ersten Einsatztag in der Passage einsehen müssen, 'laufen keine Geschäfte, das spielt sich alles hinter unserem Rücken ab.' Ein paar Stunden Dienst (die jungen Beamten werden täglich ausgewechselt) und sie haben kapiert: 'Wir erfüllen hier nur unsere Präsenzpflicht, sollen den Bürger beruhigen.'" Klaus Lange and Jutta Stössinger, "Der Markt liefert weiter Tote," *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 07.07.1980.

a working alternative. Up until then, authorities at least knew where the scene was gathering and who its members were. Now, nothing was certain; nobody knew exactly where those parts of the scene that had not moved to Terrassencafé were gathering, nor where they were dealing and consuming drugs. Officer Stroh summed up the perplexity of the police: "They have disappeared to wherever [*irgendwohin verschwunden*]; neither do we have any insights about Frankfurt *fixers* showing up elsewhere." And the *Frankfurter Rundschau* commented: "The drug scene is 'disappearing' into apartments, toilets, the surrounding countryside [*Umland*]—police are helpless."[276] Parts of the heroin scene had apparently disappeared. What had not disappeared, though, was the knowledge that the scene continued to exist. To gather any more details, however, was now almost impossible. The suspected movement of the heroin scene into apartments and to the countryside thus caused more insecurity in the city centres as well.

The policing of the drug scene had been implemented primarily to reassure citizens of the state's power to handle the problem of young people's drug addictions and to show that politicians and police were not idle but still in charge of law and order. Yet the attempt to dissolve the scene backfired. While juvenile heroin consumption in urban space had been a nuisance, both fascinating and disgusting—after the scene's dissolution it became an intangible threat. Not only could every teenager be a possible drug addict; now those addicts could also be everywhere. The intensified policing had caused yet another "end of certainties"[277] regarding the spaces of the heroin scene. No more knowledge could be produced that could help formulate strategies to govern this form of juvenile delinquency. What had begun as a show of force ended in disaster. The police were no longer perceived as idle but as helpless. Whenever the police strategy to dissolve visible local heroin scenes was successful, it

276 "'Die sind irgendwohin verschwunden; uns liegt auch keine Erkenntnis vor, daß Frankfurter Fixer woanders aufgetaucht sind.'"; "Die Drogenszene 'verschwindet' in Wohnungen, Toiletten, im Umland - Polizisten hilflos." Ibid.

277 Weinhauer, "The End of Certainties," 376-97. Cf. also section 1.2.1.

immediately posed new problems.

Nevertheless, the repressive strategy aimed at dissolving local heroin scenes was not abandoned. On the contrary, media reports on intensified policing in various cities suggest that the same conceptual solutions informed municipal drug policies all over West Germany by 1980.[278] Why, one has to ask, did it seem plausible to continue with a policy that so obviously —at least at first glance—was bound to fail?

2.3.1. Zurich, 1983: the city, the scene, and the governance of youth

The city that became most infamous for its repressive drug policy in the 1980s was the city of Zurich. A closer look at the city's anti-drug policy and its effects, at a time when policing had been established as the most important aspect of this policy, will help to clarify the mechanisms that established the control over public space as a viable solution to teenage drug consumption. In Zurich, like in West German cities, a visible heroin scene, the *Gasse* (alley), had emerged between 1972 and 1975, paralleled by the establishment of first drug squads with the city police.[279] Under the pressure of constant raids, the heroin scene moved from place to place through the city centre: from the Bellevue to Hirschenplatz to the AJZ[280] to the central train station and, in 1982/83, to the *Riviera*, an esplanade at Zurich Lake, facing a shopping area on the opposite side of the street.[281] In January 1983, local businessmen started

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278 It is fair to assume that major differences existed between individual cities regarding the time frame and the extent to which the repressive strategy was implemented. So far local historical studies only exist for the cities of Hamburg and West Berlin: Stephens, *Germans on Drugs*; Weinhauer, "Heroinszenen."

279 Drogengruppe Zürich, "Chronik der (davon-)laufenden Ereignisse," no date [1982 or 1983], SozArch ZH, Ar 201.89.4 - Mappe 1: AG Drogen, Drogengruppe ZH, 1980-82, Drogengruppe ZH 1982-83, Referate, Artikel. First drug scenes had been meeting at the "Bunker" outside of Zurich between 1968 and 1971.

280 Cf. chapter 4.

281 Erich Schmid, "In der Zürcher Heroinszene hat sich der Teufelskreis geschlossen," *Tages-Anzeiger*, 09.06.1982; Drogengruppe Zürich et al., "Presseerklärung vom 15. März 1983," 15.03.1983, SozArch ZH, Ar 201.89.4 - Mappe 1: AG Drogen, Drogengruppe ZH, 1980-82, Drogengruppe ZH u.a., 1983, PK zu Razzien an Riviera.

to build up pressure on the city's council to get rid of the heroin scene.[282] On January 12, 1983, members of the *Schweizerische Volkspartei* (SVP) directed a formal inquiry at the council:

> As is well known, there are circumstances which exist at the esplanade "Riviera" that are at times unbearable for the general public.
> In connection to this, the following questions have to be asked:
> 1. How does the council plan to fight the drug trade at the "Riviera" more effectively?
> 2. When will the "Riviera" again be at the public's unrestricted disposal?[283]

By claiming the particular interests of shop owners and consumers as those of the general public, Zurich's drug users were excluded from this public. The public space of the *Riviera* was therefore not the proper place for them to gather as they kept consumers from buying and the shop owners from making a profit. The differentiation between drug users and the general public was a necessary precondition to demand the users' spatial disappearance. Furthermore, the category of "youth" was conspicuously absent from this interpellation despite its prominent role in the drug discourse and the young age of the members of the heroin scene.[284] This also made it easier to view the young addicts not as 'children' of Swiss and Zurich's society or as people in need of assistance and facilitated a perception of the scene in the context of a law and order framework. The practical exclusion of young heroin users from the city was thus preceded by their discursive exclusion from society.

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282 Unless otherwise noted the following account according to Drogengruppe Zürich et al., "Presseerklärung vom 15. März 1983".

283 "Wie allgemein bekannt ist bestehen an der Uferpromenade 'Riviera' für die Oeffentlichkeit zeitweise unzumutbare Verhältnisse. In diesem Zusammenhang stellen sich folgende Fragen: 1. Wie gedenkt der Stadtrat den Drogenumschlag an der 'Riviera' wirksamer zu bekämpfen? 2. Ab wann wird die 'Riviera' der Oeffentlichkeit wieder uneingeschränkt zur Verfügung stehen?" Letter of Ernst Büchi (SVP) to Gemeinderat von Zürich, 12.01.1983, SozArch ZH, Ar 201.89.4 - Mappe 1: AG Drogen, Drogengruppe ZH, 1980-82, Drogengruppe ZH u.a., 1983, PK zu Razzien an Riviera.

284 Reliable statistics for the discussed time period are not available but a study by the university hospital Zurich showed that the majority of people frequenting the local heroin scene in 1991 were between the age of twenty and twenty-five; reports by media and social workers suggest a lower age span in the early 1980s. Also, heroin had only been available for about ten years in 1983, meaning that the first heroin addicts of the mid-1970s would still be in their early to mid-twenties. Later studies also indicated rising numbers of heroin users between 1980 and 1986, many of which would have been teenagers or in their early twenties as well. Müller and Grob, *Medizinische und soziale Aspekte der offenen Drogenszene Platzspitz*; Künzler, *Analyse der offenen Drogenszene am 'Platzspitz'*.

The intervention was successful: one month later, on 14 February 1983, the drug scene was dispelled from the *Riviera* and a mobile police station established. But even the head of the *Kriminalpolizei* himself, Walter Hubatka, expressed doubts regarding this strategy, calling it "cosmetics" and an "entirely banal battling of symptoms" as long as it was not complemented by social measures.[285] The new police concept was aimed mainly at people who resided outside of Zurich—another attempt to dam up the drug problem spatially—and at teenagers, claiming that almost half of the people who frequented the *Riviera* on a regular basis were below the age of twenty. The daily *Tages-Anzeiger* summarized the new police strategy:

> Minors under the age of 18 who are sojourning at the "Riviera" or another meeting point of drug addicts in Zurich and who are suspected to have violated the drug legislation are being brought to a police station for further inspection. The parents of these youth are notified by the police and invited to personally pick up their children from the police. If they [the parents] do not comply with this request, the police will notify the responsible tutelage authority [*Vormundschaftsbehörde*].[286]

Youth had not been an issue for the politicians and shop owners who demanded unrestricted access to a site that was occupied by an impersonal "drug trade". But it was teenagers who became the primary target of intensified policing, despite officer Hubatka's doubts and despite the undeniable inefficiency of a strategy to "unsettle [*verunsichern*]" the drug scene by frequent police raids.[287] The reason to target minors was simple: as long as no offence against the law could be proven the police had no right to prosecute adults. Only with minors was it possible to take action on the grounds of mere suspicion. The police did not persecute

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285 Alfons Sonderegger, "Polizei verschärft Kontrollen im Drogenmilieu," *Tages-Anzeiger*, 16.02.1983.

286 "Unmündige Personen unter 18 Jahren, die sich an der Riviera oder an einem anderen Treffpunkt von Drogenabhängigen in Zürich aufhalten und verdächtig sind, gegen das Betäubungsmittelgesetz verstossen zu haben, werden zur näheren Überprüfung auf den Polizeiposten geführt. Die Eltern dieser Jugendlichen werden von der Polizei benachrichtigt und eingeladen, ihre Kinder auf der Polizei persönlich abzuholen. Kommen diese der Aufforderung nicht nach, orientiert die Polizei die zuständige Vormundschaftsbehörde." Ibid.

287 This strategy was announced in March 1982 by the Zurich police. The amount of drugs confiscated during the following raids was negligible. "Razzien sollen die Drogenszene verunsichern," *Tages-Anzeiger*, 08.03.1982; "Razzia an der 'Riviera'," *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 12.11.1982.

criminal offences so much as a behaviour that was marked as deviant and that consisted first and foremost in sojourning in the wrong place.[288]

Yet even from a police perspective, the intensified policing of the scene was a helpless effort to battle the problem of drug use. Investigators like Hubatka openly admitted that it was almost impossible to crack down on the organizations responsible for large scale drug trade.[289] Policing consumers instead was but an attempt to satisfy the expectations of politicians and "the general public" that *something* had to be done. The consequences for minors were nonetheless severe. It was now sufficient to simply be at the wrong place to get into trouble with the police. This meant that certain places were declared no-go-areas for teenagers—although no respective laws had been passed.

The *Riviera* shop owners and SVP politicians were not concerned with adolescent behaviour as long as it did not interfere with their businesses. But based on their initiative a regime of control was installed in public space that also had a normalizing aspect to it. Youth who had not even committed a crime and were only suspected of having done so, were taken in by the police. As it was now sufficient to simply be at a site previously defined by the police as a meeting point of delinquent youth, many teenagers became the target of police controls. And when, based on these premises, a teenager was taken to the police station, he or she became a registered, 'official' part of the local drug scene—a procedure that produced its own evidence and reinforced perceptions of drug use as a problem of youth and space. The only way to avoid getting into trouble was to avoid going to these places—not to refrain from drugs! By including the parents, the prevention of teenage drug consumption or, more generally, of deviant juvenile behaviour was relocated into the private space of the family. The threat to inform the tutelage authority ensured the compliance of the parents themselves. The

288 Cf. section 2.1.4.

289 Alfons Sonderegger, "Polizei verschärft Kontrollen im Drogenmilieu," *Tages-Anzeiger*, 16.02.1983.

control of city space through (media and) police and the disciplining of youth through (police and) the family complemented each other as did techniques of discipline and control.

> ***Flash: Beizenschluss***
>
> "Midnight. It is silent on Stadelhoferplatz. A few Fixers are standing besides the kiosk, one is cleaning his syringe at the fountain. The last train passengers are hurrying towards the station. Here and there a few people are standing around, some shivering and alone, others chatting. Midnight, bar closing-time [*Beizenschluss*]: A group of men emerges noisily from a tavern, not the youngest any more. Everyone [is] slightly drunk and accordingly cheerful and loud. It is not far to the Stadelhoferplatz, but this is apparently a different world as well. Drunken adults here, juvenile Fixers there."[290]

2.3.2. Moving bodies, moving spaces

The new police strategy had been implemented with determination as the *Drogengruppe Zürich*, a coalition of street and social workers, psychologists and medicinal personnel,[291] noted in an early report on the drug scene:

> There are daily street raids, sometimes with intervals of a couple of hours. Everyone is being monitored and controlled [*kontrolliert*], brought to the main police station with box wagons that are standing by. In order to prevent any resistance the police surround those present with rubber-bullet rifles.[292]

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290 "Mitternacht. Auf dem Stadelhoferplatz ist Ruhe. Ein paar Fixer stehen beim Kiosk, einer wäscht seine *Spritze* am Brunnen aus. Die letzten Zugbenützer eilen zum Bahnhof. Da und dort stehen ein paar Menschen, fröstelnd und allein die einen, plaudernd die andern. Mitternacht, *Beizenschluss*: Aus einer Gaststube kommt lautstark eine Gruppe Männer, nicht mehr die jüngsten. Alle leicht betrunken und entsprechend heiter und laut. Zum Stadelhoferplatz ist es nicht weit, aber das ist offenbar auch eine andere Welt. Hier betrunkene Erwachsene, dort jugendliche Fixer." Alfons Sonderegger, "Drogenszene Stadelhoferplatz: Die Orte wechseln, die Menschen bleiben," *Tages-Anzeiger*, 19.03.1983, original empahses.

291 Cf. section 4.1.3.

292 "Täglich werden Straßenrazzien durchgeführt, manchmal in Abständen von einigen Stunden. Jeder wird kontrolliert, mit den bereitstehenden Kastenwagen auf die Hauptwache gebracht. Damit ja kein Widerstand geleistet wird, umstellten die Polizisten mit Gummigeschoss-Gewehren die anwesenden [sic]." Drogengruppe Zürich[?], "Die Drogenszene," no date, SozArch ZH, Ar 201.89.4 - Mappe 1: AG Drogen, Drogengruppe ZH, 1980-82, Drogengruppe AJZ & Drogengruppe ZH, theoretische Debatte/Aufarbeitung, bes. Tschönkie-Raum, 1981-84. The report might have been written as early as 1982, i.e. before the declaration to clear up the *Riviera*, but according to press reports the measures used at the *Riviera* must have

Violent resistance was hardly to be expected at these raids, so the preventive use of rubber-bullet rifles was really a show of force to demonstrate the authorities' power and determination. Just as in the city of Frankfurt, the raids in Zurich were meant to reassure citizens that something was being done regarding the problem of visible drug scenes. The effect of this policy was the same: the continuous presence of the police forced the scene to move away from the *Riviera*—and disappear.

The unavoidable—but to contemporaries "surprising"[293]—thing happened almost immediately after this new policy had been implemented. On 12 March 1983, the *Tages-Anzeiger* reported on a meeting between Hubatka and local businessmen, this time of the *Vereinigung Bellevue-Center*. These businessmen complained that the heroin scene had moved to Stadelhoferplatz and the almost one-hundred drug users, *Drögeler,* were now disturbing *their* businesses. Toilets had to be secured, customers had been harassed. "Several members [of the *Vereinigung Bellevue-Center*] could not understand why the drug scene at the Riviera, which was relatively secluded, had been dissolved. The result was that the *Drögeler* had moved to a busy place where passers-by were harassed and begged for money."[294] The attempt to dissolve the drug scene should be accepted as a failure and therefore be cancelled, the *Vereinigung Bellevue-Center* concluded, and the scene itself should be relocated to the *Riviera*.

Within a single month the new strategy had failed and it became clear that the drug scene could not be dissolved but only forced to move around. Nevertheless the police raids continued; a huge orange bus was used to control suspects on the spot and to display visible presence to the public.

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been similar.

293 "Unlösbares Drogenproblem," *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 12.03.1983.

294 "Verschiedene Mitglieder können nicht verstehen, warum die Drogenszene an der Riviera, die relativ für sich abgeschlossen sein, aufgehoben worden ist. Das Resultat besteht darin, dass die Drögeler an einen belebten Platz 'umgezogen' sind, wo Passanten belästigt und angebettelt würden." "Vereinigung Bellevue-Center zieht Alarmglocke," *Tages-Anzeiger*, 12.03.1983.

> "If the Fixers are looking for a new site, then we're just driving there", one of the plain-clothes detectives says laconically. Who looks like a Fixer or dealer is asked into the bus for a body search. If it was just a passer-by, nothing happened, no registering either, the policeman explains. But if they had a spoon or a syringe with them, they got registered. Yes, he knew that the Fixers were populating the place as soon as the bus had driven away. But *no* bus on the square did not mean that there were no longer any police.[295]

This quote summarizes several aspects: *first*, there is the criterion of appearance. Those people who *looked like* drug users were controlled by the police. This did not include people who were consuming illegalized drugs but matched normative assumptions about how "proper people" looked. These were usually wealthier drug consumers.[296] Neither did it include drug dealers who were not consuming themselves; middlemen who were supplying the street market. Only the poorest and sickest heroin addicts, the "junkies" came under scrutiny. On the other hand, this policy affected all those people who did not comply with norms of style and behaviour, even if they were not engaged in drug consumption or trafficking at all. While it may have been true that those people were not registered with the police, claiming that "nothing happened" (as authorities did) was clearly an understatement; being taken into a bus of the drug squad on a public place and subjugated to a strip-search was far from being "nothing". The only way to avoid this treatment was to change one's look or to keep away from designated areas of the city.

If there was any active, verbalised opposition by those affected, it has been silenced. I could find only one case in which a young alcoholic printed flyers against the dispersion of heroin and alcohol addicts from Stadelhoferplatz and the lake's esplanades. "We have to ask

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295 "'Wenn sich die Fixer einen neuen Platz suchen, fahren wir eben dorthin', sagt lakonisch einer der zivilen Polizisten. Wer nach Fixer oder Dealer aussieht, wird in den Bus zur Leibesisitation gebeten. Wenn es bloss ein Passant sei, so geschehe nichts, auch kein Registrieren, erklärt der Polizist. Habe er dagegen einen Löffel oder eine Spritze bei sich, dann werde er registriert. Ja, er wisse, dass die Fixer sofort den Platz bevölkerten, sobald der Bus weggefahren sei. Aber *kein* Bus auf dem Platz bedeute nicht, dass auch keine Polizei mehr da sei." Alfons Sonderegger, "Drogenszene Stadelhoferplatz: Die Orte wechseln, die Menschen bleiben," *Tages-Anzeiger*, 19.03.1983, original emphasis.

296 This "*Schickeria* scene" had its central meeting place not at the Riviera but at the Limmatquai. Erich Schmid, "In der Zürcher Heroinszene hat sich der Teufelskreis geschlossen," *Tages-Anzeiger*, 09.06.1982.

ourselves where it will lead if citizens are driven away from *public* places in their own country," read the flyer, of which no less than 1,500 copies were distributed in the summer of 1985.[297]

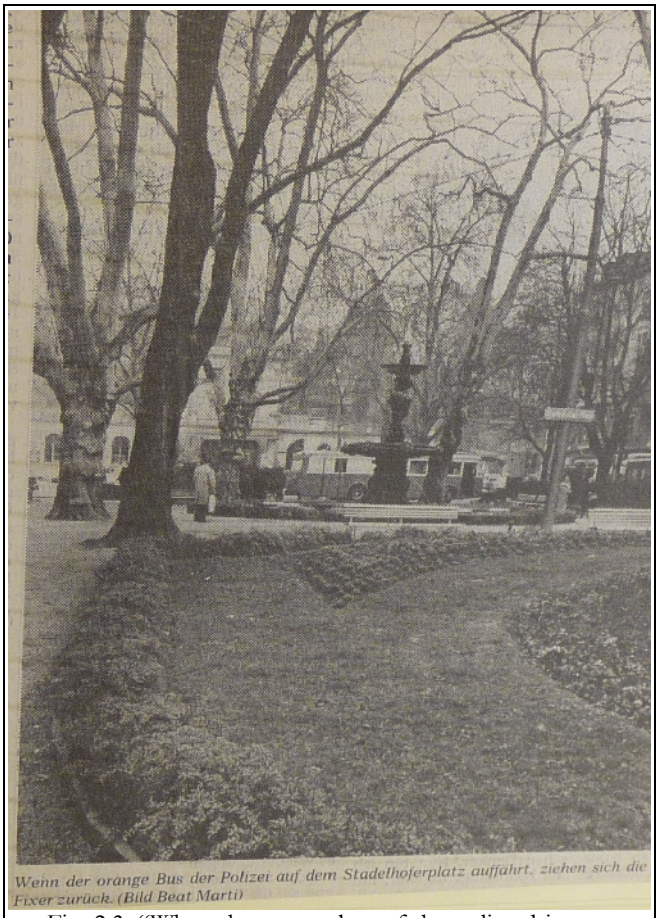

Fig. 2.3: "When the orange bus of the police drives up to Stadelhoferplatz, the *Fixers* are retreating." The presence of police at popular meeting places of the heroin scene was amplified through its media coverage. – Source: Alfons Sonderegger, "Drogenszene Stadelhoferplatz: Die Orte wechseln, die Menschen bleiben," *Tages-Anzeiger*, 19.03.1983.

The demand that followed from this attempt to defend the public character of city space was quite restrained, though: "We want an inner-city space where we are left in peace, except for the usual controls."[298] Even in this instance, policing had already been accepted as a quasi natural part of life, at least for those who had no other place to consume their (legal or

297 "Die Zeit ist nun gekommen, wo alle Randgruppen zusammenhalten müssen, gegen die Machtdemonstration der Behörden. Wir müssen uns fragen, wohin das führt, wenn man als Bürger im eigenen Land von *öffentlichen* Plätzen vertrieben wird." Quoted in Hansruedi Fritschi, "Süchtige am Stadelhofen - Eindrücke vom Elend," *Tages-Anzeiger*, 19.07.1985, original emphasis.

298 "Wir wollen einen Innenstadtplatz, wo man uns außer den üblichen Kontrollen in Ruhe lässt." Quoted ibid.

illegalized) drugs but in public.

Second, the quote from the policeman highlights the temporality and flexibility of the heroin scene's meeting places. Almost like a pulsating organism, the scene was extending, scattering, vanishing while leaving but an after-image of its existence—an orange bus, strangely out of place—*in situ* (fig. 2.3). As soon as that bus moved away, disappeared, the scene contracted, condensed, and became visible again. But in a sense, the heroin scene never disappeared completely; in the orange police bus it was always (symbolically) present, even when it was (physically) absent. In this aspect, it did not differ from the police: "no bus on the square did not mean that there were no longer any police." Police and the drug scene were irresolvably intertwined, their pulsating movement keeping the deviant space alive. Although the concrete site (*place*) was constantly changing its appearance, its character (*space*) stayed the same.

Drug policy on the street level had thus turned into a question of bodies in urban space.[299] But not only was space unaffected by the movement of drug users and police at a specific site (it continued to be a space of deviance all the time). The quote shows, *finally*, that space also kept its character when the place itself was changing. Wherever the drug scene moved, the police would follow; the movement of drug users and police alike was thus constantly changing the character of different geographical sites. "If the Fixers are looking for a new site, then we're just driving there"—with drug users and police, the spaces of deviance were moving through the city.

299 Cf. section 2.1.4.

Flash: Hamburg central station, 1996

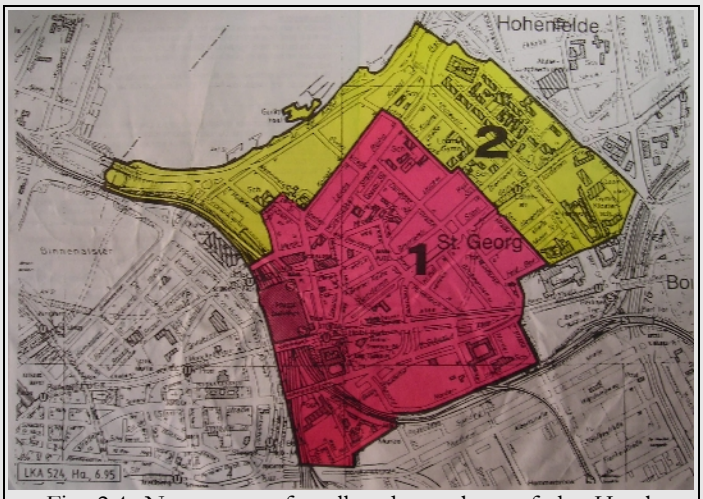

Fig. 2.4: No-go-areas for alleged members of the Hamburg drug scene. – Source: Polizei Hamburg, Polizeirevier 11, "Platzverweis," 21.12.1996, ArSozBew HH, 11.100, Drogenpolitische Initiativen.

"Englisch

Because of your stay/Behaviour in the drug scene, a sending off/Place-banning, in accordance with § 12a SOG, has been pronounced against you.

This sending-off/place-banning is available for the overleaf illustrated area until: (see below)

In case of non-respect of this police order, a decision of taking you in custody, in accordance with § 13 clause 3 SOG, can be ordered.

Date: 21.12.96 Polizei Hamburg

Time: 04.00 Polizeirevier 11

(Area: see overleaf)"[300]

2.3.3. Intensified policing and its effects on young heroin users

Over the next few years the scene kept moving, while the police intensified their repressive measures.[301] Minors continued to be at the centre of the police's attention as the

300 Polizei Hamburg, Polizeirevier 11, "Platzverweis," 21.12.1996, ArSozBew HH, 11.100, Drogenpolitische Initiativen, English original. Such orders were issued throughout the late 1990s in an attempt to clear the area around the central train station (lower-left corner of area 1) and the neighbouring district of St. Georg of the local drug scene. Another means was the playing of classical music over speakers outside the train station—it is impossible to better highlight the class character of the struggle against the drug scene.

301 Cf. for instance "Zwischen Repression und Hilfeleistung. Verstärkte Polizeiaktionen gegen die Drogenabhängigen," *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 10.03.1984.

frequency of raids was further increased. In 1985, police patrolled known meeting places of the heroin scene up to twenty times per day.[302] At the same time, drug squads began to confiscate drug addicts' money, sometimes leaving them with as little as eight Swiss Franks.[303] In the beginning, not even receipts were issued for the confiscated money. In 1984, ca. 700,000 Franks were confiscated in this manner.[304] Theoretically this money could be reclaimed, but only if one could prove how it had been acquired. This excluded money from drug deals as well as from prostitution. The leftist weekly *Die Wochenzeitung* (*WoZ*) cited the case of a young female addict who was working as a prostitute to finance her addiction. "Because she was working the streets at Seefeld, an area in which prostitution is forbidden [*Prostitutions-Sperrzone*], they took 3 bills from her and said: 'This is the penance for working at Seefeld.'"[305] In any case, *WoZ* noted, it was doubtful to what extent the heroin addicts understood the possibility of reclaiming their money and were capable of doing so even if they did. For the journalists of *WoZ* the new strategy amounted to "pure terror".[306]

Such reports also show that one must not confuse the space of the police—whether a large bus or the more mobile box wagons that were used later on—as simply a counter-site to the deviant space of the heroin scene. Those mobile police stations were spaces in which the boundaries between the lawful and the illegal became as fragile as amidst the heroin scene itself. As visible as the police buses might have been, what happened inside was kept from the eyes of the public. Besides the dubious practice of taking away drug users' money, at least the

302 Lilli Binzegger, "Ein Dutzend Jahre nach dem ersten 'Heroin-Fall'. Die Polizeiarbeit in der Zürcher Drogenszene," *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 24.04.1985.

303 Sibylle Elam, "Für ein sauberes Zürich: Junkies schleifen," *Die Wochenzeitung*, 23.08.1985.

304 Lilli Binzegger, "Ein Dutzend Jahre nach dem ersten 'Heroin-Fall'. Die Polizeiarbeit in der Zürcher Drogenszene," *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 24.04.1985.

305 "Weil sie im Seefeld auf den Strich geht, wo eine Prostitutions-Sperrzone ist, haben sie ihr 3 Noten abgenommen und gesagt: 'Das ist die Busse, weil du im Seefeld anschaffst.'" Urs Zwicky, "Der reine Terror," *Die Wochenzeitung*, 09.08.1985. On prostitution in the Zurich heroin scene see also Regula Manser, "Frust-Lust von Süchtigen. Ein Bericht aus der Zürcher Szene," *Einunzwanzig*, no. 2 (23.01.1985).

306 Ibid.

threat of violence was part of this space. The weekly *Züri-Woche* reported the case of a male police officer who 'disciplined' an impudent teenage girl by taking her into the bus for a strip search:

> But the real work of the drug squad's detectives is usually not taking place in sight of the public. Rather behind closed doors in the box wagon. 'Let's see if you haven't hidden the dope between your legs', the officer says. The woman who is emaciated down to the bones has to take off her clothes.[307]

The "main police station Niederdorf", as those box wagons were sneeringly named by drug addicts,[308] contributed to the transformation of the drug scene's spaces into sites of fear and tensions, liminal spaces whose character could not, and cannot, be understood in purely legal terms.[309]

The effects of this new strategy of policing on the individual drug users were devastating. As it became more dangerous to hang out at the drug scene's meeting places, the first ones to refrain from doing so were the drug dealers. Heroin became scarce; the prices sky-rocketed. One gram of heroin, which had been available for about four- to seven-hundred Franks, rose to 1,500 Franks per gram in 1985. Even if one's money had not been taken away by the police, it was incredibly difficult to procure the necessary money.[310]

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307 "Die eigentliche Arbeit der Beamten vom Drogendezernat spielt sich aber zumeist nicht im Blickfeld der Öffentlichkeit ab. Vielmehr hinter verschlossenen Türen im Kastenwagen. 'Mal luege, öpps s Piis (den Stoff) nöd zwüsched de Bei versteckt häsch', sagt der Beamte. Die bis auf die Knochen abgemagerte Frau muss sich ausziehen." Martin Meier, "'Da lat mer halt gschider einä verreckä!'," *Züri-Woche*, 24.10.1985; cf. also Urs Zwicky, "Der reine Terror," *Die Wochenzeitung*, 09.08.1985.

308 Martin Meier, "'Da lat mer halt gschider einä verreckä!'," *Züri-Woche*, 24.10.1985.

309 Cf. also "Polizei geht bei Drogenkontrollen korrekt vor," *Tages-Anzeiger*, 19.11.1984. Answering to an inquiry of the social democrats, the city council declared that "there did not exist a prohibition for drug addicts to sojourn at specific places. Nor had drug addicts been arrested or threatened with detention only to intimidate them." - "In der Antwort auf eine Interpellation von SP-Gemeinderat Franz Schumacher hielt der Stadtrat fest, es bestehe kein Verbot für Drogenabhängige, sich an bestimmten Örtlichkeiten aufzuhalten. Ebensowenig seien Drogenabhängige lediglich zum Zweck der Einschüchterung in Haft genommen oder mit Haft bedroht worden."

310 Urs Zwicky, "Der reine Terror," *Die Wochenzeitung*, 09.08.1985.

The quality of the drugs also changed for the worse. As it was harder to find heroin at all, people bought what they could, no matter how bad the quality was. "When eventually you find someone who has something, you just take it", one of them reported in 1985.[311] And with a dysfunctional scene, constantly dissolved by raids, users could not warn each other when dangerous mixtures were sold on the streets. The primary effect of the repressive strategy was not that people were shooting-up less but that they had to search longer and pay more for drugs of lesser quality. Many tried to compensate for the poor quality by taking additional substances like sleeping pills. This damaged the health of addicts much more than (relatively) pure heroin would have done. It could also be fatal, as this report in *Die Wochenzeitung* exemplifies:

> Those who have nothing and show withdrawal symptoms are taking Rohypnol [a tranquilizer, JHF], for instance. D. has drowned in the fountain by the cathedral, the weekend before last. Filled with Rohypnol she became thirsty, wanted to drink and fell, head first, into the fountain. She was so tight that she did not realize even that. She does not appear in the official drug statistics of the canton Zurich [...].[312]

At the same time, police tactics strengthened the position of drug dealers relative to the consumers. "They can play off their power when you're *auf dem Aff* [i.e. show withdrawal symptoms, JHF]. You have to put up with everything, you're cringing, dropping your last bit of pride for the damn dope."[313] The distribution of drugs of bad quality increased chances for accidental overdoses. As drug addicts increased their doses to make up for the heroin's poor quality, in the few cases when higher-quality heroin was sold on the market, its unexpectedly high concentration could be fatal.

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311 Hansruedi Fritschi, "Süchtige am Stadelhofen - Eindrücke vom Elend," *Tages-Anzeiger*, 19.07.1985.

312 "Wer nichts hat und auf dem Aff ist, nimmt zum Beispiel Rohypnol. D. ist im Brünneli beim Grossmünster ertrunken, am vorletzten Wochenende. Voll mit Rohypnol hatte sie Durst, wollte trinken und ist vornüber in den Brunnen gekippt. Sie war so voll, dass sie nicht mal das merkte. Sie erscheint nicht in der offiziellen Drogentotenstatistik des Kantons Zürich (schon 34 dieses Jahr), und ist doch so jämmerlich ersoffen, mit dem Gesicht nach unten im Brunnen." Urs Zwicky, "Der reine Terror," *Die Wochenzeitung*, 09.08.1985.

313 "'Die können die Macht ausspielen, wenn du auf dem Aff bist. Du musst dir alles gefallen lassen, kriechst, lässt deinen letzten Stolz liegen für den Scheissstoff.'" Ibid.

Even when drug addicts were not killed instantly by accidental overdoses, accidents, or suicides, the social oppression ruined their health. Drug users needed water to dissolve the heroin in order to inject it. As bar owners closed their bathrooms to addicts and public fountains were switched off to drive them away, people used soda bottles or cans to take water from Zurich lake or puddles.[314] The unhygienic conditions were worsened by the need to shoot up immediately and in a hurry to avoid being controlled and detained by the police between buying and consuming.

Syringes were confiscated by the police. In 1985 a law was passed that prohibited the sale of syringes by doctors, pharmacists, and drug stores. The prices soared to fifty Franks per syringe.[315] The few that were available were used several times, causing abscesses and scars at the veins; attempts to sharpen the needles with the striking surfaces of matchboxes were in vain.[316] Often the syringes were shared, causing the spread of serious infectious diseases like hepatitis and, from the mid-1980s, of HIV. Due to their fear of the police, few drug users participated in vaccination campaigns.[317]

Life as a drug addict thus became more precarious and stressful as police increased their patrolling of public spaces. Shortly after the expulsion of the scene from the *Riviera*, Zurich's social workers reported a growing "fear, despair, resignation and a disillusioned, fatal willingness to take risks ('it-don't-matter-any-more-attitude')" amongst drug users.[318] The "battle against heroin consumers" was causing "paranoia" and a "feeling of being hunted until

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314 Alfons Sonderegger, "'Kommst dir wohl gut vor?'," *Tages-Anzeiger*, 10.03.1985.

315 Martin Meier, "'Da lat mer halt gschider einä verreckä!'," *Züri-Woche*, 24.10.1985.

316 Urs Zwicky, "Der reine Terror," *Die Wochenzeitung*, 09.08.1985.

317 According to a street worker only three persons had participated in a hepatitis vaccination campaign in march 1983, while around seventy addicts had had taken part in a similar campaign in autumn 1982. Alfons Sonderegger, "Drogenszene Stadelhoferplatz: Die Orte wechseln, die Menschen bleiben," *Tages-Anzeiger*, 19.03.1983.

318 "Diese totale Hetz- und Zerstreuungstaktik der Stadtpolizei erzeugt bei Fixern Angst, Verzweiflung, Resignation und eine desillusionierte, tödliche Risikobereitschaft ('Es-chunnt-nüme-druf-a-Haltung')." Drogengruppe Zürich et al., "Presseerklärung vom 15. März 1983," original emphasis.

death".[319] This feeling cannot be dismissed simply as an exaggeration as recent studies indicate a possible relation between intensified policing and higher drug mortality rates, although intensified policing might also be interpreted as a *reaction* to more numerous drug related deaths.[320]

The solidarity amongst drug users also dwindled. In cases of overdoses, few risked staying long enough to call an ambulance. A 25-year-old addict told the *Züri-Woche*: "Mostly it's the police that arrives first, anyway. We are only risking to get arrested ourselves. So we rather let one kick the bucket [*verrecken*]. True hell!"[321] As a consequence, the number of drug related deaths in Zurich rose constantly since 1985.[322]

Eventually, the scene would be driven into a park behind the central train station. Although police controls continued, the scene's presence at the somewhat hidden *Platzspitz* was tolerated to prevent smaller but more visible scenes from appearing in other parts of the city centre. At the close of the 1980s, up to 2,500 persons frequented the Platzspitz every day, turning it into the biggest meeting point of heroin users in Europe. Dubbed *Needle Park*, this was the price Zurich paid in order to keep the rest of the city centre clear of visible scenes of juvenile drug consumers.[323]

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319 "Die Aussagen der Fixer über ihre Verfolgungsängste und ihr Gefühl des Gehetztwerdens bis in den Tod und der weitere Anstieg der Drogenopfer sind die unmittelbaren Auswirkungen auf der Gassenszene." Team der Auffangstation Tiefenbrunnen, "Und nachher will es keiner gewesen sein," 1.

320 For Zurich: Carlos Nordt and Rudolf Stohler, "Combined effects of law enforcement and substitution treatment on heroin mortality," *Drug and Alcohol Review* (2010), DOI: 10.1111/j.1465-3362.2009.00167.x (accessed 17 February 2013).

321 "'Meischtens isch d Polizei sowieso zerscht da. Mir riskieret höchschtens, sälber verhaftet z'werde. Da lat mer halt gschider einä verreckä. Dä wahr Terror!'," Martin Meier, "'Da lat mer halt gschider einä verreckä!'," *Züri-Woche*, 24.10.1985.

322 Bundesamt für Polizei (fedpol), *Schweizerische Betäubungsmittelstatistik 2008* (Bern, 2009), 22.

323 Markus Stadler, *Das Polizeiproblem und die Drogen. Beobachtungen im Platzspitz* ([Zürich?], 1987); Künzler, *Analyse der offenen Drogenszene am 'Platzspitz'*; Ernst Sieber, *Platzspitz - Spitze des Eisbergs. Jugend- und Erwachsenenprobleme unserer Zeit: Begegnungen, Begebenheiten und eine Vision für die Zukunft* (Bern: Zytglogge, 1991); Müller and Grob, *Medizinische und soziale Aspekte der offenen Drogenszene Platzspitz*.

2.3.4. Conclusion

From its beginnings in the early 1970s, teenage heroin consumption was understood as a symptom of, and a symbol for, an all-encompassing social transformation and a variety of crises. At the same time, teenage drug consumption was also a way to understand and manage the fears that these transformations brought with them. Uncontrollable migration, the effects of the economic crisis of 1973, a widespread discomfort with modernist concepts of urbanity, the rise of consumer culture and a growing individualization—they all could, at least partly, be translated into a crisis of youth. Youth, as a symbol for the future of the nation, became an important object of concern; the discourse on teenage drug consumption was one of the sites at which fundamental social norms and values were renegotiated and reestablished.

The city played a crucial part in this development. After the 1960s, it had been impossible to locate juvenile delinquency, now it had become visible again. But through their abundance and volatility, local heroin scenes added to the insecurity and uncertainty regarding youth delinquency. Furthermore, the city itself appeared to be in a crisis, at least the Fordist model of a functionalist division of the city. The inhospitality of the cities seemed to be affirmed and exacerbated by visible scenes of drug users. The drug discourse of the 1970s and early 1980s thus established not only a youth in crisis as an object of concern but also public spaces as an object of regulation and control. Teenage drug consumption—and with it social change—could now be understood and managed through public urban space.

As signifiers of crises, social descent, the defiance of social norms and the lack of control of urban space, the visible presence of young heroin users came to be the main problem for contemporaries.[324] As a visible reminder of social crisis and one's own possible descent, they evoked reactions of shock and anger amongst many people. This was especially the case when

324 Weinhauer, "The End of Certainties," 382.

people encountered drug users and their misery in person instead of the sanitized mediation offered by the media.

Establishing teenage drug consumption as a problem of public space had two mutually-reinforcing effects. *First*, the threat of heroin (and with it the crises of youth and society) was discursively contained by creating a few symbolic spaces for heroin consumption. The most prominent of these symbolic spaces was the train and subway station Bahnhof Zoo in West Berlin. In contrast to the "real" sites of the heroin scene, this symbolic space was imagined as a heterotopia, that is as entirely different from its surroundings (thus suppressing the social roots of intoxication and addiction in society) and as entirely separated from it. It was now seemingly possible to protect children from drugs and other vices (foreigners!, sexuality!), by exerting strict spatial control and by preventing them from going to sites such as the Bahnhof Zoo.

This discursive containment was therefore complemented by, *secondly*, the attempt to control the spaces of the heroin scene. Once the visible presence of drug-consuming youth had been established as a political problem, dissolving the scene appeared as a logical consequence. The case of the heroin scene shows the contested nature of public spaces in 1980s city centres: youth were claiming a right to gather at certain places, to be part of, and participate in, the city; shop owners were declaring their interests as that of the general public and demanding that the heroin scene be dispersed; politicians accepted this claim and sent in the police. But the police did not—and could not—battle the illegal drug trade. They could only battle the drug consumers. Politicians and public discourse differentiated between addicts and dealers; around 1980 a policy of "therapy for addicts, punishment for dealers" was widely accepted. But the distinction between addicts and dealers was impossible to make, as most heroin users also acted as small-level dealers when the opportunity arose. Differentiations were made by the police, but of a different kind, as the Zurich example illustrates. First of all, only

those heroin users who were gathering at a specific site and whose look corresponded with the image of the run-down "junkie" came under scrutiny.[325] But it was especially minors who became the targets of control, as they could be taken into custody even if they could not be connected to a concrete criminal act but showed only signs of 'improper' behaviour in public. This control of youth in public space aimed at disciplining all other youth as well, although in a purely spatial sense: to avoid getting into trouble, it was necessary to avoid certain places. Avoiding certain drugs was not the issue. The policing of teenagers also re-enforced perceptions of heroin consumption as a youth problem and in turn, encouraged notions of a youth in crisis that had to be controlled more strictly.

It soon became clear that the goal of dissolving the scene could not be reached by repressive measures but that the scene could only be forced to constantly move around. In the role of the follower, police, along with drug users who led the chase, created spaces of deviance throughout the city centre. The biggest impact of the ever intensifying raids and other repressive measures (such as taking away drug users' money, preventing access to drinking water or banning the sale of syringes) was an increased level of stress and anxiety on the side of the heroin users. Fatalities soared. All this did nothing to prevent people from taking drugs or trying to make use of one of the very few de-tox sites. But, as horrible as these consequences were, authorities did not heed them as signs of a failed policy. Nor were they of any concern for the police. Local drug policy was not aimed at reducing the numbers of heroin users or improving their living conditions but at reducing their visibility and establishing a regime of control in public space.

The constant movement of the scene and the inability to dissolve it was not merely the sign of a failed police strategy. As much as politicians, shop owners, police, and citizens would

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325 Kreuzer, *Jugend, Rauschdrogen, Kriminalität*, 86-87.

have liked the scene to simply disappear, the constant raids, the visible presence of police in public space, the reassuring of the general public that something was being done and, not the least, the effort to unsettle the drug scene were all part of a regime of control that was based on a spatial understanding of youth deviance and that promised to govern this problem through spatial and repressive measures. In a sense, policing the drug scene was an end in and of itself. One that did not need any other successes, not even a decline in the numbers of heroin users.

Flash: Hamburg central station, 2004

"'Even after largely breaking up the open drug scene at the central station the struggle against *publicly noticeable* drug delinquency continued to be a main focus', said [Hamburg police president Werner] Jantosch. The situation had improved significantly. However, drug deals would now be made more often in other neighbourhoods or in S-Bahn stations."[326]

The paradox of a repressive strategy that could only fail—the police were seen as either idle or helpless, the drug scene was either a visible nuisance or an ubiquitous threat—thus doesn't appear to be so paradoxical after all. It was successful precisely in its 'failure', or, as Lemke, Krasmann and Bröckling have formulated: "Ruptures exist not only between but also within rationalities and technologies [of governance, JHF], namely as a precondition of their functioning—not as a sign of their failure".[327] Its political success lay in the construction of

326 "'Auch nach der weitgehenden Zerschlagung der offenen Drogenszene am Hauptbahnhof blieb der Kampf gegen die öffentlich wahrnehmbare Drogenkriminalität ein Schwerpunkt', sagte Jantosch. Die Lage habe sich spürbar verbessert. Allerdings würden Rauschgiftgeschäfte jetzt häufiger in anderen Stadtteilen oder in S-Bahnhöfen abgewickelt." "Erfolgreicher Kampf gegen Dealer," *Hamburger Abendblatt*, 23.06.2004, my emphasis.

327 "Brüche gibt es nicht nur zwischen, sondern auch innerhalb von Rationalitäten und Technologien, und zwar als Bedingung ihres Funktionierens - nicht als Signum ihres Scheiterns." Lemke, Krasmann, and Bröckling, "Gouvernmentalität, Neoliberalismus und Selbsttechnologien," 23.

drug consumption as a spatial phenomenon, always on the move, always on the edge of invading sites of innocence and purity; and in constructing this threat as an imminent danger that needed a firm regime of control. The repressive paradigm was successful because it allowed state and society to understand drug use in spatial and therefore seemingly manageable terms and because it helped establish policing as a well-tried practice to govern deviant youth in general and the heroin scene in particular throughout the 1980s.

3. A concrete utopia? Squatted houses as "free spaces"

> *Especially the drug scene, which had expanded rapidly since 1968 and had occupied partly old and partly new spaces, was a matter for much conflict. While in this case the confrontations were already severe, as they concerned the hegemony over and within spaces, they even saw a further escalation when the motif of the liberated zone that was underlying the whole concept of the "counter-culture" precipitated in a first wave of squattings.*
> *– Detlef Siegfried, Urbane Revolten, befreite Zonen*[328]

In the last chapter I argued that the emergence of heroin scenes was understood by observers as signifying what scholars have later termed the "structural break" of the 1970s and that its spatialization offered new opportunities to symbolically contain and spatially control juvenile heroin consumption and social transformations. A closer look at popular imaginings about the heroin scene revealed that the governance of heroin use was not just a question of localizing young drug users within the urban environment; the spaces of the heroin scene were conceived as a heterotopic counter-site. Only by defining certain spaces as clearly distinguishable and marked-off areas and by identifying them as entirely different from their surroundings, containers for all sorts of deviance, the governance and control of heroin in urban space became an actual possibility.

In 1980 and 1981, these heterotopias of youth deviance, meant to control youth who were not conforming to hegemonic norms, were complemented by other spaces of non-conforming youth: that of numerous squatted houses in many West German cities. These youth not only signified the crisis of the city but they themselves explicitly referred to this crisis

328 "Insbesondere die seit 1968 explosionsartig sich ausbreitende und teils alte, teils neue Orte okkupierende Drogenszene sorgte reichlich für Konfliktstoff. Wurden schon hier die Auseinandersetzungen hart geführt, weil es um Vorherrschaft über und in Räumen ging, so erfuhren diese noch eine Steigerung, als sich das Motiv der befreiten Zone, das dem Konzept der 'Gegenkultur' insgesamt zugrunde lag, in einer ersten Welle von Hausbesetzungen niederschlug." Detlef Siegfried, "Urbane Revolten, befreite Zonen. Über die Wiederbelebung der Stadt und die Neuaneignung der Provinz durch die 'Gegenkultur' der 1970er Jahre," in *Stadt und Kommunikation in bundesrepublikanischen Umbruchszeiten*, edited by Adelheid von Saldern (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2006), 361.

and proposed the means to address it. Again, the idea of a space that was at the same time real and utopian, that had a concrete place in the here and now and yet was entirely different from all the other spaces in society, underlay urban and youth politics. Originally meant as a practical critique of Fordist concepts of the functionalist division of the city and an intervention into local politics of *Kahlschlagsanierung* ("wholesale redevelopment"), the squatted houses soon appeared as a free space in which a different, "autonomous" life seemed possible. "Here with us, everything is different", a fifteen-year-old squatter from the city of Göttingen told journalists, thereby delivering a precise definition of such an "other space", precisely because of the vagueness of the statement.[329]

While the spaces of the heroin scene have been treated mainly through analyses of adult discourses and practices in chapter 2, the intent of this chapter is to scrutinize the imaginations and social practices of the participating youth. This does not mean that spaces of the heroin scene were entirely the product of hegemonic discourses and governmental practices while squatted houses came about simply as a result of how youth occupied a building. Rather, the difference is born of an alternative analytical perspective on similar conflicts over urban space, youth, and social norms and values. Heroin use could not have been established as a problem of space without drug-consuming youth gathering in public urban spaces in the first place. The concept of heterotopias of deviance was in turn responsible for a growing attractiveness of these spaces for many youth, as evidenced in the discussion of the Bahnhof Zoo.[330] Yet as much as the spaces of the heroin scene were also the result of the agency of the youth involved, they left few traces that would allow historians to make verifiable statements on their intentions, hopes, and imaginations. The young squatters, on the other hand, produced much more material results: not only were their spaces tied to the immovable, solid sites of the

329 "Bei uns ist alles anders." Karin, in: Heiko Gebhardt, "In einem besetzten Haus," *Stern*, 05.02.1981: 187.

330 Cf. section 2.2.4.

houses themselves, they also left behind plenty of flyers, magazines, posters, books, videos and other sources and were even responsible for their preservation.[331] While the press discourse has been thoroughly researched (at least for the cities of Berlin and Hamburg),[332] the spatial conceptions of the squatters themselves have received relatively little attention from historians thus far and will therefore be the focus of analysis in this chapter.[333] Instead of being uniform, "lawless spaces" of deviance, squatted houses were inhabited by an array of individuals and characterised by multiple and often contradictory identifications, as a look at alternative *Instandbesetzer*, "urban Indians", and punks will show.

The youth and squatters' movement of the 1980s was much more pluralistic than previous radical movements in terms of the social and educational background, as well as the age, of the protagonists. The subject of radical politics had changed from that of "students" to the more general "youth." While the students' movement of the late 1960s had attempted to change society through a "long march through the institutions" and that of the radical Left of the 1970s had put much of its effort into the organization of "revolutionary" parties, the youth revolt of the 1980s focused on the appropriation of spaces to achieve radical change. The concrete spaces of conflict had also moved from universities and factories to the city, and the underlying conceptions no longer focused on "emancipation" or "revolution" but on "autonomy".[334]

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331 Bernd Hüttner, Gottfried Oy, and Norbert Schepers, eds., *Vorwärts und viel vergessen. Beiträge zur Geschichte und Geschichtsschreibung neuer sozialer Bewegungen* (Neu-Ulm: AG SPAK-Bücher, 2005); Bernd Hüttner, *Archive von unten. Bibliotheken und Archive der neuen sozialen Bewegungen und ihre Bestände* (Neu-Ulm: AG-SPAK Bücher, 2003).

332 For Berlin: Rolf Amman, *Der moralische Aufschrei. Presse und abweichendes Verhalten am Beispiel der Hausbesetzungen in Berlin* (Frankfurt/Main: Campus, 1985); for Hamburg: Werner Lehne, *Der Konflikt um die Hafenstraße. Kriminalitätsdiskurse im Kontext symbolischer Politik* (Pfaffenweiler: Centaurus, 1994).

333 Exceptions are Sabin Bieri, *Vom Häuserkampf zu neuen urbanen Lebensformen. Städtische Bewegungen der 1980er Jahre aus einer raumtheoretischen Perspektive* (Bielefeld: Transcript, 2012) with a focus on Bern and Sebastian Haumann, "*Schade, daß Beton nicht brennt". Planung, Partizipation und Protest in Philadelphia und Köln 1940-1990* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2011) on Philadelphia and Cologne.

334 Friedrichs and Balz, "Individualität und Revolte".

The idea of an autonomous free space was thereby not restricted to individual houses; these were perceived as part of a whole network of rebellious islands. In areas where the presence of the squatters' movement was most visible (and could be linked to perceived "allies" like migrants or the urban poor), these networks were supplemented by ideas of larger liberated territories or "rebellious neighbourhoods". In districts like Berlin-Kreuzberg it seemed possible to shut out the vices of the modern city and to establish spaces of, and for, an uncontrollable and non-conforming youth.

What was meant to be the most radical form of resistance, though, also showed striking similarities with conservative convictions regarding the roots of youth deviance, as described in the previous chapter. Both conservative adults and radical youth were formulating a critique of the Fordist regime, albeit under different terms. While the former were blaming modernization for their discomfort with contemporary society, the latter were accusing "the state" and the "ice pack society" for their discontent. The object of critique, though, was basically the same: the technocratic regulation of all aspects of society, mass consumerism, welfare state, individualization and so forth.[335] Especially the perceived inhospitality of the city, that is of its modernist version, was a central trope in both the drug users' and squatters' discourse.

Yet the most striking congruency between non-conforming squatters and the policies that sought to restore the hegemonic order was, I argue, their thinking in spatial categories that can be described as heterotopic. Just as much as heroin scenes had been conceived as "other spaces" outside of the hegemonic order, the young squatters' idea of liberated spaces and of liberation through space was based on perceptions of certain utopian counter-sites. Clearly distinguished from their surroundings and entirely different, these were also imagined as spaces in which the norms of the "ice pack society" could be overcome.

335 Cf. section 1.2.3.

Despite all of their apparent differences and conflicts, hegemonic conceptions and their radical opponents were thus similar in one regard: they shared the conviction that social change was first and foremost a matter of spatial politics. While juvenile delinquency and its social roots were transformed into spatial phenomena by institutions of discipline and control, transgressive youth simultaneously started to understand emancipation and social change in spatial terms. (Urban) space appears thus as a fundamental category of (youth) politics in the 1980s.

3.1. Resistance in a concrete desert? The West Berlin squatters' scene

It was never just about the houses. It was always about much more. About what? What's the matter there?
– Squatters' flyer, Hamburg 1986[336]

After World War II, the city of West Berlin became the site of frequent modernist urban restructuring programs; more so than in many other West German or Western European cities. The destruction of large parts of the city during the war laid the foundations for these programs and the economic decline after the building of the Berlin Wall in 1961 became the decisive factor. Cut off from regional markets, industrial production moved to West Germany, while the Eastern part of the city, as capital of the GDR, flourished. Publicly sponsored construction projects in the West were intended to stimulate the rest of the economy and to compete on a symbolic level with East Berlin. The concept of "wholesale redevelopment" was implemented more rigorously in West Berlin than elsewhere and as a result, the urban crisis and the uneasy effects of this policy were also experienced more severely. In 1979 a new protest movement, consisting predominantly of youth and young adults, emerged in response to this crisis: the squatters' movement.

The appropriation and shaping of urban space by squatters was more permanent and more solid than in the case of the heroin scene (although the two scenes were not entirely separated, as will be shown in Chapter 4 and Section 5.1). The squatters' active critique of Fordist urban planning and redevelopment resonated with the uneasiness amongst the general populace regarding these politics. As a result, the squatters' demands initially met a lot of sympathy, as a survey of the birth of the Berlin squatters' movement will show.

Still, politicians and police could not allow these illegal appropriations of private (or

336 "Es ging noch nie nur um die Häuser. Es ging schon immer um viel mehr. Um was? Was ist denn da dran?" Hafen bleibt. Schanze auch. July 1986, ArSozBew HH, 09.400, Hafen Flugis 1982-87, 2.

sometimes public) property to last. For them, as well as for elements of the conservative press, the houses were "*rechtsfreie Räume*" (lawless spaces), sites outside the law that through their very existence defied and threatened public order. But while with the young heroin users social norms and moral values were much more important than legal issues, the question of (il)legality was the prime factor in dealing with the squatted houses. The legal order could be restored by either symbolically turning the squatters into "children", "youth", or "students" and by signing leasing contracts with them (thereby legalizing the squatted houses); or it could be restored through the eviction of the houses by the police, often accompanied by a discursive construction of their inhabitants as "terrorists" and "criminals".[337]

3.1.1. "This is war against us!" Urban redevelopment in Berlin-Kreuzberg in the 1970s

In the autumn of 1979, the few remaining inhabitants of block 104 between Oranien-, Mariannen- and Skalitzer Straße in the district of Kreuzberg, awoke one day to unsettling noises. There was the noise of gunshots and cracking sounds indicated the partial destruction of some of the houses. When some of them—mostly Turkish immigrants who had come to Berlin as *Gastarbeiter*, guest workers, in the 1960s—left their houses, they were confronted with a platoon of U.S. infantry, armed with live ammunition (fig. 3.1). The G.I.s "are smashing windows, are breaking doors complete with their frames out of the brickwork, are cutting loopholes into the walls".[338] While the U.S. Army used the run-down block—situated some 200 metres from the Berlin wall and designated for demolition—to train for urban warfare, the remaining tenants had simply been forgotten by the Berlin Senate, the proprietor of the

337 Amman, *Der moralische Aufschrei*, 95.

338 Flyer of the "Betroffenen-Vertretung Dresdener Straße", Berlin, 1979, quoted in "'Sanierung haut den Gesündesten um'," *Der Spiegel*, 23.06.1980: 37.

Fig. 3.1: "The US-Army in a backyard in Skalitzer Straße in November 1979." – Source: Bernd Laurisch, *Kein Abriß unter dieser Nummer. 2 Jahre Instandbesetzung in der Cuvrystraße in Berlin* (Gießen: Anabas, 1981), 28, originally published in *Süd-Ost-Expreß*.

houses. "This is war", some of the residents of Block 104 concluded, "war against us."[339]

This incident captures many aspects of the situation in Berlin-Kreuzberg at the end of the 1970s in a nutshell. The postwar order had put the area of "Kreuzberg 36" or "SO 36"—named after its postal code South-East (*Süd-Ost*, or, SO) 36—at the periphery of Berlin and the "Free West". Surrounded on three sides by the Berlin Wall and far from the new urban centre around Kurfürstendamm, this old working-class neighbourhood had not profited from the

339 "'Sie schlagen Fenster kaputt, brechen Türen samt Rahmen aus dem Mauerwerk, schlagen Schießscharten in die Wände', meldete ein Flugblatt der 'Betroffenen-Vertretung Dresdener Straße' von der Sanierungsfront, 'dann wird geschossen. Das ist Krieg, Krieg gegen uns.'" Ibid. In the same sense Beate Ziegs, "Manteuffelstraße 39-42. Ein Exempel," in *Häuserkämpfe: 1872, 1920, 1945, 1982*, edited by Rainer Nitsche (Berlin: Transit, 1981), 230f.

generous subsidies that positioned West Berlin as the "shop window of the West". Of the 83,000 apartments in Kreuzberg, 50,000 dated from the time before World War I. These tenements had been left to deteriorate. In accordance with Fordist city planning, the old buildings were to be torn down and replaced by high-rises (fig. 3.2). To this end, the city bought block after block and, together with private investors, sought to displace the tenants. In this situation, investments in the existing buildings seemed a waste of money. Decay and desolation characterized SO 36 at the end of the 1970s.

The situation in Block 104 was no different from its surroundings, on the contrary. One of the first large redevelopment projects in Kreuzberg had been the *Neues Kreuzberger Zentrum* (NKZ), a massive concrete complex near Kottbusser Tor. This complex, a bad investment of several million marks,[340] had not only destroyed the local infrastructure and become a symbol of a failed urban development strategy; it had also cut off formerly lively streets such as the shopping area of Dresdener Straße, causing the majority of shops to close down and many tenants to leave.

Many of the former tenants left their neighbourhood and moved to the newly built dormitory towns at the edge of the city: *Gropiusstadt* in the South-East and *Märkisches Viertel* in the North-West.[341] Some of their apartments were rented out to migrant families. These families were often unable to find suitable living space on the free market (due to the racism of many landlords as much as to their precarious financial situation) and were willing to pay rents far above average for the deteriorated apartments. From an investor's perspective, this clientèle allowed owners to maximize the profits from houses where even the most necessary maintenance works were no longer carried out.[342] When no "regular" tenants remained and

340 Bernd Laurisch, *Kein Abriß unter dieser Nummer. 2 Jahre Instandbesetzung in der Cuvrystraße in Berlin* (Gießen: Anabas, 1981), 18-20.

341 On the symbolic role of the Gropiusstadt see also section 2.2.2.

342 This process led some contemporaries to blame immigrants for the decay of the houses, e.g. in "'Sanierung

Fig. 3.2: Area designated for redevelopment in Berlin-Kreuzberg. Visible are the old block structures, sometimes several houses deep, and the respective courtyards. In the lower centre, the NKZ, cutting off Dresdener Straße from Kottbusser Tor. South-East of Heinrichplatz is block 104. – Source: Laurisch, *Kein Abriß unter dieser Nummer*, 12-13.

enough capital had been provided by investors to start the redevelopment process, these migrant families were evicted. Their lack of juridical knowledge and linguistic fluency meant that evictions generally proceeded smoothly.[343]

According to plans however, parts of Dresdener Straße, as well as block 104, were not meant to be turned into high-rise living or office spaces at all. From the 1950s, the West Berlin Senate harboured high flying plans for a city Autobahn through Kreuzberg that would run directly up against the Berlin Wall. It would form part of a city highway that would connect

haut den Gesündesten um'," *Der Spiegel*, 23.06.1980: 30-39; "'Die Türken kommen - rette sich, wer kann'," *Der Spiegel*, 30.07.1973: 24-34. Cf. Friedrichs, "Milieus of Illegality".

343 This process has been described for the redevelopment of Frankfurt's Westend in the early 1970s. See Serhat Karakayali, "Across Bockenheimer Landstraße," *Diskus*, no. 2 (2000), http://copyriot.com/diskus/2_00/a.htm (accessed 12 February 2013).

West and East Berlin after their future reunification. A product of Fordist concepts of the car-oriented city and the hubris of the West Berlin Senate and the latter's denial of Cold War realities, this project would have radically altered the structures of a whole neighbourhood and left many people homeless for a highway that, due to the division of the city, could not even have been used after its completion.[344]

This was the background against which the manoeuvre of U.S. Infantrymen, which resulted in major damage to some houses, was understood as a symbol for an encompassing "war" against the inhabitants of the whole district—in this specific case, within the context of the Cold War. Soon enough, though, the meaning of the term *Häuserkampf*—"battle for houses" or "urban warfare"—would change. Within a few months, *Häuserkampf* would mean the fight to preserve the historic building stock of Kreuzberg and the defence of a series of houses that had been squatted in order to put an end to the wholesale development of the district.

3.1.2. History of the Kreuzberg squatters' movement

> *"Lieber Instandbesetzen als Kaputtbesitzen!" – "Better to squat and repair than to own and destroy!"*
> *– Slogan of the Berlin squatters' movement, 1979*

The destruction of living space in Kreuzberg had noticeable effects citywide. Although not nearly as disturbing as the neighbouring heroin scene, "every Saturday at the Bahnhof Zoo, in front of the kiosk to which the local newspapers with housing offerings are being delivered, long columns of people looking for a flat are forming".[345] Although the population

344 In this regard it made perfect sense to cut off streets like Dresdener Straße, at least from an urban planners point of view, as the NKZ would have served as a demarcation against the planned Autobahn interchange at Oranienplatz.

345 "Jeden Samstag bilden sich am Bahnhof Zoologischer Garten vor dem Kiosk, wo zuerst die Lokalzeitungen mit den Wohnungsangeboten ausgeliefert werden, lange Schlangen von Wohnungssuchenden." Joseph

of West Berlin had been on the decline since the building of the Berlin Wall (from 2.2 million in 1962 to 1.87 million in 1982),[346] the city saw some 80,000 people looking for apartments, 18,000 of which counted as cases of hardship in the early 1980s. At the same time, there were approximately 10,000 vacant flats and tenants had been evicted from about 800 houses.[347]

To address this grievance, at the end of the 1970s, some residents of Kreuzberg 36 founded the citizens' initiative, or *Bürgerinitiative,* "SO 36". The initiative focused primarily on the municipal *Berliner Wohn- und Geschäftshaus GmbH* (BeWoGe), a public housing authority ("Wohnungsbaugesellschaft") whose policies left almost 300 apartments tenantless in Kreuzberg alone.[348] All efforts were in vain however. Referencing (non-existing) modernization contracts, the BeWoGe refused to sign rental agreements for any of the apartments. To build up pressure on the BeWoGe, members of the *Bürgerinitiative* "SO 36" occupied one apartment each in Görlitzer Straße 74 and Lübbener Straße 3 in February 1979 and immediately started to overhaul the apartments. In this context the term *Instandbesetzung* appeared for the first time: a neologism combining "instandsetzen"—to renovate, to repair—with "Besetzung"—squatting, occupying. In contrast to earlier squattings in Kreuzberg that focused on the lack of space for youth in particular, this time the lack of housing and urban policy in general was the squatters' main concern.

Meant as a symbolical action to draw attention to unoccupied apartments in good conditions, the act of squatting soon evolved in nature. Probably due to political pressure as a

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Scheer and Jan Espert, *Deutschland, Deutschland, alles ist vorbei. Alternatives Leben oder Anarchie? Die neue Jugendrevolte am Beispiel der Berliner 'Scene'* (München: Bernard&Graefe, 1982), 23.

346 Karl-Heinz Krüger, "Ich lerne langsam, dich zu hassen," *Der Spiegel*, 15.08.1983: 41.

347 Scheer and Espert, *Deutschland, Deutschland, alles ist vorbei*, 23.

348 The following chronology according to ibid., 24-26; Laurisch, *Kein Abriß unter dieser Nummer*, 187-230; Helmut Willems, *Jugendunruhen und Protestbewegungen. Eine Studie zur Dynamik innergesellschaftlicher Konflikte in vier europäischen Ländern* (Opladen: Leske & Budrich, 1997), 267-81; and Jürgen Bacia and Klaus-Jürgen Scherer, eds., *Passt bloss auf! Was will die neue Jugendbewegung?,* (Berlin: Olle & Wolter, 1981), 151-160 unless otherwise noted.

result of growing discomfort with the Social Democrats' own redevelopment policy of the previous years, the BeWoGe eventually agreed to sign rental contracts with the squatters. Suddenly, *Instandbesetzung* became a way to actually save houses through one's own labour and activism while at the same time providing living space for the activists themselves—something that fit well with the youths' ideas of "first person politics" and autonomy.[349] As a squatter wrote two years later: "that is the good part, that housing is such a direct, basic necessity and not something superimposed and artificial, where you are chasing some pretensions and where you are getting caught up in rationalizations, in muddling about organizations and such."[350]

On 26 November 1979, the *Bürgerinitiative* "SO 36" announced that activists had squatted three apartments in a block in Cuvrystraße, destined for wholesale redevelopment. Again, the squatters were not immediately evicted, probably due to political pressure by the ruling Social Democrats on the house owners.[351] In January 1980, a Berlin court declared that there was no legal necessity for an immediate eviction as long as no development plans for the building existed. With this decision, squatting seemed to have the chance of becoming a successful long-term strategy against modernist urban planning.

Following this court decision, squatters occupied more and more houses throughout Berlin. With the expansion of what was now becoming the squatters' movement also came a diversification of this movement.[352] In April 1980, the *Besetzerrat K 36*, the squatters' council, was founded to ensure coordination between the, then, ten squatted houses in Kreuzberg 36. The police answered by establishing a special unit for *Instandbesetzungen*.[353]

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349 Cf. section 1.2.1.

350 "[...] das ist ja das Gute, daß Wohnen ein ganz unmittelbares Lebensinteresse ist und nicht irgendwas Aufgesetztes, wo du einem Anspruch hinterherjagst und dich in Rationalisierungen verfängst, in Organisationsgehaspel und sowas." Benny Härlin, "Von Haus zu Haus - Berliner Bewegungsstudien," *Kursbuch*, no. 65 (1981): 17.

351 Laurisch, *Kein Abriß unter dieser Nummer*, 73.

352 On the different types of squatters see section 3.2.

353 Manrique, *Marginalisierung und Militanz*, 74.

On 12 December 1980, the police prevented the squatting of a house at the Fraenkelufer in Kreuzberg. Rumours that some nearby houses were to be evicted attracted hundreds of supporters who started to build several barricades. An excessive police operation led to a weekend of fierce street battles in Kreuzberg and on Kurfürstendamm.[354] According to Matthias Manrique, the "battle at Fraenkelufer", its media coverage, and the solidarity of many who had not been involved directly, led to a solidification of the fragmented "movement milieus": "Instandbesetzer" turned into "the squatters' movement, the *Häuserkampf* movement, or simply 'the movement'. Even the protagonists themselves talked of a movement, hardly of youth protest or youth revolt."[355] Quickly, the demand to free all those who had been arrested became more central than criticizing the redevelopment policies.[356]

In the following months, this movement gained significant momentum. Fuelled by the events of December 12, the number of squattings skyrocketed. A new Senate, led by Social Democrats and the liberal FDP, was established on 23 January 1981. It declared the *Berliner Linie der Vernunft* ("line of reason"). This new policy declared the squatters' movement as a problem to be dealt with politically, not primarily by the police. This decision—although constantly undermined by the District Attorney's office—allowed for a record number of about 160 squatted houses in May 1981. According to Helmut Willems, an estimated four to five thousand people were active in the squatters' movement at that time, with far more than 10,000 sympathizers.[357] Surveys reported that 45% of the "young generation" supported the

354 For details and a documentation of the press coverage see Ermittlungsausschuss im Mehringhof, *Dokumentation. Dezember Berlin 1980* (Berlin, 1981).

355 "[...] war bisher von Instandbesetzern die Rede, sprach man seitdem von der Hausbesetzerbewegung, der Häuserkampfbewegung oder schlicht von 'der Bewegung'. Auch die Akteure ihrerseits sprachen von der Bewegung, kaum von Jugendprotest oder Jugendrevolte." Manrique, *Marginalisierung und Militanz*, 88f.

356 Anders, "Wohnraum, Freiraum, Widerstand," 485.

357 Willems, *Jugendunruhen und Protestbewegungen*, 267.

squattings;[358] among the entire population figures varied between 39 and over 50%.[359]

Yet this also marked the zenith of the movement. After a new senate under the conservative CDU had come to power in June, evictions and street battles multiplied. Squattings were successively redefined as a problem of public order and security. On 22 September 1981, after the eviction of eight houses, police forces drove protesters onto a much frequented road; the eighteen year-old Klaus-Jürgen Rattay was hit by a bus and died on the spot.[360] In mid-1983, only 56 squats remained: 47 had been evicted by the police, 45 had been legalized by contracts, 19 had been abandoned. In November 1984, the last squat signed a rental agreement—the Berlin squatters' movement had ceased to exist.

Still, second only to the *Kraakers* in Amsterdam,[361] the West Berlin squatters' movement had been one of the largest in Europe and a major factor in local urban politics and youth culture alike. Several circumstances helped to facilitate this development. The lack of housing was partly due to West Berlin's role as "a 'frontier town' on a global political scale" which "contain[ed] and develop[ed] within itself central as much as peripheral spaces and conditions".[362] Surrounded by the Berlin Wall, it was not possible to address housing shortages by encouraging the middle-class to build new homes in the suburbs. At the same time, because the city was cut off from the surrounding regions and oriented towards West Germany, developing new financial, economic, and consumerist centres (Kurfürstendamm, Schöneberg)

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358 Anders, "Wohnraum, Freiraum, Widerstand," 479.

359 According to a survey of the *Forschungsgruppe Wahlen* in March 1981, 39% of those interviewed declared that squattings were a reasonable utilization of property. A survey of the Kehrmann market research institute for *Playboy* magazine in April 1981 stated that 53.7% of the interviewees felt that squattings were justified. Jürgen Bacia and Klaus-Jürgen Scherer, "Gefühl und Härte. Die Instandbesetzerbewegung," in *Passt bloss auf! Was will die neue Jugendbewegung?*, edited by Jürgen Bacia and Klaus-Jürgen Scherer (Berlin: Olle & Wolter, 1981), 120.

360 For details see Ermittlungsausschuss im Mehringhof, *abgeräumt? 8 Häuser geräumt... Klaus-Jürgen Rattay tot. Eine Dokumentation* (Berlin, November 1981).

361 Duivenvoorden, *Een voet tussen de deur.*

362 Manrique, *Marginalisierung und Militanz*, 17.

became a priority, while peripheral districts (Kreuzberg, Neukölln, Wedding) were neglected. Even the new dormitory towns at the edge of the city such as *Gropiusstadt* in Neukölln (built 1962-1975) or *Märkisches Viertel* in Reinickendorf (1963-1974) could not address these shortcomings adequately. The living spaces available to the urban poor diminished significantly.

The conflicts that arose from these intensified social and spatial discrepancies were exacerbated by a local system of corruption. The Fordist policy of wholesale redevelopment under governmental control was in large parts a Social Democratic project, especially with regards to the central role of the state in urban planning and social engineering.[363] In Berlin especially, the SPD-led Senate, construction firms, and the trade-union-owned housing company *Neue Heimat* were tightly connected. Gigantic, inefficient building projects like the *Neues Kreuzberger Zentrum* were thus heavily sponsored with tax money, while whole blocks of affordable apartments were torn down.

Finally, the West Berlin alternative scene was Germany's largest, not just in absolute figures but also relative to the total population of the city. After 1968 especially, when West Berlin became one of the centres of student protest, the city drew many left-leaning youth to its spaces. Both *Technische* and *Freie Universität* had a reputation of fostering radical ideas and although scarce, living space was still comparatively affordable. The cultural *underground* was lively and as successors of the experimental communes of the late 1960s, many *Wohngemeinschaften,* or *WGs*, allowed young people to share a flat and experiment with forms of communal living as alternatives to living with a partner, families, or occupying a single-room apartment. Last but not least, many left-leaning young men moved from West Germany to

363 Stephan Scheiper, "Der Wandel staatlicher Herrschaft in den 1960er/70er Jahren," in *Terrorismus in der Bundesrepublik: Medien, Staat und Subkulturen in den 1970er Jahren*, edited by Klaus Weinhauer, Jörg Requate, and Heinz-Gerhard Haupt (Frankfurt/Main, 2006), 188-216.

Berlin to avoid being drafted into the army.[364] In the early 1980s, the Berlin branch of the West German intelligence service, the *Landesamt für Verfassungsschutz*, concluded with a certain amount of respect that "the local alternative movement is without a doubt one of the liveliest and most significant elements of the alternative movement in the Federal Republic and Western Europe." The focal points of its activities were "the policies of construction, rent, and redevelopment".[365] Unlike in other West German cities, the alternative milieu was a factor in local politics that could not easily be ignored.

Thus, by 1980, the discomfort with housing shortages and top-down wholesale redevelopment and a "critical mass" of radical youth willing to take matters into their own hands, gave a start to one of the biggest and most radical youth movements of post-war German (and, indeed, Western European) history.

3.1.3. Spaces of deviance? The press discourse on squatting

Due to wide-spread discomfort with the effects of Fordist urban restructuring programs, the squatters' movement was initially met with considerable sympathy amongst the general populace, especially amongst left-liberal intellectuals and politicians. Yet the illegal appropriation of public, and sometimes private, property also met with fierce resistance. The press discourse surrounding the squatters' movement has been analysed elsewhere.[366] For the purposes of this research, I will summarize the most important aspects of this discourse as it

364 Due to Berlin's special status as former capital of the German Reich, it was under direct control by the Allied forces until 1990. In accordance with the Four-Power Agreement, no German military forces were allowed within the city; only a small number of French, British, and US forces were stationed in West Berlin throughout the Cold War.

365 "Die hiesige Alternativbewegung bildet zweifellos eines der lebendigsten und bedeutendsten Elemente der Alternativbewegung in der Bundesrepublik und Westeuropa. Das vorrangige Aktionsfeld der in Berlin (West) politisch aktiven Alternativbewegung, von der viele Aktivisten aus der sog. Stadtteilarbeit kommen, ist die Bau-, Mieten- und Sanierungspolitik." Landesamt für Verfassungsschutz Berlin, "Der 'Häuserkampf' in Berlin (West)," [after April 1982], APO-Ar, R6, Berlin. Der "Häuserkampf" in Berlin (West), 7.

366 For Berlin: Amman, *Der moralische Aufschrei*; for Hamburg: Lehne, *Der Konflikt um die Hafenstraße*.

compared to the discourse on young heroin users in regard to urban space.

In West Berlin, the focus of media representations shifted quickly from individual houses to violent street battles between squatters and police, especially after the "battle at Fraenkelufer" in December 1981. After this moment, the question of violence dominated the discourse on squatting. A closer look at space as a category of analysis reveals fundamental similarities with the discourse on the heroin scene. The press coverage of the squatters' movement shifted successively from the social causes of this new movement to questions of crime and delinquency, resulting in the construction of squatters as deviant "folk devils" and the creation of a "moral panic". Central to this shift were attempts to contain squatters in certain spaces and to locate them in an imaginary "outside".

Although squatters managed to establish more "solid" spaces than the heroin scene, the visible claiming of urban space and the defiance of hegemonic norms was much more present and permanent in the case of the latter. Symbolically containing the squatters' scene was therefore much easier than in the case of heroin users. Although initially a social movement protesting urban policies in general, the practice of squatting itself made it easy to perceive this movement as one limited to a number of clearly identifiable spaces—the squatted houses themselves.

Yet squats and squatters were time and again associated with other groups that had already been located outside the social norm, as with communists and terrorists. "It is radical and militant factions, supplied by extreme leftist and anarchist movements", the conservative daily newspaper *Berliner Morgenpost* informed its readers, "who, following the example of terrorist Revolutionary Cells[367], are trying to destroy state authority and to produce chaos in

367 The *Revolutionäre Zellen* (RZ) was a loose network of urban guerilla groups in the 1980s which understood themselves as "social revolutionary", in contrast to the elitist concept of the Red Army Faction. The RZ were a popular point of reference for many autonomous groups throughout the 1980s and early 1990s. Cf. Autonome L.U.P.U.S.-Gruppe, ed., *Die Hunde bellen... von A bis RZ. Eine Zeitreise durch die 68er Revolte und die*

and through the squatters' scene."[368] The notorious Berlin Senator for interior affairs, Heinrich Lummer, stated in an interview in 1982 that "it is a fact that the squatters' scene still provides an incentive for social fringe groups, especially for those who have no interest in working [*die keinen "Bock" auf Arbeit haben*]."[369] By further associating squatters with other marginalised groups like drug users or homosexuals[370] the source of trouble was projected out of society into an imaginary "outside"; the weekly *Stern* described the squatters' protest vividly as the "gutter running amok" (*Amoklauf der Gosse*)[371]. This "urban geography of the bourgeois Imaginary"[372] was structured by a dichotomy between the respectable, clean and laborious middle-class and their comparably clean and orderly city on the one hand and work-shy fringe groups, directly from the dirt of the gutter and occupying similarly run-down houses, on the other. This was not just a means to delegitimize political protest but a way of situating the squatters' movement outside the realm of the respectable and ultimately of civil society itself.[373] This process and the underlying fear of a violent return of the marginalized ("running amok") were suited to pave the way for rigorous attempts to keep the protesters at bay, that is, to define them as a case for the police.

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militanten Kämpfe der 70er bis 90er Jahre (Münster: Unrast, 2001).

368 "Es sind radikale und militante Teile, gespeist aus linksextremistischen und anarchistischen Bewegungen, die nach dem Vorbild terroristischer Revolutionärer Zellen versuchen, in und über die Hausbesetzerszene staatliche Autorität zu zerstören und Chaos zu produzieren." "Wohnen zum Nulltarif keine Dauerlösung," *Berliner Morgenpost*, 03.10.1982: 9. In this sense also "Hausbesetzerszene: Zentrale Steuerung?" *Deutsche Polizei*, no. 9 (1981): 24-27.

369 "Es ist Tatsache, daß die Hausbesetzerszene nach wie vor einen starken Anreiz auf soziale Randgruppen ausübt, besonders auf jene, die keinen 'Bock' auf Arbeit haben." Ibid.

370 Amman, *Der moralische Aufschrei*, 109; 116.

371 *Stern*, no. 28 (1981), quoted ibid., 111.

372 Stallybrass and White, *The Politics and Poetics of Transgression*, 126.

373 An effect that was much more permanent and unambiguous in the case of young heroin users whose labelling as *junkies* identified them as people who were consuming and living amidst junk—and thus finally became junk themselves. Cf. also Judith Butler, *Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of "Sex"* (New York: Routledge, 1993), 170 ("Others become shit") and Stallybrass and White, *The Politics and Poetics of Transgression*, 131: "metonymic associations (between the poor and animals, between the slum-dweller and sewage) are (...) displaced by a metaphoric language in which filth stands in for the slum-dweller: the poor *are* pigs."

This view was facilitated by the extensive use of war metaphors;[374] on one occasion *Der Spiegel* even drew parallels between the conflict about squats with the US war in Vietnam, stating that the situation in Berlin was "like in Saigon"[375]—a curious inversion of the perceived "war against us" of Kreuzberg tenants confronted with G.I.s in their backyards. The thinking in metaphors of war helped establish a perception of two distinct and homogeneous groups, of "us" versus "them", and to exclude the squatters from the urban collective.[376] Senator Lummer stated in 1981 that "the *Chaoten* and rabble-rousers want to ruin our city"[377], thus inverting the relation between a destructive, large-scale urban policy of wholesale redevelopment and the protest against it.

The Berlin police presented statistics according to which two thirds of all squatters and violent offenders were not from the city of Berlin,[378] which led Senator Lummer to conclude that the whole problem "therefore [had] nothing to do with Berlin at all".[379] Such a statement only made sense if one ignored the social roots of the protest, focused on the single aspect of militant forms of protest and imagined the political threat as something that came from a social and geographical outside, like an alien invasion.

The squatted houses themselves then appeared as bases of this alien Other, as spaces

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374 Amman, *Der moralische Aufschrei*, 113f.

375 "In Berlin gehe es zu 'wie in Saigon'." Senator for Economic Affairs Elmar Pieroth in "Berlin: Lummer läßt räumen," *Der Spiegel*, 28.09.1981: 27.

376 Cf. Erving Goffman. *Stigma. Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity*, Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1963.

377 "Die Chaoten und Scharfmacher wollen unsere Stadt ruinieren." *BZ*, 07.08.1981, quoted in Amman, *Der moralische Aufschrei*, 91.

378 These figures were flawed, as all those with a secondary residence outside of Berlin and those who had moved to the city after 1975 did not count as Berliners. Ibid., 96. Reliable sources about the social and geographical background of the squatters do not exist.

379 "Lummer rechnete vor, von den Hausbesetzern sei gerade jeder dritte ein Berliner, das Gros der Bewegung bestehe aus Zugereisten. Die gesamte Problematik habe folglich 'mit Berlin gar nichts zu tun' – als ob die verfehlte Baupolitik nicht von den Berliner Regierungen mit Hilfe aller Parteien betrieben worden wäre." "Berlin: Lummer läßt räumen," *Der Spiegel*, 28.09.1981: 27.

outside the realm of the law. They were conceived as heterotopias in two aspects: they were *firstly*, places where the outside and the marginalized re-entered the social, geographical and imaginary centre. These were the Other within; if the gutter ran amok, it would start from one of these hotbeds of delinquency. As a consequence the houses were imagined as, *second*, totally different from their surroundings, as lawless spaces (*rechtsfreie Räume*) in which the chaos—"the dissolution of all values"[380]—the squatters sought to bring, already ruled supreme.[381]

3.1.4. The squatters: a youth movement?

> *"So with the movement... that is something that actually the others talked us into, that we have to be a movement. And then, of course, they were immediately asking, what kind of movement is this, by whom is it composed? And that is what I really like about the whole story, that even the social scientists have such a hard time finding a terminology for this social process. […] What more could you possibly want, than that at some point you are lacking a term?"*
> *– Bettina, squatter from Berlin, 1981*[382]

Looking at the titles of sociological studies about the squatters' scene of the 1980s gives the impression that youth was the decisive factor in the constitution of this new political movement: "What does the new youth movement want?", "Youth against state and society",

380 "[...] das 'Chaos' als Auflösung aller Werte." Amman, *Der moralische Aufschrei*, 104.

381 The concept of lawless spaces had already undergone significant changes when it appeared in the context of squatted houses in the early 1980s. The term had originally been used in the catholic philosophy of law to describe conflict situations in which decisions must, or rather, can be based on moral rather than juridical standards. The concept was therefore directed against an attitude that its inventor, Arthur Kaufmann, viewed as typical for the "mentality of the Germans": "The German still clings to the naïve sentence: that which is not prohibited by penalty is permitted, and he almost expects that the state forbids him everything he shouldn't do. That is the old subservience [*Untertanengeist*] of citizens that do not want to take responsibility for their own moral decisions." Arthur Kaufmann, *Über Gerechtigkeit. Dreißig Kapitel praxisorientierter Rechtsphilosophie*, (Köln/Berlin/München, 1993), 106, quoted in Anders, "Wohnraum, Freiraum, Widerstand," footnote 62.

382 "Das mit der Bewegung, das haben uns die anderen ja eigentlich eingeredet, daß wir 'ne Bewegung zu sein haben. Und dann haben sie natürlich auch gleich gefragt, was ist denn das für 'ne Bewegung, woraus setzt die sich zusammen. Und das find ich grad das Tolle an der Geschichte, daß es selbst den Sozialwissenschaftlern so ungeheuer schwer fällt, da eine Begrifflichkeit zu finden für diesen gesellschaftlichen Vorgang. [...] Aber was willst du mehr, als daß dir irgendwann der Begriff fehlt?" From an interview with Bettina, a Berlin squatter, in: Härlin, "Von Haus zu Haus": 20.

"Protest culture and youth", "Between resignation and violence. Youth protest in the eighties", to name but a few.[383] It seemed clear to experts that the new wave of political protest had something to do with the situation of adolescents, that it was a reaction to, for example, the rising figures of youth unemployment, and that it was carried out mainly by the young people affected by this situation. Squatting appeared as just one aspect of the general unrest among young people, of irritating behaviour that included political protest as much as drug abuse and participation in "youth religions".[384] It is striking that in the context of heroin consumption the category of youth was evoked repeatedly, while in the press discourse on squatting it was used relatively rarely. Rather, after a few sympathetic reports in the early phase of the squatters' movement[385], local studies showed that the squatters and their acts were successively framed in terms of deviance, crime, and even terrorism.[386]

The more militant parts of the squatters' scene reacted to these designations by the often ironic affirmation of negative attributions such as "terrorists", "rats" and "scum". This points towards a specific aspect of autonomous politics that also holds true for large parts of the squatters' movement in general. All the protest movements of the 1980s that are usually categorized under the term New Social Movements were keen to see their political analyses published and debated in the media. Often, these movements failed to achieve this goal

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383 Bacia and Scherer, *Passt bloss auf!*; Haller, *Aussteigen oder rebellieren*; Peter Ulrich Hein, *Protestkultur und Jugend. Ästhetische Opposition in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (Münster: Lit-Verlag, 1984); Marlene Bock et al., eds., *Zwischen Resignation und Gewalt. Jugendprotest in den achtziger Jahren* (Opladen: Leske & Budrich, 1989).

384 Eberhard Fuchs, *Jugendsekten. Kinder Gottes, Mun Sekte, Hare Krishna, Transzendentale Meditation, Scientology-Kirche, Ananda Marga* (München: Wilhelm Goldmann Verlag, 1979); see also Hans-Wolfgang Sternsdorff and Paul Lersch, "'Es muß von allen Seiten Proteste hageln'," *Der Spiegel*, 14.01.1980: 66-81.

385 Cf. for instance "'Sanierung haut den Gesündesten um'," *Der Spiegel*, 23.06.1980: 30-39, in which no reference to youth was made, though. In order to evoke sympathy for the squatters, they were marked as "citizens", "the populace", "Wohngemeinschaften" or "Instandbesetzer". At one point the squatters were identified as "students, trainees, drop-outs" (30). The strategy of portraying the squatters as harmless children and youth in order to evoke sympathy for their cause could also have a depoliticizing effect. A good example is Heiko Gebhardt, "In einem besetzten Haus," *Stern*, 05.02.1981: 30-34 and 186-187.

386 Cf. footnote 366.

because they were stigmatized by this same media. *Autonome*, on the other hand, accepted their stigmatization and renounced all attempts to communicate their demands and justifications through the media. They confirmed the validity of their claims precisely by being stigmatized by the media as outlaws.[387] In one of their early programmatic texts, called *Der Anfang ist nicht das Ende*, "The Beginning Is Not The End", published in the widely circulating pamphlet *Guerilla diffusa*, the anonymous authors tried to give a definition of their own movement, including the question of whether they were to be counted as a youth movement:

> But what is an *Autonomer*? Perhaps a former *K-Gruppen*[388] activist, perhaps a feminist [*eine Frauenbewegte*], perhaps both or neither of them. Anarchists of all factions are probably quite numerous. Also toxicomaniacs, dreamers, secret leather gays and babblers. Punks and even more wannabe punks. Nor is there much to say about our age. Officially we are youth, which of course is music to our ears.[389]

One could assume that a quote such as the one above was indicating precisely the opposite; that the majority of autonomous squatters consisted of adults who were flattered by being still perceived as energetic youth. Indeed, there were accounts from squatters that "most of us were or are students between approximately 25 and 30 years old"[390], making it necessary to question the contemporary perception of a youth movement. On the other hand, teenagers did participate in the squatters' movement and there are no indications that they didn't do so on equal terms. The toughest street-fighters in particular were perceived as youth or "still half children" by the squatters themselves. For them, youth was a category that was synonymous

387 Schwarzmeier, *Die Autonomen*, 29.

388 Cf. footnote 27.

389 "Was aber ist ein Autonomer? Vielleicht ein ehemaliger K-Gruppen-Aktivist, vielleicht eine Frauenbewegte, vielleicht beides oder keins von beidem. Anarchisten aller Fraktionen dürften recht häufig sein. Auch Toxikomanen, Täumer [sic], heimliche Lederschwule und Schwätzer. Punks und noch mehr Möchtegernpunks. Auch über unser Alter läßt sich wenig aussagen. Offiziell sind wir Jugendliche, was uns natürlich runtergeht wie Öl." *Guerilla diffusa - In Bewegung bleiben* (n.p.: Verlag letzte Runde, [1981]), 5, original emphases.

390 "Die meisten von uns waren oder sind Studenten so zwischen 25 und 30 Jahren." An unidentified squatter in Jürgen Bacia and Klaus-Jürgen Scherer, "...unser Haus - die einzig längerfristige Perspektive für uns! Ein Gespräch mit 'friedlichen' Besetzern," in Bacia and Scherer, *Passt bloss auf!*, 130.

with determination. One of the squatters declared:

> Precisely because they are so young, they are really up to things that I would never say, that might be incredibly good for one personally but too dangerous politically. […] The young ones think stuff over less but simply let the rage flow out of their guts. I myself have already internalized these restrictions, and I am thinking, for example, whether or not the riots are always politically appropriate, [especially] at a time when some people might be negotiating [about rental agreements].[391]

Asked whether he would classify the squatters' scene as a youth movement, he responded that "regarding the people who are carrying out the actions it is certainly a youth movement" but that the whole scene was much more diverse.[392] Another squatter declared, "The roughly 3,000 squatters in Berlin did not declare themselves as a movement, let alone a youth movement."[393] It seems that the squatters were only able to agree on the fact that they could not agree over whether they were a youth movement or not. In later publications activists even rejected such a classification as an attempt by social scientists to obscure the squatters' genuinely socio-political character.[394]

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391 "Gerade weil die so jung sind, haben sie eben Sachen drauf, die ich nie sagen würde, die vielleicht für einen persönlich unheimlich schön, die aber politisch zu gefährlich sind. [...] Die Jungen überlegen weniger, sondern lassen die Wut ganz einfach aus dem Bauch heraus. Ich selbst habe diese Restriktionen schon drin, daß ich mir überlege, z.B. ob die Randale zu dem Zeitpunkt, wo vielleicht ein paar Leute gerade verhandeln, politisch immer richtig ist." Jürgen Bacia and Klaus-Jürgen Scherer, "...tagsüber rede ich mit den Leuten und nachts haue ich denen die Scheiben zusammen! Ein Gespräch mit einem aktiven Instandbesetzer," in Bacia and Scherer, *Passt bloss auf!*, 137.

392 "Es ist von den Leuten her, die die Aktionen tragen, natürlich eine Jugendbewegung. Aber das Spektrum ist auch durch Betroffenheit und Unterstützung breit […]." Ibid.

393 "Die vielleicht 3000 Hausbesetzer in Berlin haben sich nicht selbst zur Bewegung erklärt und schon gar nicht zu einer Jugendbewegung." Härlin, "Von Haus zu Haus": 14.

394 Geronimo, *Feuer und Flamme*, 91: "Für diese Entwicklung wurde von bürgerlichen Soziologen und Journalisten der irreführende und demagogische Begriff der 'Jugendrevolte' eingeführt. Der Begriff unterschlägt, daß viele bewegte Jugendliche nicht wegen ihrer 'Jugend' revoltiert haben, sondern aufgrund massiver sozialer und politischer Unzufriedenheit. Darüberhinaus verdeckt er, daß sich diese Unzufriedenheit teilweise mit den Strukturen älterer linksradikaler Zusammenhänge verband und eine Kontinuität von zwei Jahren entwickeln konnte. Ohne diese organisatorischen und politischen Verknüpfungen hätte sich die sogenannte 'Jugendrevolte' wohl eher in sporadischem Aufflackern von zielloser jugendlicher Bandenmilitanz ausgedrückt als in Aktionen gegen AKW's, Startbahn-West, Wohnungsleerstand usw." "For this development *bürgerliche* sociologists and journalists introduced the term of the 'youth revolt'. The term obscures the fact that many moved youth did not revolt because of their

The statements cited above and official statistics produced by the Berlin Senate[395] suggest indeed that squatters had a similar age-range to those participating in the heroin scene. While a majority of squatters seemed to have been in their early twenties, teenagers and people in their thirties also participated in the scene. Squatters themselves were aware of their youth in a broad sense of the term, but they usually emphasized the political over the generational aspects of their actions. Instead of "youth movement", self-designations as "squatters", "anarchists" or *Autonome* prevailed. But despite these self-conceptions and regardless of the biological age of the squatters, political protest was perceived as a youth phenomenon. Social scientists especially seem to have been influenced by an implicit thinking about protest generations, in which the "68ers" gave way to the "81ers". As with heroin use, squatting was conceived as a youth phenomenon partly because it fit with hegemonic assumptions about adolescent behaviour and political protest.

Without uncritically adopting contemporary perceptions, I understand the squatters' scene as a youth movement for several reasons. *First*, the relatively young biological age was one aspect that characterized the squatters in general, although it was far from being the main or even sole characteristic. *Second*, the squatting of houses opened up new spaces for non-

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'youth' but because of a massive social and political discontent. It conceals furthermore that this discontent connected itself partly with older radical left-wing structures and was able to develop a continuity over the course of two years. Without these organizational and political connections, the so called 'youth revolt' had expressed itself in a sporadic flickering of aimless juvenile gang militancy rather than in activities against nuclear power plants, *Startbahn-West*, housing shortages [*Wohnungsleerstand*] etc." See also Klaus Hartung, "Über die langandauernde Jugend im linken Getto. Lebensalter und Politik - aus der Sicht eines 38jährigen," *Kursbuch*, no. 54 (December 1978): 174-188.

395 According to the Berlin senate, 64,9% of all squatters were male and 35,1% female; 24,5% were younger than twenty-one, 40,2% were between the age of twenty-one and twenty-five, 35,3% were older than that. Pupils and university students accounted for 36%, workers for 26%, while 38% were unemployed or their profession was unknown. Willems, *Jugendunruhen und Protestbewegungen*, 347. The Berlin police announced that a majority of 82% of all those who had been arrested in the course of street battles (until December 31, 1981) were between 18 and 30 years of age and thus classified as adolescents (*Heranwachsende*) and adults, while youth only accounted for less than 5%. Landesamt für Verfassungsschutz Berlin, "Der 'Häuserkampf' in Berlin (West)," 34.

conforming forms of youth culture (punk rock being the most obvious) and for youth who would otherwise have been subjected to disciplinary institutions like children's homes. *Third*, squatting and squats allowed for a transformation of youth itself and a prolonged phase of adolescence. Those who lived in a squatted house and/or participated in the scene *were* youth, even if they were already in their thirties. This impression was supported by the lifestyle that was being cultivated in the scene. People were living in large groups rather than alone, as a couple, or—the symbol of a successful coming-of-age—as a nuclear family. Within the houses, people of every age were living together or, at least, side by side; a fact that facilitated the self-perception of being part of a youth movement because, in a way, one did so simply by living with people younger than oneself. *Fourth*, many squatters tried to avoid prototypical work careers (which would have indicated a successful passage from youth to adulthood) by relying on petty theft, welfare aid and irregular jobs. *Finally*, core values of the autonomous movement —direct action, first person politics, militancy, rejection of theoretical analyses—were projected onto the youngest activists. To strategically refrain from militant protest appeared as a sign of old age and was synonymous with being corrupted by the system (in terms of having internalized its norms and restrictions). By participating in militant actions squatters could in turn "prove" that they were neither corrupted nor—and this was synonymous—old.

Just as with heroin consumption, squatting was perceived as a youth phenomenon and it allowed squatters to perceive themselves as youth, regardless of their actual age. The squatted houses and other spaces of the squatters' scene, especially bars and concert venues, facilitated such self-perceptions. Youth—as a cultural rather than biological category—and space—the houses and meeting places of the squatters' scene—mutually constituted each other. While governmental politics transformed juvenile delinquency and its social roots into spatial phenomena, transgressive youth themselves started to understand emancipation and social

change as a spatial project.

3.1.5. Conclusion

While heroin consuming youth in public urban space had been viewed by observers and experts as a signifier of a deep social and urban crisis, the relation between the crisis of Fordist concepts of "wholesale redevelopment" and the squatters' scene was even more apparent, simply because the squatters themselves were referring to this crisis.

Squatting appeared as a suitable reaction to this crisis for at least two reasons. If living space was scarce because private home-owners and public building societies were not renting out thousands of apartments in order to construct monstrous high-rise buildings like *Neues Kreuzberger Zentrum*, squatting was, *first*, a direct and uncomplicated way of making this living space accessible and usable again. It fit also well with activists' wish to combine the political with the personal, to act in accordance with one's own needs and desires. Squatting was therefore, *second*, a form of political activism that allowed for a life in radical opposition to the hegemonic order in the here and now.

Unlike heroin users, squatters also received considerable support from the public, especially from left-liberal intellectuals and politicians. After all, squatters were addressing problems of modern urbanity that were experienced by many. As such, they appeared as part of a possible solution rather than as a signifier of the problem, as was the case with the heroin scene. Yet squatted houses, with their banners and graffiti,[396] were also visible signs of the illegal appropriation of property that came with this protest form. As such, the squatted houses were imagined as "lawless spaces", a term that referred to the illegal act of appropriation, but also fuelled conceptions of squats as hotbeds of crime and deviant behaviour, including drug use and homosexuality. The discourse on the spaces of the squatters' scene thus functioned

396 See also section 3.3.3.

similarly to that of the heroin scene: the inappropriate behaviour of youth was located in certain spaces that were imagined as secluded and entirely different from their surroundings.

Just like heroin use among youth, political protest was thus understood as a problem of spaces that needed to be controlled by the police. In contrast to the attempted dissolution of the heroin scene, though, it was much easier to prevent squatters from establishing new places once they had been evicted from a house. Unlike the heroin scene that could simply gather a few hundred meters further down the road, squatting a house was not as easy, not even in the heydays of the squatters' movement. Additionally there were different ways of dissolving the "other spaces" of the squatters' scene. As they were characterized primarily by their illegal status, squatted houses could be reintegrated into the hegemonic urban order either by eviction or by legalizing them through rental agreements. In these instances "youth" could become a category that allowed for the reintegrating of squatters into society and justified political negotiations, while *Chaoten* and terrorists could be dealt with by the police.[397]

397 Friedrichs and Balz, "Individualität und Revolte," 15.

3.2. Squatters' use of and perspectives on their houses

> *In the 160 squatted houses in this city there are without doubt and without exception squatters, although there is everything but a homogeneous movement among them.*
> *– From a squatter's report, Berlin 1981*[398]

Unsurprisingly, the squatters' own perceptions of their spaces differed significantly from that of conservative politicians, press, and police. An analysis of their spatial conceptions reveals, though, that the underlying mechanism—the spatialization of social and political protest—was also a determining factor in the practice of squatting. This chapter examines the connection between the spatial organisation of squats and their utopian content, or, in other words, their practical and affective occupation by squatters. A closer look at the spatial practices of three groups of squatters—alternative "rehab squatters" or *Instandbesetzer*, so-called urban Indians or *Stadtindianer*, and punks—will reveal the differences and similarities in how the utopian ideals in the heterogeneous squatters' scene were mirrored in the practical organization of their spaces.

Generally speaking, the image of squats as places of disorder, chaos, and crime, as foreign bodies in areas about to be raised to middle-class living standards and integrated into the modernist urban order, was met by similar notions on the side of the young squatters. For them, the houses appeared as "*Freiräume*", free spaces outside the hegemonic order that would allow for the development of alternative ways of living that would as much affect the squatters as a group as it would the entire urban texture. In the case of the heroin scene, it was possible to observe the fascination that spaces such as the Bahnhof Zoo held for youth, while the exact ways in which youth perceived these spaces remain largely unclear. In the case of squatted houses, though, the imaginations and social practices that shaped these "other spaces" are

398 "In den 160 besetzten Häusern in dieser Stadt sitzen zweifellos durchweg Hausbesetzer, aber alles andere als eine einheitliche Bewegung." Härlin, "Von Haus zu Haus": 14.

easier to define and show the complexity of such conceptions. In order to understand these, it is necessary to look more closely at the act of squatting itself. If a heterotopic place is understood as a concrete site of realized utopian ideas, then the construction of a place (or its reshaping) and the imaginations connected with this place are inseparably connected. Turning a run-down apartment block into a "free space" and "our house" was as much an intellectual effort as it was a physical and renovative one. While official politics of modernization and redevelopment were perceived as a war against the populace, squatting houses and their repair appeared as means to revive neighbourhoods as much as to provide a living space in a technocratic society.

To the squatters, the houses were "free spaces" in a double sense. They were imagined as spaces outside of the hegemonic order that would therefore allow for a free life. But they were also "free" in the sense that squatters could fill these spaces with very different utopian imaginations. The "free space" of a squatted house or apartment allowed for many youth to partake in a political movement without the need to formulate a concise political program. The promise that somehow a better life, free of hegemonic norms, could become reality in a squatted house was the binding factor of an otherwise diverse scene.

The social, political, and cultural divides that ran through the squatters' scene were manifold. The most important was the difference between those squatters who were willing to negotiate with political representatives (and who were able to do so due to their social and educational background) and those who categorically rejected any such negotiations. A contemporary cartoon captured this divide with the image of a boat that is under the threat of breaking apart: two squatters are trying to row the boat (the squatters' movement) in opposite directions. "There are contracts waiting at the horizon," one of the two is exclaiming. "There is the revolution waiting at the horizon," the other. Both are depicted as prototypes of the two

major currents of the scene: an alternative of the *Müsli* faction and a leather-clad representative of the autonomous *Molli* faction, named after the infamous "Molotov cocktail", or petrol bomb that was sometimes used during violent street battles. This may well have been the most-reproduced cartoon in the context of the squatters' scene, and it continues to find its way into historiographical accounts up to the present day.[399]

Yet although the conflict between "negotiators" and "non-negotiators" has and continues to dominate in the discourse of (ex-)activists and historians,[400] Freia Anders has rightfully pointed out that the prototypical differentiation between militant "non-negotiators" and peaceful *Müslis* was not as clear as it might seem. Personal relationships and otherwise overlapping political agendas kept the scene together. For individual squatters, violence and negotiations were not necessarily mutually exclusive. Anders concludes that it is not certain to what degree the question of violence contributed to a differentiation of the squatters' scene.[401]

Likewise, when it came to the spatial concepts associated with squatted houses and apartments, other distinctions were much more important than those usually privileged. Here, the similarities between *Mollis* and *Müslis* as politically conscious squatters were much greater while both differed to various degrees from so-called *Stadtindianer* and "social fringe groups", or *Randgruppen* (to use the contemporary sociological term), like punks.[402] One of the problems

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399 For instance in A.G. Grauwacke, *Autonome in Bewegung. Aus den ersten 23 Jahren*, 4th ed. (Berlin: Assoziation A, 2008), 45; Alexander Sedlmaier, "Konsumkritik und politische Gewalt in der linksalternativen Szene der siebziger Jahre," in Reichardt and Siegfried, *Das Alternative Milieu*, 203. It seems that at least two different versions of the cartoon existed, meaning that it was not only photocopied but also redrawn by several artists.

400 In 2011, various events and exhibitions celebrated and reflected thirty years of squatting in Berlin. There were still ongoing discussions about the question of negotiations and which faction had "betrayed" the other. See also the personal account of a "non-negotiator" in A.G. Grauwacke, *Autonome in Bewegung*, 45.

401 Anders, "Wohnraum, Freiraum, Widerstand," 480f. See also Bacia and Scherer, "...tagsüber rede ich mit den Leuten," 133-140.

402 Jan Schwarzmeier pointed out that the degree of idealization of collective living was much higher on the part of the alternatives than it was on the part of the *Autonomen*. Schwarzmeier, *Die Autonomen*, 57. Lindner, *Jugendprotest*, 347f. proposes a differentiation between four faction of squatters: first, those who were focused on urban policy; second, the "anarchists" (i.e. the non-negotiating *Autonome*); third, "existential squatters" of

historians are facing in this instance is the availability of sources. While both *Instandbesetzer* and *Autonome* had their own media to express their expectations and spatial concepts, *Stadtindianer* and punks lacked such a forum, making it difficult to compare their respective ideas about squatting and free spaces. Thanks to a sociological research project that aimed to understand life in the squatted houses,[403] it is nonetheless possible to get a glimpse of life in various types of squats and to work out the underlying conceptions that informed the different uses of space. Such a source is not without problems, though. As outsiders, the researchers were not able to participate in the squatters' everyday life for more than a few hours, maybe days. Conflicts among the squatters and how they were resolved, or not, did thus not come into focus, neither did changes over time such as fluctuations in the numbers of inhabitants. This fact is even more critical as the researchers were clearly quite sympathetic vis-à-vis their research subjects, often drawing a very idyllic picture of life in the houses that contradicts other, more critical, testimonials.[404] Still, these reports provide an analytical view of the social interaction between squatters and the way they were furnishing their apartments after the first renovations had been completed (or instead of them, as was the case with the punks). Almost all the publications produced by squatters focused on the political aspects of squatting, the question of violence, or illustrated the process of mending and repairing the houses as a strategy to represent their cause as just and productive in comparison to the destruction of living space by urban developers. But what happened afterwards, how people actually lived in these houses, how the houses differed in this regard—these questions are conspicuously absent

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young homeless and drug addicts; fourth, "fashionable squatters", most of them students and members of social professions who wanted to participate in the rebellious image of the squatters' movement. Anders, "Wohnraum, Freiraum, Widerstand," 479 sees the alternative milieu, students and social fringe groups as the three most important groups within the squatters' scene.

403 Bock et al., *Zwischen Resignation und Gewalt*.

404 Cf. section 5.2.1.

from most contemporary publications and later testimonials.[405]

For all groups that will be described later in this chapter the concept of free spaces was characterized by four different aspects, though to varying degrees. *First*, such spaces were a means for a radical intervention into urban politics. By squatting a house one was setting a visible sign against wholesale redevelopment and was actively preventing the destruction of living space and the speculation with tenements on the free market. *Second*, the squats were supposed to provide a free space for one's own personal development. This was not necessarily a retreat into an apolitical private sphere but was intended to enable individuals to free their personalities from the damages that they had been suffering through the hegemonic political system. New ways to organize private life apart from nuclear families and segregated single-room-apartments needed adequate space that could be procured through squatting and altering a building. The squats became thus, *third*, a symbol for the wish to segregate oneself from the "ice pack society", a symbolic demarcation against hegemonic forms of living and thinking. They were, *fourth*, a free space in the sense of an empty screen onto which manifold political and psychological wishes and dreams could be projected. The free spaces were free to be invested with meaning and emotions. They were imagined as concrete sites of utopian ideals—heterotopias.

3.2.1. Squatting as spatial and emotional practice

> *We didn't just occupy buildings. We occupied the substance of buildings.*
> *– Squatters' flyer, Freiburg, 1981*[406]

Squatting could be described simply as the illegal act of taking someone else's property

405 An exception were conflicts about gender roles and descriptions of daily life by feminist squatters. Cf. section 5.2.3.

406 "Wir haben nicht nur Gebäude besetzt. Wir haben Inhalte von Gebäuden besetzt." Quoted in Michael Haller, "Aussteigen oder rebellieren. Über die Doppeldeutigkeit der Jugendrevolte," in Haller, *Aussteigen oder rebellieren*, 11.

into possession. But the German term *besetzen* carries two different meanings that are crucial for understanding squatting as a social practice. It can mean taking possession of places through their squatting or occupation. Yet *besetzen* is also a psychoanalytical term that describes the act of imposing emotions onto something. In this sense, squatting a house was linked with a psychological effort to establish an emotional relation with the squatted space; space had to be occupied both physically and mentally. Squattings did not just produce spaces[407] but also fantasies, wishes and utopian imaginations.[408]

The production of wishes started before a house was occupied. The (future) squatters brought with them not only crowbars and banners but also their hopes and expectations. "There you can develop your personality better, there you have more possibilities for your life", one squatter summarized his expectations. "I imagine that together one can do incredibly much in such a house because not so much is dictated here. The amount of space is insane; you can tear down walls and you can build up alternative projects by yourself, for instance."[409] The hopes that were projected onto the building were vague—one's own personal development, "more possibilities for your life", doing "much", without further clarifying what exactly this "much" was referring to. Still, one thing was clear. The expected positive development was directly connected to changing the building's physical structure. The tearing down of walls can therefore also be understood in a metaphorical way as the tearing down of social obstacles that were otherwise preventing the young squatters from living their aspirations.

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407 In the sense of de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, esp. 91-111.

408 Manrique, *Marginalisierung und Militanz*, 125; Lindner, *Jugendprotest*, 355.

409 "Da kann man sich besser entfalten, da hat man mehr Möglichkeiten für sein Leben - auch politisch irgend etwas zu machen. [...] Ich stelle mir vor, daß man gemeinsam in einem solchen Haus ungeheuer viel machen kann, denn hier ist nicht so viel vorgegeben. Es ist irrsinnig viel Platz; man kann Wände herausreißen und man kann beispielsweise selbst alternative Projekte aufziehen." An unidentified squatter, in: Bacia and Scherer, "...unser Haus," 129.

The needs and expectations were multifarious. The houses served as an "empty signifier"[410], a screen onto which various expectations were projected. Although this meant that people could come together quite easily, without the need to agree on a certain political theory or program, it also caused a certain lack of commitment. "Who would really move in or who would rather draw back to the status of 'supporter' was as unclear at the moment of the squatting as our idea of what should happen with the house in the long run", Benny Härlin, squatter and journalist in Berlin described the beginnings of "his" squat. "But then, one morning at half past six, we simply went inside."[411] Going in appeared much easier than the previous decision-making process suggested. Härlin reported in length about the first moments and the following months in the squatted house, and his report gives insight into the process of appropriation of the building. The first thing to do was change the door locks, hang banners out of the windows and inform passers-by with leaflets about the squatting. Changing the locks and making the squatting public was important as the police (in Berlin in 1981) were ordered to prevent new squattings but to leave existing squats—recognizable through banners and intact locks—in peace.

The house itself appeared as *terra incognita*, the squatting was described as an expedition into alien, possibly hostile territory. "A triumphant but also oppressive feeling, to wander for

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410 The concept of "empty signifiers" reflects the fact that group identities are constructed through the identification of an antagonistic "Other". "Empty signifiers" (e.g. a flag as a symbol for the nation) serve as a positive and absolute complementation ("the people", "the Germans") of this negative and relational identity. The more vague these "empty signifiers" are, the better they are suited to constitute identity and mark the antagonism to other groups. Philipp Sarasin, "Geschichtswissenschaft und Diskursanalyse," in *Geschichtswissenschaft und Diskursanalyse*, edited by Philipp Sarasin (Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp, 2003), 48-50; Ernesto Laclau, "Why do Empty Signifiers Matter to Politics?" in *The Lesser Evil and the Greater Good. The Theory and Politics of Social Diversity*, edited by Jeffrey Weeks (London: Rivers Oram Press, 1994), 167-178.

411 "Wer nun wirklich einziehen oder wer sich lieber auf den Status des 'Unterstützers' zurückziehen würde, war zum Zeitpunkt der Besetzung ebenso unklar wie unsere Vorstellung davon, was mit dem Haus auf Dauer passieren sollte. Aber dann sind wir eines Morgens um halb sieben einfach reingegangen." All quotes in this section according to Härlin, "Von Haus zu Haus": 5-7, unless otherwise noted. For a similar report see Luca, "Leben in besetzten Häusern," in Nitsche, *Häuserkämpfe*, 255-261.

the first time through the long, echoing hallways: you are an intruder, a stranger in this dead world."[412] Accordingly, the squatters settled in like pioneers: "Only in one apartment had we installed ovens. That was the scouts' era, only with candles, water in canisters from the neighbours, with ten people in our sleeping bags in a single room."[413] Only slowly did the explorers leave their base camp and take possession of the rest of the house.

Fig. 3.3: Inscriptions on a kitchen wall inside a squatted house at Richardplatz 8, Berlin-Neukölln, 1 February 1983. – Source: Michael Kipp/ Umbruch Bildarchiv.

One way to claim new space as one's own was to write messages or political slogans on the walls. "What a luxurious way to deal with one's own four walls: the date of the next plenum is written with red varnish colour on the wall of the living room."[414] The walls served thus also as a means of communication, as did the houses themselves when squatters painted slogans on walls or hung banners from windows (fig. 3.3 and 3.4).[415]

Only after several weeks and in small steps the house that had appeared "dead" at the

412 "Ein triumphierendes aber auch beklemmendes Gefühl, das erste Mal durch die langen hallenden Zimmerfluchten zu wandern: Du bist ein Eindringling, ein Fremder in dieser toten Welt."

413 "Nur in einer Wohnung hatten wir neue Öfen angeschlossen. Das war die Pfadfinderzeit, nur mit Kerzen, Wasser in Kanistern vom Nachbarn, zu zehnt in unseren Schlafsäcken in einem Raum."

414 "Welch luxuriöser Umgang mit den eigenen vier Wänden: im Wohnzimmer ist der Termin des nächsten Plenums mit roter Lackfarbe an die Wand gesprüht."

415 Lindner, *Jugendprotest*, 356.

time of the squatting became a real home:

> Every new achievement is being celebrated. The zenith of luxury and comfort: after six weeks we have set up a bathroom. A bit of everyday life is moving in. First comfortable corners are forming close to the ovens. A little shelf, a candlestick, the first bed linens instead of the sleeping bag are indicating the extension of privacy. The number of inhabitable rooms is now sufficient for two persons to retreat for the night.[416]

Fig. 3.4: The squatted house as a canvas: graffiti and banners on a house in Bülowstraße 89, Berlin-Kreuzberg, 26 May 1981. The "Bobby Sands Pub", named after an IRA activist, connected the house in Bülowstraße with imaginary spaces of Irish "national liberation". – Source: Michael Kipp/ Umbruch Bildarchiv.

The pioneer era, in which everything was used and experienced collectively, was slowly coming to an end. While it was still preferred that people sleep in the common room,[417] there

416 "Jede neue Errungenschaft wird gefeiert. Der Gipfelpunkt an Luxus und Bequemlichkeit: nach sechs Wochen ist ein Bad eingerichtet. Ein Hauch von Alltag zieht ein. Erste gemütliche Ecken entstehen in der Nähe der Öfen. Ein kleines Regal, ein Kerzenständer, das erste Bettzeug statt des Schlafsacks deuten die Ausbreitung von Intimsphäre an. Die Zahl der bewohnbaren Zimmer reicht mittlerweile auch aus, um sich für eine Nacht zu zweit zurückzuziehen."

417 Carla MacDougall rightly argues that the interior of squats was designed to maximize the available common spaces, most often the kitchen, to facilitate social interaction between squatters. Carla MacDougall, *Cold War Capital: Contested Urbanity in West Berlin 1963-1989*, (PhD diss., Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey –

were now sufficient rooms available so that couples could, on a rotating basis, have a private night away from the others every now and then. By physically altering the building, by renovating the neglected physical substance, the social structure changed as well.

Another effect of the successive renovation was the changing imaginary substance of the buildings. Precisely because they had been in such a bad condition, it was possible to appropriate a squatted house in a way that was impossible with a "normal" apartment. A young female squatter described her relation to the squatted building as follows:

> Well, on such premises there is always something that is not working. And if there is nobody else, you develop a kind of relation to it which you could call responsibility. You know where the cables run, as much as you know the sounds of the environment, the people, it is all interconnected.[418]

The act of mending the building, of "learning by doing", allowed squatters to make it part of their own environment. The building, its surroundings and the people: in the squatters' perception these became a living unity. It was as if the house itself had become a living organism, with veins and noises and like an organic body; it was an organism that needed people to stay alive or to be resuscitated.

> A house is a house. People have lived within the house for more than 100 years. They have loved, hated, and feared in it; could not stand each other or slept in it together; and were born in it and died in it. It had been alive. But when we squatted the house, it was dead.[419]

This anthropomorphizing of squatted houses was also visualized in cartoons. Figure 3.5, a map indicating the number of squatted houses in West German cities, featured a frightened house that had apparently been squatted and was now brought out of harm's way by young

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New Brunswick, 2011), 155.

418 "Naja, auf so 'nem Gelände funktioniert immer irgendwas nicht. Und wenn sonst keiner da ist, entwickelst du da so ein Verhältnis dazu, das kannst du Verantwortung nennen. Du weißt, wo die Leitungen lang gehen und wie das zusammenhängt, genauso, wie du die Geräusche aus der Umgebung kennst, die Leute, das ist ein Zusammenhang." Interview with Bettina, in: Härlin, "Von Haus zu Haus": 18.

419 "Ein Haus ist ein Haus. Mehr als 100 Jahre lang haben darin Menschen gewohnt. Sie haben geliebt, gehaßt, Angst gehabt, haben sich nicht riechen können oder darin miteinander geschlafen, sind darin geboren und gestorben. Es hat gelebt. Doch als wir das Haus besetzten, war es tot."

Fig. 3.5: Map depicting the centres of the West German squatters' movement. – Source: A.G. Grauwacke, *Autonome in Bewegung*, 14., originally published in *taz*.

squatters (and one elderly lady), fleeing a group of police and an accompanying bulldozer. Depictions like these were a visual expression of the concept of squatted houses as organisms. But they were also a means of portraying the squatters as people who were bringing life back to areas that were under threat of being destroyed by a heartless and technocratic urban regime. While the surrounding city was marked by concrete, coldness[420] and a misanthropic destruction of organically grown neighbourhoods, the squatters claimed to stand for the concept of a lively and liveable city (fig. 3.6).

420 On the establishment of the coldness metaphor see for instance Lindner, *Jugendprotest*, 299.

Fig. 3.6: "We want to live." Mural in Berlin-Kreuzberg, c. 1982. – Source: Manfred Kraft/ Umbruch Bildarchiv.

3.2.2. Life, labour, neighbourhood: the alternatives

> *We wanted to determine what is happening in the blocks, not just in regard to living conditions. […] Thus developed our utopia: how we want to dwell, work, and live together. We wanted to decide how that looks!*
>
> *– A squatter's recollection, 1995*[421]

Most impressions from the "alternative" squat visited by the sociologists were similar to the report given by Benny Härlin (see above). A young couple described the first time in "their" house as an intense emotional experience. Here, too, the squatters shared a single room for the first couple of weeks and compared this experience with being in a snowed-in ski hut. The editors were probably right in interpreting this analogy not just as a reference to the

421 "Wir wollten weit über das Wohnen hinaus, bestimmen, was in den Blöcken passiert [...] So bildete sich unsere Utopie, wie wir zusammen wohnen, arbeiten, leben wollen. Wir wollten bestimmen, wie das aussieht!" From an interview with Catrin, in: Kongreßlesebuch-Gruppe, ed., *Der Stand der Bewegung. 18 Gespräche über linksradikale Politik. Lesebuch zum Autonomie-Kongreß 1995* (Berlin: Selbstverlag, 1995), 34.

improvisational camp-like character of the squat. It was also a metaphor for the perceived coldness of the surrounding society from which the squatted house offered a warm shelter. Spatial arrangements—sharing a room with many people, huddling besides a stove, curled up in a sleeping bag—thus reinforced a specific perception of the social.

The sense of warmth and security and the feeling of not being alone were highly prized by the squatters. Life in a larger group held out the possibility of changing existing concepts of friendship and romantic relationships. One could live with and get to know a new partner "without jumping too early into a narrow, closed-off love relationship".[422] Yet what Härlin had described within a narrative of progress and successive occupation of a house—the renovation of additional rooms—appeared in the account of a young female squatter as a reaction to an overdose of social contact. Being constantly surrounded by people both in her job as a teacher and in her spare-time created the desire for spaces into which she (and her boyfriend) could retreat. After addressing this desire on a house meeting where it showed that others felt similarly, the renovation of the house was intensified. Sooner or later every person would inhabit a room on his or her own.[423]

This spatial "normality" was accompanied by a temporal normality, in which the often regular jobs of the occupants determined the structure of the day and the week, and by the display of middle-class taste. The sociologists described their impressions of the "lovingly renovated rooms" and the everyday life of the squatters with open astonishment as an almost "middle-class-orderly culture of dwelling and living" (*Eindruck einer bürgerlich-geordneten Wohn-*

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422 "Ihr ist das Hausbesetzerarrangement mit der damit verbundenen Geborgenheit, Sicherheit und Zuwendung auf der einen Seite sehr wichtig, zumal ihr das enge Zusammensein aller in den ersten Monaten auch ermöglichte, in aller Ruhe ihren jetzigen Partner kennenzulernen, ohne sich zu früh in eine enge, abgeschlossene Zweierbeziehung zu stürzen." Monika Reimitz, Wolfgang Thiel, and Hans-Jürgen Wirth, "Muß denn Leben Sünde sein? Notizen, Assoziationen und Interpretationen zu Gesprächen mit Hausbesetzern und Punks," in Bock et al., *Zwischen Resignation und Gewalt*, 29-30.

423 Reimitz, Thiel, and Wirth, "Muß denn Leben Sünde sein?" 30.

und Lebenskultur). Space and habitus went together:

> The whole *Vorderhaus*[424] is richly decorated with green, an almost orientally tiled bathroom, and the balconies in front of every second room are letting us almost forget that we are in a squatted house. At least all male inhabitants are sitting in front of the tube in time for *Sportschau*. Squatter or not, soccer is a must![425]

The often high hopes of revolutionizing everyday life in a squat as "a further development of the conventional *Wohngemeinschaft*"[426] failed in view of class-specific preferences in regard to architectural style and free-time activities. One squatter even complained that she had the feeling that life was almost more petty-bourgeois and narrow-minded than back with her family. "Dinner on the table in good time, the tube turned on, results in a homey Saturday night."[427] The successful implementation of the very concept of *Instandbesetzung* that had triggered the squatters' movement in the first place now threatened to undermine the squatters' political agenda. Benny Härlin summarized the gap between the almost middle-class housing conditions and the political status as illegal squatters as follows: "In the evenings, when we come home from work, we sit in the garden. […] Sometimes I find it almost too idyllic. And tomorrow morning at five there might be twenty police cars [*Wannen*] in front of the door."[428]

It would be too easy to conclude from this development that the alternative squatters'

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424 The typical Berlin apartment block consists of a house facing the street, formerly inhabited by upper-class citizens (*Vorderhaus*) and one or more houses, often with smaller and darker apartments, formerly inhabited by the middle- and working-class (*Hinterhaus*).

425 "Das ganze Vorderhaus wird durch reiches Grünwerk verziert, ein geradezu orientalisch gekacheltes Bad und die Balkone vor jedem zweiten Zimmer lassen uns fast vergessen, daß wir in einem besetzten Haus sind. Pünktlich zur Sportschau sitzen, zumindest alle männlichen Bewohner, vor der Glotze. Besetzer hin, Besetzer her, Fußball muß sein!" Reimitz, Thiel, and Wirth, "Muß denn Leben Sünde sein?" 30-31.

426 "Eine Weiterentwicklung der konventionellen Wohngemeinschaft." Härlin, "Von Haus zu Haus": 20.

427 "Manchmal hätte sie das Gefühl, hier ginge es spieß-miefiger zu, als früher bei ihr zu Hause: 'Rechtzeitig das Essen auf dem Tisch, Glotze an, ergibt zusammen einen gemütlichen Samstagabend.'" An unidentified squatter, in Reimitz, Thiel, and Wirth, "Muß denn Leben Sünde sein?" 31.

428 "Abends, wenn wir von der Arbeit kommen, sitzen wir im Garten. [...] Manchmal finde ist [sic] es schon fast zu idyllisch. Und morgen früh um fünf stehen vielleicht zwanzig 'Wannen' vor der Tür." Härlin, "Von Haus zu Haus": 9.

scene was apolitical. Political activism and the creation of spaces for one's own personal needs were not mutually exclusive activities. In times of "No Future", the practice of squatting and the squatted spaces were seen as tools of self-empowerment. "Environmental pollution, nuclear power plants and neutron bombs—there is nothing I can do against all this anyway; but neither do I want to sit back and twiddle my thumbs. That's why I am fighting for integral personal needs", a 25-year-old squatter told a journalist of the Berlin *Tagesspiegel*. And a slightly younger student added that "[m]y generation has incredible fears and a lack of perspective which is paralysing us [and keeping us from] procuring space for ourselves."[429] Squatting was thus understood as just a first step and the squatted house was seen as a prerequisite for further political activism.

Apart from a general (alleged) self-empowerment the most important aspect of the alternative squatters' organization of space was the combination of work and living space, often in the form of collectives.[430] The squats provided "free spaces" in the sense that they allowed for experimental projects that otherwise would have been impossible to realize, for instance, due to the constraint of having to pay rent. These projects had the capacity to establish a functioning alternative economy and to change—if not the private life of the squatters—the face of the neighbourhood.[431]

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429 "'Umweltzerstörung, Atomkraftwerke und Neutronenwaffen – dagegen kann ich sowieso nichts machen, die Hände in den Schoß legen, möchte ich aber auch nicht. Deswegen kämpfe ich für ganz persönliche Bedürfnisse', äußert eine 25jährige Studentin [...]. Eine 23jährige Medizinstudentin im 9. Semester sagt: 'Meine Generation hat unheimliche Ängste und eine Perspektivlosigkeit, die uns lähmt, uns Raum zu verschaffen.'" Dorothea Hilgenberg and Uwe Schlicht, "Was Hausbesetzer denken. Über das Leben in den Häusern, über die Gesellschaft, den Staat, die Gewalt," *Der Tagesspiegel*, 10.10.1981: 12ff.

430 See for instance Laurisch, *Kein Abriß unter dieser Nummer*, 110, 127ff. and fig. 3.2 in this study.

431 Cf. section 3.3.

3.2.3. "Only tribes will survive": the Stadtindianer

Bury my heart at Heinrichplatz.
– A Berlin Stadtindianer, 1982[432]

A common graffito of the early 1980s announced that "only tribes will survive", evoking images of popular post-apocalyptic scenarios such as those depicted in the iconic *Mad Max* (1979).[433] The members of these future tribes, who were imagined to roam the surface of an earth destroyed by nuclear war, ecocide or other catastrophes, could already be found among the youth of the early 1980s. Some of them were parts of the squatters' scene and at first glance the similarities to the "alternative" squatters seem paramount.

At the centre of an apartment squatted by *Stadtindianer*, or urban Indians, and visited by the sociologists mentioned previously, there was a large room that was used as a common living and sleeping space for all squatters. As in other houses, this central room also served as a place for communication: "Again and again occupants of the squatted house come into the common room, see what is going on, drink tea, smoke and share news."[434] Although the authors did not elaborate on the professions of the squatters (due to their age some would have been high school or university students), they did mention the squatters' wish to have their workplace close-by "so that work and life are woven together."[435] Altogether, just as in the case of the alternatives, the whole house was described as cosy by the apparently sympathetic authors. "Several cats and dogs are lounging around with pleasure, a

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432 rainbow & hagbard celine, "Begrabt mein Herz am Heinrichplatz," *radikal* 7, no. 111 (December 1982): 14-15.

433 *Mad Max*, AUS, 1979, directed by George Miller, script by James McCauskand, George Miller, 88 min.

434 "Immer wieder kommen Bewohner des besetzten Hauses in den Gemeinschaftsraum, gucken, was so los ist, trinken Tee, rauchen und erzählen Neuigkeiten." Reimitz, Thiel, and Wirth, "Muß denn Leben Sünde sein?" 34.

435 "Desweiteren haben sie die Vorstellung, daß der Arbeitsplatz direkt in der Nähe des Wohnbereiches sein muß, damit die Arbeit und das Leben miteinander verwoben sind." Ibid., 35.

contemplative atmosphere spreads out."[436]

Yet in contrast to the "petty bourgeois" day-to-day, the cats and dogs and a breakfast consisting of "hot apple pie and tea" were more reminiscent of farm holidays than the homes of urban activists. This was no coincidence as the *Stadtindianer* did not proclaim an *alternative* urbanity but were opposed to modern urbanity in general. Although as squatters the *Stadtindianer* were a genuine urban phenomenon, they were characterized by a deep resentment against the city as a symbol of modernity.

While the alternative squatters had their origins in the struggles of neighbourhood and tenants' associations and could rely on the experiences of rural communes ("Landkommunen") of the 1970s, the *Stadtindianer* had quite a distinct tradition. Having emerged in Italy in the late 1970s, their original demands mirrored the wish to gain unrestricted access to the places and commodities of youth culture. In a manifesto proclaimed in Rome in 1977, *Indiani Metropolitani* called for the "payment of juvenile laziness" and the "general reduction of the prices for cinemas, theatres and all cultural initiatives to an amount determined by the youth movement".[437] The demands also included the legalization of cannabis and LSD and the public funding of the alternative *Release* centres for youth addicted to heroin.[438] Often they would show up in large groups at theatres or expensive restaurants and try to get access for free. The act of "habitually break[ing] into shops and appropriat[ing] useless goods (record albums, liquor, sports clothes)" was understood as an active critique of a consumer society that kept

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436 "Mehrere Katzen und Hunde räkeln sich genüßlich, eine beschauliche Athmosphäre breitet sich aus." Ibid., 34.

437 Excerpt from a declaration of *Indiani Metropolitani*, or urban Indians, in front of the national student congress in Rome in 1977, quoted in Jens Huhn, "Die Stadtindianer auf dem Kriegspfad," in *Autonomie oder Getto? Kontroversen über die Alternativbewegung*, edited by Wolfgang Kraushaar (Frankfurt/Main: Neue Kritik, 1978), 138. See also Maurizio Torealta, "Painted Politics," in *Autonomia. Post-political politics*, edited by Sylvère Lotringer and Christian Marazzi, 2nd ed. (Los Angeles, CA: Semiotext(e), 2007), 102-106.

438 Birgit Kraatz, "Der Traum vom Paradies. Über die Stadtindianer und Autonomia in Italien," in Haller, *Aussteigen oder rebellieren*, 35-48. On Release in Germany see Stephens, *Germans on Drugs*, 184-218.

many youth from participating in consumption and corresponded with similar actions by youth activists of the early 1980s elsewhere.[439]

Fig. 3.7: An early example of juvenile squatters' identification with native Americans. Collage based on an *Asterix* cartoon. – Source: Georg v. Rauch-Haus Kollektiv, "6 Jahre Selbstorganisation," September 1977, HIS, SBe 600. Hausbesetzungen. Häuserkämpfe, Box 01, 8.

The identification with Native Americans might have been triggered by events like the occupation of the site of the historic battle at Wounded Knee in 1973; an interest in the life of actual Native Americans was not part of the urban Indians' agenda. Rather, they renewed colonial images of noble savages who were living in harmony with nature and reduced Native American culture to esoteric clichés about shamanism and the mind-expanding use of drugs like marijuana or mescaline. An assumed "authenticity", a connection to ecological issues[440] and the feeling amongst many youth that they were part of a suppressed minority opposed to a technocratic, powerful enemy helped further their identification with an idealized image of everything "native", an image that also included a strong anti-rational sentiment.[441]

439 Torealta, "Painted Politics," 102.

440 One classic sticker of the 1970s and 1980s popularized a saying attributed to the Cree nation: "Only when the last tree has been cut down, the last river poisoned […] will you realize that you cannot eat money."

441 In rainbow & hagbard celine, "Begrabt mein Herz am Heinrichplatz," *radikal* 7, no. 111 (December 1982): 14-15 occupying oneself with things that were identified as "Indian" and "spiritual" was presented as part of a search for "truth" and "holism [*Ganzheitlichkeit*]" and against the separating effects that came with rationality and science. Here "the essential is being forgotten – emotions [*das Gefühl*]. The world and life itself

By 1981, the *Stadtindianer* had also become a German phenomenon, albeit one that, in the words of Sebastian Haumann, "was both ubiquitous, and at the same time, left few traces".[442] Sources on this youth culture are sparse; apart from a flyer inviting people to a party in a certain *Geronimo-Haus* in Kreuzberg's Oranienstraße 44 there seems to be not much else in the archives that confirms even the existence of *Stadtindianer* as a distinct group.[443] The detailed report by Reimitz et al is therefore one of the very few existing descriptions of life in a *Stadtindianer* squat.

These youth portrayed the modern city as an unnatural and sickening environment by contrasting it with imaginary plains of "herbs and healing methods of old medicine men" as symbols for the supposed healing power of nature itself.[444] Already in 1977 the *FU-Indianer* at *Freie Universität* had formulated a critique of the modern city when they had spoken of "gray wigwams higher than any tree" in order "to imply that they regarded high-rise buildings as

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are being demystified. […] And there the counter movement sets in – a movement that to many will appear as romantic idealism but which attempts to make the world lively again, capable of communication, and ecstatic […]." "[...] wird das Wesentliche vergessen – das Gefühl. Die Welt, das Leben wird in dieser Denkhaltung entzaubert. [...] Und da setzt die Gegenbewegung ein – eine Bewegung, die manchem sicher als romantischer Idealismus erscheint, die aber versucht, die Welt wieder lebendig, kommunikationsfähig, ekstatisch zu machen, und der alte Anarchismus bekommt wieder verlockende Züge: 'Die ganze Welt ist ein Gefühl. Auch die Pflanzen in den Monokulturen und die Hühner in den Legebatterien sind politische Gefangene […]'."

442 Sebastian Haumann, "'Stadtindianer' and 'Indiani Metropolitani': Recontextualizing an Italian Protest Movement in West Germany," in *Between Prague Spring and French May. Opposition and revolt in Europe, 1960-1980*, edited by Martin Klimke, Jacco Pekelder, and Joachim Scharloth (New York: Berghahn Books, 2011), 141-153.

443 "Fete - @ranienstr. 44 – Geronimo-Haus," March 1981, ArSozBew B, Häuserkämpfe, West-Berlin, 1.-15.3.1981. On primary sources see also Haumann, "'Stadtindianer' and 'Indiani Metropolitani'."

444 "Sie erzählen uns von Kräutern und Heilmethoden alter Medizinmänner, zeigen uns bestimmte Handgriffe, die Kopfschmerzen beseitigen sollen." Reimitz, Thiel, and Wirth, "Muß denn Leben Sünde sein?" 34.

destructive for life in accordance with nature".[445] A visitor to the 1978 Tunix congress in Berlin[446] compared public housing projects with Indian reserves when she stated that "perhaps we are all *Stadtindianer*, because we are all living in a ghetto".[447] And in a later article in *radikal*, a certain Cheronimo[448] voiced his "uneasiness with 'our' culture, the synthetic world [*Retortenwelt*] of the modern city, the forlornness of the individual inside of the brittle, cold monster" where "each concrete façade of a residential prison [*Wohnknast*] is recorded as a declaration of war against life".[449] The forest came to symbolize a utopian place that stood in contrast to this city but also to modernity itself. One of the squatters, wearing a bushwhacker knife on his belt, described the forest as a place where modernity and legendary 'old times' coincided, a place that might be described as a "heterochrony"[450]: "He was wandering around the forest for hours and was looking at the flowers and herbs", he told the authors, "he wanted to learn by himself how things happened in nature. In the past people still had known a lot about the circle of life, but had unlearnt everything in the course of millenia."[451]

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445 Cf. Haumann, "'Stadtindianer' and 'Indiani Metropolitani'," 145; quote taken from *info-BUG*, no. 153 (25.4.1977): 11. The term "gray wigwams" was also used in a flyer by a "Council of the Tribe of the Berlin Mescaleros" that was distributed on the 1978 Tunix congress; "Tunix O-Ton," in *Zwei Kulturen? Tunix, Mescalero und die Folgen*, edited by Dieter Hoffmann-Axthelm et al. (Berlin: Verlag Ästhetik und Kommunikation, 1978), 98.

446 Cf. p. 22 of this dissertation.

447 "Tunix O-Ton," 98.

448 As with the *Geronimo-Haus* this self-designation shows the strong identification with the Apache warrior who had resisted the troops of the United States and Mexico in the 1870s and 1880s. The most comprehensive account of the German autonomous scene by an ex-activist was published under the same pseudonym. Geronimo, *Feuer und Flamme*.

449 "Unbehagen in 'unserer' Kultur, in der Retortenwelt der modernen Großstadt, die Verlorenheit des Individuums im Innern des spröden, kalten Monsters […], wenn jede Betonfassade eines Wohnknastes als eine Kriegserklärung gegen das Leben aufgenommen wird." Cheronimo, "roots and tribes. über red power und anarchie," *radikal*, no. 107 (August 1982): 14.

450 "*Fourth principle*. Heterotopias are most often linked to slices in time – which is to say that they open onto what might be termed, for the sake of symmetry, heterochronies." Foucault, "Of Other Spaces": 26.

451 "Er streife stundenlang durch den Wald und schaue sich die Blumen und Kräuter an, er wolle selber lernen, wie es in der Natur zugehe. Früher hätten die Menschen noch viel über den Kreis des Lebens gewußt, aber im Laufe der Jahrtausende alles wieder verlernt." Reimitz, Thiel, and Wirth, "Muß denn Leben Sünde sein?" 34.

Flash: Blood brothers

"The Indian is closer to the German than to any other European. This might be due to our stronger disposition to everything native [*zu allem Naturhaften*]. Negroes, Eskimos, peoples of the South Sea do not possess the human qualities to arouse our friendship and sympathy. But the Indian is an archetype and brother to us when we are boys; later, he continues to be one of our most beloved remembrances of the dreaming and longing of those years."[452]

The free space of the squat functioned in contrast to the surrounding city (and its time) and in relation to an idealized Native America. "They compare their communal life even in cases of illness and hardship with the practiced unity of the Indians' tribal life. When somebody becomes sick or runs out of money, the most important contacts for support are not one's own parents or parent-like institutions, but the community in which they are living."[453] The squatted house allowed for a self-organized life and helped youth to avoid being subjected to institutions of discipline and control that they had been submitted to otherwise. The houses appeared as a free space not because they allowed for political or alternative economical projects but because they opened up a space that was imagined to be entirely separated from an adult, urban society, "a free space […] to 'find your own way'". – "We just want to be left alone!", one of the squatters concluded.[454]

452 "Der Indianer steht dem Deutschen näher als sonst einem Europäer. Das liegt vielleicht an unserem stärkeren Hang zum Naturhaften. Neger, Eskimos, Südseevölker besitzen nicht die menschlichen EIgenschaften, um unsere Freundschaft und Hinneigung zu wecken. Der Indianer aber ist uns im Knabenalter ein Vorbild und ein Bruder; er bleibt uns später aus dem Träumen und Sehnen dieser Jahre eine unserer liebsten Erinnerungen." From the preface to the German translation of the autobiography of a Canadian First Nation, 1958; quoted in Huhn, "Die Stadtindianer auf dem Kriegspfad," 133.

453 "Sie vergleichen ihr Zusammenleben auch in Krankheit und Not mit der Einheit des Stammeslebens der Indianer. Wenn jemand krank wird oder gerade kein Geld hat, sind die wichtigsten Hilfspartner nicht die eigenen Eltern oder elternartige Institutionen, sondern die Gemeinschaft, in der sie leben." Reimitz, Thiel, and Wirth, "Muß denn Leben Sünde sein?" 35.

454 "[...] einen Freiraum, in dem sie neue Lebensmöglichkeiten ausprobieren können. Sie nennen es 'den eigenen Weg finden - alleine und in der Gesamtgruppe'. […] 'Wir wollen einfach nur in Ruhe gelassen werden!'"

Fig. 3.8: Wall decoration in a Berlin *Stadtindianer* squat: a native American and an African tribesman as symbols of authenticity and resistance. – Source: "Berliner Ansichten (1982-1987)," in Bock et al., *Zwischen Resignation und Gewalt,* 75; photograph by Wolfgang Thiel. © Springer Science and Business Media.

The squats were not viewed as a stepping stone into a brighter future, nor were they a site of self-empowerment; rather, they were understood as a last resort, the occupation of a house by a "tribe" of urban natives mirrored the retreat of native Americans into mountains and reservations shortly before their annihilation.[455] As Sebastian Haumann put it:

> In accordance with the Indian motif, autonomous cultural spaces were "freed" spaces that had to be defended against the "second conquest" of "Indian territory". This second conquest was brought about by the authorities' intervention and by capitalistic penetration of the young peoples' *Lebenswelt*.[456]

The observing sociologists were captured by this perception when they concluded that "[o]nly sometimes, in battle and at night, can they return to the free prairie. The squatters' prairie is the street that belongs to them entirely at least now and then. During demonstrations they are taking possession of the common, public land – even if it might end in pain."[457]

Ibid., 35, 37.

455 Ibid., 35.

456 Haumann, "'Stadtindianer' and 'Indiani Metropolitani'," 141-153.

457 "Nur manchmal, im Kampf und in der Nacht, können sie wieder in die freie Prärie zurückkehren. Die Prärie der Besetzer ist die Straße, die ihnen wenigstens ab und zu ganz gehört. Während der Demonstrationen

In contrast to the alternatives, the squat of the young *Stadtindianer* was not integrated into the surrounding neighbourhood or urban policy, but connected to a landscape of original woodlands and the temporary "freedom of the prairie" that was experienced during street battles with the "blue coats"[458] of the police. One might say that this was just another case of history repeating itself as a farce compared to the original tragedy; but descriptions such as the above show how youth emancipation—even the wish to be left alone to roam the woods—was understood as a spatial practice around 1980. Furthermore, the Indian motif provided a "solution to the difficulty of integrating the claim for social change into a concept of autonomy that also embraced militancy".[459] It thus allowed youth to turn feelings of exclusion into a positive identification with spaces that were functioning according to a different set of values than the rest of society, spaces that were at once a refuge for non-conforming youth and a statement that a different world was possible.

3.2.4. "My skin is my home": the punks

> *Their world of order, it's too sterile for me*
> *And their freedom is like barbed wire.*
> *– From the song "Asozial" by the German punk band Toxoplasma, 1983*[460]

The last squat that the sociologists visited was occupied by a group of young punks. While the alternatives were renovating the *Vorderhaus*, the punks had squatted apartments in the second *Hinterhaus*. This *Hinterhaus* stood in stark contrast to the house of the alternatives. The interior was austere, dirt and garbage were omnipresent and no efforts to renovate the

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nehmen sie das allgemeine, öffentliche Land - auch wenn es schmerzlich enden kann - in Besitz." Reimitz, Thiel, and Wirth, "Muß denn Leben Sünde sein?" 37.

458 The term "blue coats" appeared in the 1977 manifesto of the Italian *Indiani Metropolitani*. Cf. Huhn, "Die Stadtindianer auf dem Kriegspfad," 139.

459 Haumann, "'Stadtindianer' and 'Indiani Metropolitani'," 149.

460 "Ihre Welt aus Ordnung, die ist mir zu steril / und ihre Freiheit ist wie Stacheldraht." Toxoplasma, "Asozial," *Toxoplasma*, Aggressive Rockproduktionen, 1983.

house were undertaken. This was not just due to lacking resources or capabilities. The general anti-*bürgerliche* habitus of punk rock covered ideas of housing and furnishing as well. "Every traditional styling of their living space, even just to hang a wall with paper, lets them comment: 'So now you're into *schöner wohnen*.'"[461] The style of housing was a means of identification with the peer group and disassociation from the rest of society. This was true for all squatters (and is in fact for every person); but in the case of the punks it took on a note of conscious rebellion against (adult, middle-class) norms through housing. Even those furnishings that served as reminders of the "ordinary" interior of "normal" people (which would include the alternative squatters from the *Vorderhaus*) would not be used and consumed "within their use value but against the grain".[462] The best aspect of the telephone was its shrill, ringing sound; the cooking was being done only reluctantly and mainly because the punks' infection with hepatitis made it appear necessary to provide "proper" nutrition at least once in a while;[463] the lock of the front door was broken and needed to be kicked open every time; and the fridge either did not work at all or froze everything. These conditions were not necessarily signs of an inability to cope with one's situation, to make use of space and things in a proper way. They can (and should) also be read as what Michel de Certeau has called "bricolage", an act of consumption in which the "users make (bricolent) innumerable and infinitesimal transformations of and within the dominant cultural economy in order to adapt it to their own interests and their own rules".[464]

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461 "Jede traditionelle Ausstylung ihres Wohnraumes, und sei es auch nur die Tapezierung einer Zimmerwand, läßt sie bemerken: 'Du machst hier wohl in schöner wohnen.'" "Schöner wohnen", literally "dwelling nicer" was also the name of a magazine that provided tips to arrange one's home according to middle-class taste and standards, comparable to *House Beautiful*. All quotes in this section according to Monika Reimitz, "Drinnen und draußen. - Vom Wohnen der Punks," in Bock et al, *Zwischen Resignation und Gewalt*, 103-109, unless otherwise noted.

462 "[...] nicht innerhalb ihres Gebrauchswertes, sondern gegen den Strich."

463 In strict accordance with hegemonic norms, though, it was apparently only the punk *girls* who were doing the cooking. On gender-related issues in the squatters' scene see section 5.2.

464 de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, xiii-xiv.

The "improper" use of things, their consumption "against the grain" also fit with the punks' general indifference towards material belongings. "In most of [the rooms] were only a few mattresses and boxes." What could not be worn on one's own body was therefore of convenient size, as in the case of one of the punks: "Beside his mattress stood a small wooden box with his belongings: an old portable radio, hardly functioning, some tin bowls, comics, an old blanket."[465] This material poverty changed the punks' relation to the squatted space as well. It allowed them to leave quite easily at any time and never come back if they were so inclined. The neglect of middle-class standards of beauty, order and cleanliness and the lack of commitment to space helps explain these squatters' particular disinterest in renovating the building. One was not bothered by the bad housing conditions and if they did one day become unbearable (or the squat was to be evicted), one could simply move on.

The social structure of the punks' squat differed as well from the squat of the alternatives and the *Stadtindianer* alike. There, a large sleeping and living room formed the social and communicative centre of the squat. The punks' house had no such room. "Every room is at the same time 'living room', common room for everybody" (fig. 3.9).[466] Most rooms were inhabited by more than one person. The privacy that complemented the public character of the living room in case of the alternatives was missing completely with the punks. Only after the passage of considerable time did several occupants start to build loft beds. Although these were not private in a strict sense, they enabled one to sometimes demand to be left alone at least in bed. They also offered the possibility of (symbolically) elevating oneself above the litter in the apartment.[467] Mattresses on the ground still served as seats for everyone.

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465 "Meist befinden sich nur einige Matratzen und Kisten darin. […] Neben seiner Matratze stand eine kleine Holzkiste mit seiner Habe: ein altes Kofferradio, kaum noch in Betrieb, einige Blechnäpfe, Comics, eine alte Decke."

466 "Jedes Zimmer ist zugleich 'Wohnzimmer', Gemeinschaftszimmer für alle."

467 "In conversations with the punkers we got the impression that in rooms filled with garbage the bed was the only possibility to lift oneself a little above the dirt, to avoid coming in direct contact with it." "In

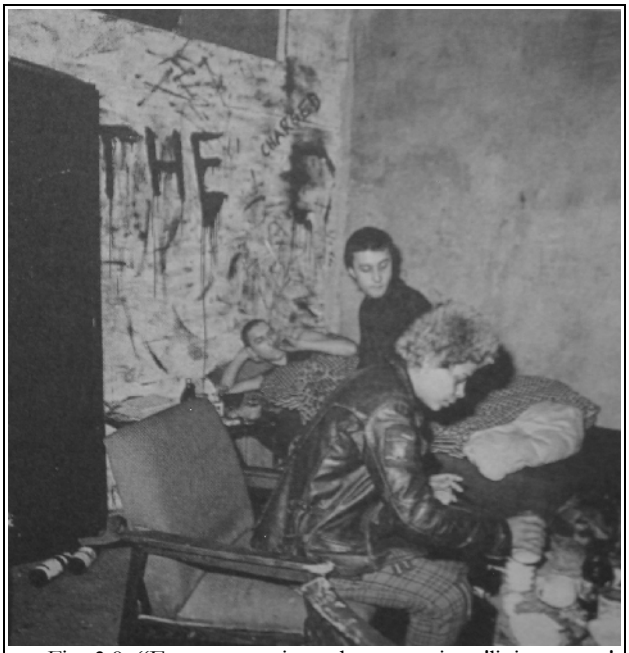

Fig. 3.9: "Every room is at the same time 'living room', common room for everybody." Crellestraße, Berlin-Schöneberg. – Source: "Berliner Ansichten (1982-1987)," 71; photograph by Klaus Pohl. © Springer Science and Business Media.

The lack of privacy and the littered apartments concern the relation between public and private space. Along with middle-class norms and values, this dichotomy, so crucial to the hegemonic spatial order, was challenged as well:

> One is meeting in the rooms as one would meet at Kottbusser Tor in Berlin-Kreuzberg, is sitting on the floor as otherwise on the sidewalk, is wearing the same clothes inside and outside. Leather jackets and heavy boots are not being taken off […]. Large dogs are often living in the rooms as well. The interior walls are sprayed and scribbled upon like the walls and facades of the houses.[468]

As much as the punks transferred their private lives onto the streets (fig. 3.10), they brought the public character of the streets into their homes, so that interior and exterior spaces were not clearly separated in the punks' house. As Monika Reimitz has pointed out:

Gesprächen mit den Punkern hatten wir den Eindruck, daß in Räumen voller Müll das Bett die einzige Möglichkeit bietet, sich etwas vom Dreck abzuheben, nicht direkt mit ihm in Berührung zu kommen."

468 "Man trifft sich in den Räumen, wie man sich am Kottbusser Tor in Berlin-Kreuzberg treffen würde, sitzt auf dem Boden wie sonst auf dem Bürgersteig, trägt drinnen wie draußen die gleichen Kleider. Die Lederjacken und die schweren Schuhe werden nicht abgelegt [...]. Große Hunde leben oftmals mit im Raum. Die Innenwände sind besprüht und bekritzelt wie die Mauern und Fassaden der Häuser."

> [p]unk rooms, with their austere furnishing, their often very filthy condition with empty cans and bags, leftovers, scraps of paper, cigarettes, and the way in which they are inhabited and lived in, are similar to public places – they are like the streets. The borders between private sphere and public space become blurred.[469]

The only border between public and private became one's own skin, reenforced by the heavy leather jackets. "My own skin is my home, my chance to retreat", one of the punks said.[470] While all space became public, the body became the only "home" into which the young squatters could withdraw.

Fig. 3.10: Turning the streets into a living room. Young punks at Kottbusser Tor, Berlin-Kreuzberg, early 1980s. – Source: Manfred Kraft/ Umbruch Bildarchiv.

At first glance the punks' squat appeared to offer the greatest contrast to hegemonic living concepts: dirt, litter, dogs (and often rats), rotting food, street clothes, empty beer cans —all this created the impression of (and was meant to be) a total refusal of hegemonic norms

469 "Punk-Zimmer sind in ihrer spartanischen Einrichtung, in ihrem oftmals sehr verdreckten Zustand mit leeren Dosen und Tüten, Essensresten, Papierfetzen, Kippen und in der Art, wie sie belebt und bewohnt werden, öffentlichen Plätzen ähnlich - sie sind wie die Straße. Die Grenzen zwischen Privatsphäre und öffentlichem Raum verschwimmen."

470 "'Die eigene Haut ist mein Zuhause, meine Rückzugsmöglichkeit', erzählen uns mehrere Punks."

and values. But while alternatives and *Stadtindianer* imagined the squats as heterotopic free spaces, totally different from their environment in one way or another, the punks' spatial practice shows that these considerations did not play a major role in their conceptions of space. For despite the active denial of middle-class standards and the wish to distinguish oneself from everything (petty-) bourgeois, the squats were not conceived as free spaces that would allow for a (personal or social) development that was otherwise impossible. Rather, the squatted apartments that one was prepared to leave anytime actively extended the public space of the streets into the realm of the private. Instead of conceiving of a squat as a counter-site to its surroundings, that is, as a free space or heterotopia, the punks used the squat to *transform* the concept of private and public space itself and to blur the borders between the two.

3.2.5. Conclusion

Hegemonic discourse portrayed squatted houses as heterotopias of chaos, lawless spaces that were different and secluded from their orderly surroundings and that contained individuals who were deviating from hegemonic norms and values. The squats and the run-down neighbourhoods that had produced them served as counter-sites to the clean and orderly city centre. This view matched many squatters' own perception of "their" houses.

Especially in the case of alternative *Instandbesetzer*, the idea of the houses as lived utopias was a cornerstone of their spatial conceptions. Vague but nonetheless strong hopes were projected onto the houses, hopes of personal development and the development of new forms of living together that would distinguish the squats from ordinary *Wohngemeinschaften*. The squats also allowed for a wide spectrum of alternative economical projects, from children's shops (*Kinderladen*) to taxi collectives, from bars to tenants' associations. These should also be able to restructure social life in the neighbourhood, so that the squatted houses appeared as an

integral part of personal and urban development.

Although they were the most explicitly political of the three groups of squatters, *Instandbesetzer* (as well as the more militant *Autonome*) showed the most striking similarities in their conceptions of space with the ones that were structuring hegemonic policies. While hegemonic policies relied on heterotopic spaces to govern social change, to *Instandbesetzer* these same spaces appeared as a means to foster such changes. The idea of a dichotomous spatial order with sites of a good Us and counter-sites of a dangerous Other was thus also the core principle of the *Instandbesetzers'* spatial and social understanding. As such, only the standard of evaluation was reversed: by defining squats as free instead of lawless spaces the appraisal of individual spaces was changed—the underlying structures remained untouched. The focus on living space and its appropriation made it furthermore difficult to address social backgrounds and the individual behaviour of squatters. In contrast to the supposed political character of the private, within the "free spaces" hegemonic norms remained intact; differences in habitus or political convictions seem to have been solved primarily through a rapid fluctuation of inhabitants and a successive homogenization within the group.[471]

In case of the *Stadtindianer*, the squats were also seen as free spaces that would allow them to fulfil personal needs which could not be addressed otherwise. In contrast to the *Instandbesetzer*, though, the squats were not seen as part of any social or political process. Rather than being a starting point for any development other than one's own, the houses were perceived as a last retreat of a youth under pressure from an adult, urban modernity. The squats did in fact allow these youth to evade the grasp of parental and disciplinary institutions and to develop group mechanisms to substitute these institutions in case of illness or financial hardship. Disconnected from "the city", the spatial reference points of these squatters were

471 Cf. chapter 5.

forests and the imaginary landscapes of North American plains or the prairies, the freedom of which was experienced during moments of "battle" on the city streets.

It is hard to tell how many *Stadtindianer* formed part of the Berlin squatters' scene, or more generally 1980s youth culture, or to what degree this was even a strictly defined category. It seems more likely that cultural elements of the *Stadtindianer* were adopted by different kinds of squatters and thereby found their way into several squatted houses that did not define themselves as exclusively "urban Indian". Independent of the actual number of *Stadtindianer*, their cultural impact should not be ignored. Their preference for everything "natural" and their roaming of forests corresponded to the idea of rural communes, the renaissance of *Heimat* and the growing environmentalist movement.[472] Their interest in herbs, shamanism and "traditional" medicine fit with a critique of medicinal and psychiatric institutions, the rising demand for alternative medicine (like homeopathy or traditional Chinese medicine) and the wave of esoteric practices and new religious movements. Finally, the reference to Native Americans and other colonised peoples allowed for an, at least superficial, congruence with the numerous solidarity groups that were supporting various national liberation movements in the so-called Third World. The question whether the Indian motif really was "a means of transmission that led to the reinforcement of the idea of autonomy in West German protest movements", as Sebastian Haumann has argued,[473] needs further investigation. Still, their cultural influence on the squatters' scene should not be underestimated.

In stark contrast to the hippiesque references to nature, villages and everything "native", stood the punks' adoption of many signs of modern urban society. Concrete, litter, graffiti and

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472 Jens Ivo Engels, "Umweltschutz in der Bundesrepublik - von der Unwahrscheinlichkeit einer Alternativbewegung," in Reichardt and Siegfried, *Das Alternative Milieu*, 405-422; Elizabeth Boa and Rachel Palfreyman, *Heimat - A German Dream: Regional Loyalties and National Identity in German Culture 1890-1990* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 144-193; see also *Kursbuch*, no. 39 (April 1975) on the topic of "Provinz".

473 Haumann, "'Stadtindianer' and 'Indiani Metropolitani'," 150.

the conscious rejection of everything that would count as nice, pretty or cozy according to (petty) bourgeois standards signified a clear break with the romantic notions of free spaces that *Instandbesetzer* and *Stadtindianer* alike were harbouring. The punks had no interest in renovating the houses or in entering into negotiations about rental agreements as they were prepared to leave a house any time to move on. This made them potential allies for those "political" squatters who opposed negotiations and saw the squats only as a means for producing all-encompassing change of the social and political order. Due to their lack of discipline, though, the punks were often portrayed by media as well as "political" squatters as a kind of unreliable younger sibling of the "true" squatters' movement.

Yet the punks' use of space was the most radical of all the other squatters. The punks made the streets their home and living room. This public life was mirrored in how they organized their squatted space. Unlike *Instandbesetzer* and *Stadtindianer*, the punks understood squats less as a heterotopic free space than an extension of the streets. They were thus radically changing the very concept of space and its division into public and private realms. Instead of identifying or trying to create counter-sites that would leave the surroundings unchanged, the punks undermined the very basis of bourgeois spatial understanding and defied dichotomies like public/private, Us/Them, and centre/margin. Without ever formulating a political theory of urban space, the punks, through their social practices, went far beyond the structuring principles of bourgeois urban society that *Instandbesetzer*, *Autonome* or *Stadtindianer* with their idea of "free spaces" already accepted.

The three groups introduced here have been used as prototypes to point out the different uses and conceptions of space within the diverse squatters' scene. Differences existed but in many cases the distinctions were not as readily apparent. Benny Härlin has pointed out that there existed houses squatted by feminists, anti-nuclear power activists, young social

democrats, antifascist groups, members of the Green Party, gays, and groups affiliated with Protestant parishes. He observed in 1981, "Few squatters' groups can so precisely be classified politically; most of them are a motley crowd, as diverse as their hopes and dreams, their perspectives and utopias."[474] The relation between the different groups was often characterized by a general feeling of solidarity and an (unacknowledged) wish to distinguish oneself. This was most obvious in the case of the *Instandbesetzer* from the *Vorderhaus* and the punks in the second *Hinterhaus*. At one point, the alternatives decided to renovate rooms in the first *Hinterhaus* in order to get more private space for the individual squatters and to get in touch with the punks. "This decision was simply not implemented. Until today the renovated rooms of the first *Hinterhaus*, which had apparently always served as a bulwark or buffer zone between the two quite distinct squatters' groups, are staying empty."[475] This "buffer zone" was the spatial expression of deeper social distinctions. "Some occupants of the *Vorderhaus* were associating almost a kind of social descent with moving into the first *Hinterhaus*."[476] What was missing in the hegemonic discourse became obvious in observations like the above: the spaces of deviance were structured by their own distinctions, both architecturally and socially.

Exploring squatters' conceptions of space shows that "the squatters" as a coherent movement did not exist. These conceptions also show that the question of negotiating rental agreements was not the only, and maybe not even the most important dividing line. The question of negotiations could be answered from quite different perspectives. Of the three

474 "Die wenigsten Besetzergruppen lassen sich derart präzise politisch einordnen; die meisten sind bunt gemischt, genauso wie ihre Hoffnungen und Träume, ihre Perspektiven und Utopien." Härlin, "Von Haus zu Haus": 27.

475 Reimitz, Thiel, and Wirth, "Muß denn Leben Sünde sein?" 31.

476 "Vor einiger Zeit wurde ein Gruppenbeschluß gefasst, in die renovierten Räume im ersten Hinterhaus zu ziehen, um mehr Einzelzimmer zu bekommen und mit den Punks in engeren Kontakt zu treten. Dieser Beschluß wurde jedoch schlichtweg nicht durchgeführt. Bis heute stehen die renovierten Räume im ersten Hinterhaus, welches anscheinend immer als Bollwerk oder Pufferzone zwischen den beiden recht verschiedenen Besetzergruppen gedient hatte, leer. Mit dem Umzug in das erste Hinterhaus assoziierten einige Bewohner der Vorderhauses fast eine Art sozialen Abstieg." Ibid.

groups described by Monika Reimitz and others, two were opposed to negotiations—but for different reasons. The *Stadtindianer* did not negotiate because they expected to be betrayed by politicians in the same way that Native Americans had been betrayed by the European settlers and because negotiations and the resulting compromises had diluted their own "authentic" identity. The punks did not enter into any negotiations probably because they did not see much difference between a house and the streets and because the whole principle of negotiations would have contradicted their ideal of an anti-*bürgerliche* lifestyle. The alternative *Instandbesetzer* from the *Vorderhaus*, though, were negotiating—even in the name of the punks of the second *Hinterhaus*—but this was not an automatism. Many alternatives (including the group around Benny Härlin) refused to negotiate out of solidarity with squats threatened by eviction and the political prisoners whose release was made a precondition by many squatters before they would enter into negotiations.

To what degree political convictions, social status, cultural preferences or age determined the relation between different groups of squatters and their respective spatial conceptions and policies cannot be answered easily as reliable sources are missing. Even in the recollection of former squatters these differences lack a thorough explanation.[477] The fear of social descent that marked the (non-) relation between *Instandbesetzer* with middle-class values (and probably background) and the social fringe group of the punks indicates that more was at stake here than just different cultural choices. Although these questions cannot be answered in the context of this study, an analytical focus on youth helps to avoid the question of who the "true" squatters were and to avoid dismissing "apolitical" squatters—*Stadtindianer*, street punks,

477 "Of course there were real differences between individual houses regarding the "life standard", but usually this was not a matter of money but of "lifestyle", of the desire to plan anything at all – and of course there were several houses in which it was cold as hell during winter, because they had had no interest in stealing coals together, who had not procured window panes, who went to the attic to take a shit – and who had to change the house after a few weeks. People are simply different." A.G. Grauwacke, *Autonome in Bewegung*, 70.

alcoholics, drug addicts—as negligible side effects of the "actual" squatters' movement. If we understand the squatters' scene as a space of marginalized youth, we have to acknowledge the divisions and mechanisms of exclusions within the squatters' scene. These mechanisms separated the occupants of different houses within a single block (as described above), different apartments of the same house[478] and possibly the occupants of individual apartments as well.[479] In contrast to hegemonic perceptions there was no unified space of a deviating Other, no one heterotopia of deviation, but a complex field of different deviations. The spaces of deviant adolescent behaviour were not just counter-sites to the surrounding city but included various sites and counter-sites and were themselves structured within a complex "field of force relations"[480].

478 See for instance the recollection of an unidentified squatter about the situation in Frobenstraße 10 in Berlin in A.G. Grauwacke, *Autonome in Bewegung*, 67.

479 Härlin, "Von Haus zu Haus": 23.

480 Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, 101f.

3.3. Rebellious neighbourhoods

> *Yes, somehow I was attracted by it. Everything was drawn to Kreuzberg. That was automatic, somehow.*
> *– A squatter's recollection, 1998*[481]

So far only individual squats have been described to analyze the squatters' conceptions of space and urbanity. But spaces function only in relation and contrast to other spaces. *Stadtindianer* related the squats to forests and plains, thereby inverting and contesting the structures and principles of the surrounding modernity of the city. The punks, on the other hand, used their squats as an affirmation of this urban modernity. Their apartments were linked to the city's streets and public places and punk music, their clothing, an often self-destructive relation to their bodies and the austere and dirty living spaces formed a symbiosis that seemed to welcome the harshness of a cold and run-down city—while anticipating its imminent demise ("no future").

The question of whether the squatters' scene was characterized by a struggle over the city —not against urbanization but to fulfil the promise of urbanization—as Werner Lindner has claimed for the whole youth revolt of the 1980s, can therefore not be answered easily.[482] For *Instandbesetzer* and *Autonome*, on whom I will focus in the following section,[483] their relationship to the surrounding neighbourhoods and their concepts of the city were quite ambivalent.

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481 Tanja, who had moved to Kreuzberg in 1982 at the age of seventeen. "Ja irgendwie hat's mich schon angezogen. Alles hat's nach Kreuzberg gezogen. Das war automatisch irgendwie." Barbara Lang, *Mythos Kreuzberg. Ethnographie eines Stadtteils, 1961-1995* (Frankfurt/Main: Campus, 1998), 195

482 Lindner, *Jugendprotest*, 414.

483 This is mainly due to the available sources. While the "political" parts of the squatters' scene produced their own media and later founded their own archives, marginalised groups within the squatters' scene have been largely silenced. Cf. Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past. Power and the Production of History* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1995), 26: "Silences enter the process of historical production at four crucial moments: the moment of fact creation (the making of *sources*); the moment of fact assembly (the making of *archives*); the moment of fact retrieval (the making of *narratives*); and the moment of retrospective significance (the making of *history* in the final instance)," original emphases.

Born in the struggle against the wholesale development of traditional working-class districts, these districts became a prime locus of identification for many squatters. This identification was accomplished and expressed in four complementary ways: *first*, through attempts to establish contacts with neighbours in order to create the imagined homogeneous social space[484] of a rebellious, non-conforming urban district; *second*, by establishing an alternative infrastructure in these neighbourhoods, thereby creating an insular network of spaces;[485] *third*, through symbolic acts of occupation of city space; *fourth*, by identifying "the state" as one's adversary and by personalizing and localizing social power relations. All four aspects needed to come together to turn parts of the city into "our quarter", to create supposedly rebellious territories. Analogous to the individual squatted houses, heterotopic free spaces were thus created at the district level.

3.3.1. Neighbourhoods

> *If there weren't a hundred squatters here in this corner, about one third of the tenants would have probably moved away already. Then business would run worse for the bakery and the Edeka[486]. That is stabilizing the neighbourhood [*Kiez*] here enormously.*
> *– A squatter from Berlin-Kreuzberg, 1981*[487]

Smaller West German cities were often far from Fordist concepts of a functionally divided city. Although industry and new housing projects were located at the peripheries, the old city centres still contained a significant amount of residential space next to shops, commercial services, educational institutions and governmental edifices.[488] In cities like

484 Cf. Löw, *Raumsoziologie*, 257.

485 Ibid., 266ff.

486 A chain of small grocery stores.

487 "Aber wenn hier nicht hundert Instandbesetzer in der Ecke wären, dann wäre gut ein Drittel der Mieter bestimmt schon ausgezogen. Dann hätten der Bäcker und Edeka ein schlechteres Geschäft. Das stabilisiert hier den Kiez ungeheuer." Interview with Bettina, in: Härlin, "Von Haus zu Haus": 17.

488 Cf. Jan Logemann's study of West German pedestrian areas as sites of a genuinely urban quality of life since the early 1970s. Jan Logemann, "Einkaufsparadies und 'Gute Stube'. Fußgängerzonen in westdeutschen

Freiburg, Göttingen or Nuremberg, squattings would therefore take place all over town, and often within the perimeters of the old city walls. Only in large cities like Berlin or Hamburg, with their distinct proletarian neighbourhoods or harbour districts, were neglected residential areas and squattings concentrated in comparably smaller parts of the city. These neighbourhoods were still defined by a mixed use that included work, living, and public spaces, sometimes within a single block.

This kind of mixed-use neighbourhood, in Berlin known as "Kreuzberg mixture", was under threat by the process of segregation that accompanied the implementation of Fordist restructuring programs.[489] And it was this mixture that the squatters aimed to conserve. The local term for this kind of neighbourhood was *Kiez*. It denoted a combination of social factors —a large percentage of working-class (and later, migrant) tenants—, a certain infrastructure—close-by work places or small shops that provided consumer goods and services without the need for customers to undertake long journeys—and a traditional architecture and housing structure (*Altbauten*).[490] These aspects were related. The lesser degree of comfort in *Altbauten*, most of which were still heated by stove and had outside toilets, resulted in lower rents which allowed for tenants with low income. The relatively good infrastructure in regard to everyday goods and services as well as the short distance to work places made it possible to maintain social networks and to develop a sense of belonging to a specific *Kiez*. The structure of several *Hinterhäuser* around connecting courtyards furthered social control, especially of children who could be surveyed by parents while playing in the backyards; and so on. "For me it is clear that these old houses in Kreuzberg are far superior to the *Neubauten*", one squatter told journalists. "They are more human, they are motivating you to make yourself at home. I want to have my

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Innenstädten der 1950er bis 1970er Jahre," in von Saldern, *Stadt und Kommunikation*, esp. 117ff.

489 See also section 3.1.1.

490 The term *Altbauten*, meaning literally "old buildings", refers to tenements built before 1945, usually before World War I, and was contrasted by the *Neubauten* (new buildings) of post-WWII housing projects.

workplace in the residential area, without having to drive a long time to work."[491] As much as individual houses were described as more human or depicted as living organisms[492], whole neighbourhoods were perceived as a lively, more human, more natural habitat for people than the "inhuman" *Neubauten* of the modernist city—a conviction that many of the original inhabitants of quarters like Kreuzberg agreed with.

The squatters valued the assumed "authenticity" of such quarters.[493] As many of them did not originate from these neighbourhoods but were drawn to them from other parts of the country, they needed to actively become part of the *Kiez*. While the original tenants' organizations could presume at least a partial sense of commonality and solidarity with many occupants of such areas (including those around the Neues Kreuzberger Zentrum in Kreuzberg),[494] the squatters could not build on such shared experiences. One way to create a link to the old-established neighbours was to try and invite them over to a squatted house. The squatters around Benny Härlin, on whom I will focus in the following sections, took with them not only locks and tool kits, but also flyers, chocolate marshmallows and champagne that were quickly distributed amongst neighbours and passers-by. "'I have almost waited for it [to

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491 "Für mich ist klar, daß diese alten Häuser in Kreuzberg den Neubauten um vieles überlegen sind. Sie sind menschlicher, sie regen einen an, es sich heimisch zu machen. Ich will meinen Arbeitsplatz im Wohngebiet und nicht erst lange zur Arbeit fahren." Dorothea Hilgenberg and Uwe Schlicht, "Was Hausbesetzer denken. Über das Leben in den Häusern, über die Gesellschaft, den Staat, die Gewalt," *Der Tagesspiegel*, 10.10.1981: 12ff.

492 Cf. p. 161 of this dissertation.

493 This longing for authenticity and the perception of working-class districts as organically grown territories of the urban poor and deviating, rebellious individuals is running through many publications of the squatters' scene, especially when the history of a quarter was narrated as one of continuous struggles between populace and local elites. Cf. for Berlin: Nitsche, *Häuserkämpfe* and its review in Volker Volksmasse, "Buchbesprechung. Häuserkämpfe: 1872, 1920, 1945, 1982," *radikal* 6, no. 100 (1982): 7; representative for Hamburg: Karl Heinz Roth, "Die besetzten Häuser in der Hafenstr./Bernhard-Nochtstr. dürfen nicht geräumt und abgerissen werden. Beitrag auf einer Solidaritätsveranstaltung in der Volksküche," 21.11.1983, ArSozBew HH, 09.400, Hafen Flugis 1982-87 and Michael Herrmann et al., eds., *Hafenstraße - Chronik und Analysen eines Konflikts* (Hamburg: Verlag am Galgenberg, 1987).

494 See p. 132ff.

happen]', a man from the neighbourhood says, 'it's a nice little house alright.' The flyers are gone within two hours, the champagne even quicker."[495] Public celebrations of squatting with neighbours were not uncommon and probably served both sides well. The squatters could start to integrate into their new surroundings, a first step towards "first person politics" at the district level and the occupants of the *Kiez* could satisfy their curiosity and meet the adversaries of an urban policy that was threatening to destroy their familiar environment. "In the beginning of our squatting we had a coffee party", a squatter from the borough of Schöneberg reported, "that was great, the people were quite curious. […] For sure, after a while they do not come over constantly anymore, that slows down a bit. But lately during a collection of signatures […] I got a signature from almost every family in the neighbourhood."[496] The acceptance of the neighbours was important as it produced credibility that could be used as a political asset. This was mostly an issue for those squatters who were oriented towards legalizing their squats through rental agreements. For these squatters, who were often adhering to middle-class norms, it was also much easier to find acceptance than for those who were not willing or capable to do so. Again Benny Härlin:

> Meanwhile the postman brings us the [alternative newspaper] TAZ every morning, the coal dealer has included us in the list of his customers. One day the boss of the dry cleaner across the street comes with a large plastic bag. The first load was for free, he explains, and: 'One has always to be clean.'[497]

It is hardly conceivable that a similar scene might have taken place between this local

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495 "'Ich hab ja schon fast drauf gewartet', sagt ein Mann aus der Nachbarschaft, 'is'n schönet Häuschen, wa.' Die Flugblätter sind innerhalb von zwei Stunden weg, der Sekt noch schneller." Härlin, "Von Haus zu Haus": 6.

496 "Am Anfang unserer Besetzung haben wir ein Kaffeetrinken gemacht, das war riesig, die Leute waren sehr neugierig. [...] mit der Zeit kommen sie natürlich nicht mehr dauernd an, das schleift sich etwas ab. Aber neulich bei einer Unterschriftenaktion [...] habe ich von fast jeder Familie in der Umgebung eine Unterschrift bekommen." Bacia and Scherer, "...unser Haus," 130f.

497 "Der Briefträger bringt uns mittlerweile jeden Morgen die TAZ, der Kohlenhändler hat uns in die Liste seiner Kunden aufgenommen. Eines Tages kommt der Chef von der chemischen Reinigung gegenüber mit einem großen Plastiksack. Die erste Wäsche sei umsonst, erklärt er, und: 'Sauber muß man immer sein.'" Härlin, "Von Haus zu Haus": 8.

businessman and the young punks from the second *Hinterhaus*. Yet in those instances where the squatters' habitus met a general understanding for their concerns (this could include aspects of urban redevelopment as well as sympathy for "the youth"), an integration of the squatted houses and their occupants into the neighbourhoods could be successful. "Armed with an old sofa and two home-made tarts, five grannys from the neighbouring retirement home appear one afternoon: 'to good neighbourly relations!' They are quite overwhelmed by their own courage, so are we."[498] Although encounters like these were cited frequently to document one's harmlessness and integration into the neighbourhood, they were probably the exception rather than the rule.[499] In a way, the squatters' role as explorers and conquerors of an uncharted territory in the appropriation of squatted houses,[500] found its equivalent on the larger scale of the district, which must have appeared as a comparable territory, only now inhabited by an additional native population. In presumably reviving dead houses, the squatters also imagined bringing back to life an otherwise dead neighbourhood. The underlying idea of preserving and reviving an authentic space and lifestyle reserved the position of the avant-garde for the young squatters—a functional relation to the neighbours that took on almost colonialist notions.

Yet in contrast to the squatters' own perception, they did not so much help to conserve a pre-existing authentic and homogeneous *Kiez* as partake in its ongoing modification. By moving into a neighbourhood and by squatting houses and apartments they changed the character of this local space, maybe as much as the previous policies of redevelopment.

498 "Mit einem alten Sofa und zwei selbstgebackenen Torten bewaffnet erscheinen eines Nachmittags fünf Omas von dem Altersheim nebenan: 'auf gute Nachbarschaft!' Sie sind ganz überwältigt von ihrem eigenen Mut, wir auch." Ibid.

499 Cf. MacDougall, *Cold War Capital*, 149ff., who gives a more comprehensive account of squatters' relations with their neighbours. One of the few reports about conflicts with neighbours, in this case youth from the neighbourhood of Wedding, can be found in "Hausbesetzer contra Nachbarn," *Instand Besetzer Post*, no. 21 (04.09.1981): 27.

500 See p. 158.

Furthermore, through their own actions they actively produced a *Kiez*—yet surely a different kind of *Kiez* than that of, say, the 1920s or 1950s. The construction of the *Kiez* as a homogeneous social space did take place, though not as conservation and not in the sense of a socially homogeneous milieu within a traditional geographical container. But, rather, through heterogeneous groups that shared a preference for local spaces that included housing, work, public life and cultural venue sites.

3.3.2. Networks

Complementing the production of homogeneous spaces was the creation of networks of insular places within the territory of the district.[501] The more a *Kiez* was interspersed with such "islands of improvisation"[502], the more persuasive was the idea of a unified neighbourhood.

These spaces were first and foremost the numerous squatted houses themselves; as the separation of the personal and political was less pronounced in these houses, they provided an effective structure of communication. Information could be passed quickly and many people could be mobilised for political events in a short time—at least those who were living in the squats themselves or were frequenting them regularly.

In Berlin the majority of squats were concentrated in the districts of Schöneberg, Kreuzberg 61 and, mainly, Kreuzberg 36 (named after their respective postal codes). Their geographical concentration furthered an identification with certain *Kieze* that was reproduced within the squatters' scene itself. "I also smelled a certain class distinction", one former squatter said in hindsight. "Here the grubby, poor, rebellious Kreuzberg 36, there the *Schöner-*

501 Löw has pointed out that the development of spaces in which people of comparable social backgrounds gather and the emergence of networks of insular spaces do not contradict each other, provided that character and meaning of spaces are reconstructed by analysing spatial practices in relation to the social structures of the agents. Löw, *Raumsoziologie*, 257, 266ff.

502 Lindner, *Jugendprotest*, 418, 347f.

Wohnen[503] students and well off Swabians around Chamissoplatz, in Schöneberg or in Charlottenburg."[504] These distinctions were fostered by the organizational infrastructure of the squatters' scene. Until February 1981, the *Besetzerrat*, or Squatters' Council, was the coordinating institution of the Berlin squatters' scene. Due to its enormous size (up to 500 people were attending its meetings in which no formal hierarchies existed) and severe internal conflicts, the council was replaced by several local squatters' councils at the district level.[505] Given the available source material it is impossible to determine whether there really existed spatial preferences based on the squatters' social status. Yet it nevertheless shows how social differences or differing attitudes (regarding for instance the relation to neighbours or the question of rental agreements) were translated into supposedly spatial phenomena.

In time, the appropriated spaces also enabled the squatters to establish alternative businesses, bars, cafés, info-shops etc.[506] These did in turn change the look and structure of the neighbourhood but, at least as importantly, they also created a sort of parallel *Kiez* that was different to, and disconnected from, the geography of its "normal" surroundings. On the occasion of a political arts festival that celebrated the cultural productions of the squatters' scene in Amsterdam, for instance, many of these sites became part of a network of cultural venues that was introduced to visitors in the official program card as follows:

> Do you know the sites of wild actions, the scenes of our history, the meeting points of lust and frustration? No? How do you manage to find your way?

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503 Cf. footnote 461.

504 "Ich roch auch einen gewissen Klassen-Unterschied: Hier das schmuddelige, arme, rebellische Kreuzberg 36, dort die Schöner-Wohnen-Studenten am Chamissoplatz, in Schöneberg oder in Charlottenburg." A.G. Grauwacke, *Autonome in Bewegung*, 45. The "well off Swabians" have become the personalization of processes of gentrification in Berlin only since the early 2000s and will have tainted this testimony accordingly.

505 Willems, *Jugendunruhen und Protestbewegungen*, 269.

506 The Stattbuch, an "alternative guide through Berlin" first published in 1978, listed all these alternative enterprises and groups. In 1980, it comprised more than 1,800 addresses and self-representations, including topics such as technology and tourism, drugs and women, youth and the prison system, gay liberation, environmentalism, and housing. Arbeitsgruppe WestBerliner Stattbuch, *Stattbuch 2. Ein alternativer Wegweiser durch Berlin* (Berlin: Stattbuch Verlag, 1980).

> Not only for "Amsterdam – Berlin" the knowledge about position and nature of the following meeting points is part of the essential equipment of everyone who is thirsting for culture, politics, or life.
> The K.O.B., Potsdamerstr. 157, in fashionable black/white design, located between subway station Kleistpark and Kurfürstenstrasse, is the birthplace of this series of events.[507]

What followed was an imaginary city walk to many of the venues of the "Amsterdam – Berlin" festival. In this case, it was not so much a specific local territory that was presented as a spatial point of reference but a network of sites that informed the squatters' (counter)culture.[508] These networks were not necessarily congruent with the geographical territory of a district. But areas (neighbourhoods, districts) and networks (of squats, meeting points, but also of *Wohngemeinschaften* in other than squatted houses) could form a synthesis, a space that was saturated with emotions ("lust and frustration") and that incorporated several temporal layers ("the scenes of our history"). In a *Kiez* such as Kreuzberg 36, it was impossible to discover or experience the space of the squatters' scene if one did not belong to it or have the necessary knowledge about it. Everyone could take the subway to Kreuzberg but the networks of the squatters' scene, although in the same geographical *place*, would remain an unknown and inaccessible *space* for many.[509] This is the actual meaning of the authors' question to the readers of the "Berlin – Amsterdam" program card: "How do you manage to find your way?" For

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507 "Kennen Sie die Orte des wilden Geschehens, die Schauplätze unserer Geschichte, die Treffpunkte von Frust und Lust? Nein? Wie finden Sie sich hier nur zurecht? Nicht nur für 'Amsterdam - Berlin' gehört das Wissen um Lage und Beschaffenheit der folgenden Treffpunkte zur unerläßlichen Grundausstattung von Kultur-, Politik- oder Lebensdurstigen. Das K.O.B., Potsdamerstr. 157, im modischen schwarz/weiß Design, zwischen U-Bahnhof Kleistpark und Kurfürstenstrasse gelegen, ist Geburtsort dieser Veranstaltungsreihe." K.O.B., "Amsterdam in Berlin. 28. Mai - 11. Juni," 1983, APO-Ar, R6, Hausbesetzer. Berlin 1980-1986, 3.

508 On the different forms of narrating space, especially the differences between the map and the tour, see Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, ch. "Spatial Stories" (pp. 115-130). In the context of "Amsterdam – Berlin" it is necessary to keep in mind that stories of space are not a mere supplement for pedestrian practices. "In reality, they organize walks. They make the journey before or during the time the feet perform it." (Ibid., 116).

509 "Heterotopias always presuppose a system of opening and closing that both isolates them and makes them penetrable. In general, the heterotopic site is not freely accessible like a public place." Foucault, "Of Other Spaces": 26.

these sites were not listed in any ordinary travel guide, nor were they to be found on any ordinary city map.[510]

For the squatters the existence of a network of "their" spaces that overlapped with the territory of the *Kiez* helped notions of integrating into a quarter, although the squatters' relation to people from outside of the squatters' scene was only marginal.[511] As long as one lived in a squat in Kreuzberg and/or frequented a local *Szenekneipe* (a bar run by people affiliated with the squatters' scene), it was sufficient to buy at the grocery store around the corner to develop a sense of belonging, identification and an identity of interests. On the one hand, this allowed for easy participation in the squatters' movement, to become part of the scene and an inhabitant of a rebellious *Kiez*. The "autonomous territory" was more open to rebellious youth than any formal organization. On the other hand, the existence of the squatters' spatial network effectively secluded the whole scene against the "normal" population; that is, the more islands of the scene there were, the less necessary it was to establish neighbourly relations with people from outside the scene to feel as though one was part of the *Kiez*.

3.3.3. Symbolic appropriations of urban space

Besides the (discursive, imaginary) construction of the squatters' scene in relation to certain neighbourhoods (territorial spaces) and meeting points (networks of spaces), a third factor was necessary to successfully appropriate city space, to turn parts of the city into "our quarters". Like individual squats, the squatters invested larger urban spaces with emotions and appropriated these spaces through symbolic actions.[512] These acts included physical practices, as (violent) clashes about territory, and the visible altering and marking of city space.

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510 Cf. section 3.3.5.

511 This was especially true in the case of migrants from Turkey, as has been argued by MacDougall, *Cold War Capital*, 203-228.

512 Cf. section 3.2.

One of the most important practices in appropriating city space was the physical confrontation with police during demonstrations or, sometimes, evictions. These were reproduced in the form of photographs in countless squatter publications and those of their sympathizers, and the press. But although these clashes were prolonged through their documentation in the mass media, they were singular events and clearly distinguished from everyday life in the neighbourhood. The idea of a unified neighbourhood that stood against a clearly defined outside enemy was difficult to obtain beyond the isolated riots. Nevertheless, physical confrontations over the domination of urban space did take place, as the following example will show.

In the autumn of 1982, a party in a squatted house in Luckauer Straße coincided with the opening of a stylish lamp store in the neighbouring Oranienstraße, one of the main axes in Kreuzberg 36. One of the people who attended the squatters' party described his impression of what appeared as an exclave of the city centre in an otherwise tranquil district:

> So we are riding our bikes unhurriedly up the O[ranien]-Straße to take a look at the party and the like, when suddenly it's blinking glaringly from the right: through large shop windows neon light is shining glaringly, many colourfully clothed people, majority around thirty [years old], standing around the room armed with cocktail glasses, the loudspeakers are blaring out *'Nju Wäif'*.[513]

Glaring neon lights, adults in colourful clothes, expensive drinks and New Wave music—it doesn't need much imagination to picture the acceptable opposite of this depiction: young people dressed in black, drinking beer in a dark *Hinterhaus* bar, listening to punk rock, or, as the author of this report clarifies "'Ballroom Blitz' by the good old, crass Sweet".[514] At one point,

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513 "Fahren wir also ganz gemütlich mit dem Fahrrad die O-Straße rauf, mal bei der Fete vorbeischaun und so, blinkts auf einmal von rechts so grell herrüber [sic]: durch große Schaufenster strahlt grelles Neonlicht, viele bunt gekleidete Leute, Großteil so um die Dreißig, stehen mit Cocktailgläsern bewaffnet in einem Raum herum, die Boxen spucken 'Nju Wäif' aus." Elbe III, "Die neuen Bunten," *radikal* 7, no. 110 (November 1982): 6. The story is also mentioned briefly by Schwarzmeier, *Die Autonomen*, 50.

514 "In der Luckauer läuft gerade 'Ballroom Blitz' von den guten, alten, ätzenden Sweet, als das erste mal die Idee auftaucht, dochmal bei der Schicki-Fete nebenan vorbeizuschaun." Elbe III, "Die neuen Bunten," *radikal* 7, no. 110 (November 1982): 6.

fifteen people ("everyone a bit psyched, latently the mood is a bit aggressive") left the party to provoke the outsiders: "For what do these wankers want here in the *Kiez*, havin' dough without end, living in modernized apartments, only wearing the most expensive clothes, and these lamps, man, who is buying such idiotic lamps?!"[515] After some provocations by the squatters a fight started between the two groups: "Tear gas. Steel rods. Nose bleeding, *Schicki*[516] hospital, window kaput."[517]

Although later that evening the protagonists went to some effort to find justifications for their actions ("[...] all counter [insurgency] pigs anyway, those guys, coming from [the haute bourgeois district of] Charlottenburg and destroying the *Kiez* with their dough"[518]) and although the author of the report eventually came to the conclusion that their own behaviour had been "fascist"[519], the story shows how the attempt to appropriate a whole district went along with the attempt to establish a hegemonic cultural standard. In this sense Schwarzmeier is correct when he states that the whole scene was reminiscent of "classic proletarian youth cultures" in which two distinct youth cultures were fighting physically "about territorial hegemony."[520] In contrast to classic proletarian youth cultures like rockers, though, the conflict was framed not just culturally but in the context of urban policies of gentrification. The "enemies" were not just members of the "wrong" youth culture or social strata; they were also

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515 "Ca. 15 Leute toben los, alle ein bißchen aufgedreht, latent ist die Stimmung ein wenig aggressiv. Was wolln' sone Wichser auch hier im Kiez, ham die dicke Kohle, wohnen in den modernisierten Wohnungen, nur die teuersten Klamotten an, und so Lampen ey, wer kauft denn so Schwachsinnslampen?!" Ibid.

516 "Schicki": member of the *Schickeria* or the chic set.

517 "Große Hauerrei. Tränengas. Stahlruten. Nase blutig, Schicki Krankenhaus, Scheibe putt." Elbe III, "Die neuen Bunten," *radikal* 7, no. 110 (November 1982): 6.

518 "[...] erzählt mir einer von unseren jemands, wie toll die Aktion war, sein [sic] doch eh alles Counter-Schweine, die Typen, kämen aus Charlottenburg und würden mit ihrer Kohle den Kiez kaputt machen." Ibid.

519 "Somehow my superego is right. It's basically the same as what the pigs are doing with us: punks, hippies, dope fiends [*Kiffer*], foreigners – all of them scum, gas them all, everyone has to live like we live, everyone has to look like we look, everyone has to be like we are. If not: beatings, jail, institution, bullet." Ibid.

520 Schwarzmeier, *Die Autonomen*, 50.

Fig. 3.11: Youth culture inscribed into urban space. The *Kunst- und Kulturcentrum Kreuzberg* (KuKuCK), Berlin-Kreuzberg, early 1980s. – Source: Manfred Kraft/ Umbruch Bildarchiv.

conceived as being from the "wrong" neighbourhood, had adopted signs of the modernist city centre and were "destroying the *Kiez*". Youth culture, urban policy and the fight for territorial hegemony thus formed a complex interplay that would encompass everyday routines as much as one's preferences in regard to music, drinks, clothes, furniture etc.

As described previously,[521] the interior walls of squatted apartments were used as a space for communication. Political slogans, posters, and the organization of everyday issues were negotiated on, and through, the walls of a squat's public spaces. Something similar happened on the outside walls of squatted houses. These were often painted with images or slogans, usually at least one banner hung from the windows, demanding the release of all prisoners,

521 Cf. section 3.2.

stating that "it is better that our youth is occupying empty houses than foreign countries"[522], or simply stating that a house was "Besetzt!" – occupied. But as much as the act of writing on the walls of an apartment was a way to appropriate a house, applying banners or painting murals was a means of formulating a claim not only on the house itself but also on its surroundings. Independent of their individual textual message, the material existence of banners and murals changed the face of the city. In contrast to "silent squattings", they were a visible reminder of the existence of a (deviating) youth culture and of their claims regarding city space and urban redevelopment policies (cf. figures 3.4, 3.11 and 3.13).

The uncountable graffiti were an especially effective means of communicating political

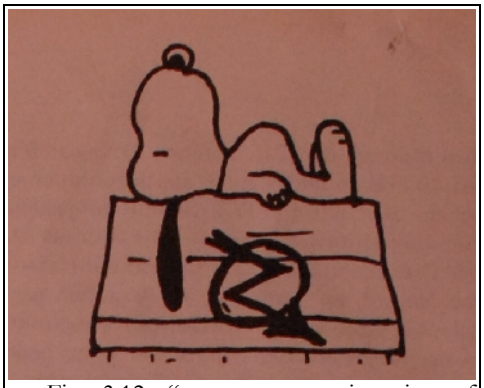

Fig. 3.12: "...as an aggressive sign of danger the declaration of war against state and society." – Source: "[untitled]," flyer, 29.10.1985, ArSozBew HH, 09.400, Hafen Flugis 1982-87, 4.

messages and mark what was perceived as one's own territory at the same time. "Two symbols", the *Landesamt für Verfassungsschutz* Berlin identifyed as being well-known "from numerous walls, doors, windows, posters and flyers": the "anarchist symbol", an encircled A, and "the flash of lightning – the sign of the '*Häuserkampf*'" that symbolized, "as an aggressive sign of danger, the declaration of war against state and society" (fig. 3.12).[523] Especially when

522 "Es ist besser, unsere Jugend besetzt leere Häuser als fremde Länder!" A.G. Grauwacke, *Autonome in Bewegung*, 66.

523 "Zwei Symbole, die inzwischen von zahlreichen Hauswänden, Türen, Fensterscheiben, Plakaten und Flugblättern bekannt sind […]: Das Anarchistenzeichen […], der zuckende Blitz - das Zeichen des 'Häuserkampfes' - symbolisiert als aggressives Zeichen der Gefahr die Kampfansage an Staat und

taken as a whole, these graffiti symbolized not only a declaration of war against society but also a claim on the territory from where, and about which, this battle was to be waged.[524]

Flash: Tourism

"Then the squatted houses were shown to some Frankish pensioners. They stopped in front of our house, of course they did not dare to leave the bus, and then they were all sticking to the windows taking photographs. Well, that was pretty annoying. (…) You open the door and in front of you there is a bus and 30 people are taking pictures of you. Like: 'Mister Squatter is coming out of the house'. Then at some point we started to stop these buses. There we left the house with five or ten people and stood in front of the buses and forced them to open the door. Two went in and collected money for the photos."[525]

Gesellschaft." Landesamt für Verfassungsschutz Berlin, "Der 'Häuserkampf' in Berlin (West)," 2.

524 In a second step murals and graffiti were multiplied by their documentation and reproduction in photographs and films. Through pictures and posters "ordinary" *Wohngemeinschaften* could be turned in squatters' outposts and youth could link their children's rooms with the "free space" of a squatted house by decorating it accordingly.

525 "Dann wurden da irgendwelchen fränkischen Rentnern besetzte Häuser gezeigt. Die haben vor unserem Haus angehalten, haben sich natürlich nicht getraut auszusteigen und dann haben alle am Fenster geklebt und Fotos gemacht. Also das ist einem schon auf die Nerven gegangen. (...) Machst die Tür auf, steht vor dir ein Bus und 30 Leute fotografieren dich. So nach dem Motto 'Der Herr Besetzer kommt aus dem Haus'. Dann haben wir irgendwann angefangen, diese Busse anzuhalten. Da sind wir zu fünft oder zehnt aus dem Haus rausgegangen und haben uns vor die Busse gestellt und die gezwungen, die Tür aufzumachen. Zwei sind reingegangen und haben kassiert für die Fotos." Paul, squatter in Kreuzberg 1980-1983, in: Lang, *Mythos Kreuzberg*, 185f.

Fig. 3.13: Murals as a tourist sight, Hamburg, c. 1984. Several layers of images are captured in this photograph: the murals themselves, the picture of the elderly couple taken by the woman in the front, the picture taken of the entire scenery and, finally, the image that forms in the mind of the viewer of this photograph. – Source: Monika Sigmund, *Zu bunt. Wandbilder in der Hafenstrasse* (Hamburg: St. Pauli Archiv, 1996), 9; photograph by Marily Stroux.

3.3.4. "State – get lost!"

The state are all the damn rules.

– A squatter from Berlin, 1981[526]

The slogans that the squatters used to mark urban space were manifold and covered a wide range of political topics and convictions. Among other aspects they were used to identify the supposed enemies of the squatters' scene, namely investors and redevelopment firms who were destroying the *Kiez*, politicians who furthered these policies and refused to offer an acceptable master solution for all squatted houses, and above all the police who were sent in to

526 "Der Staat sind all die Scheiß-Spielregeln." Härlin, "Von Haus zu Haus": 11.

harass, evict and even kill the protesting youth. All these were subsumed under the term of "the state" which slogans challenged to "get lost"[527] and leave the squatters alone (fig. 3.14).

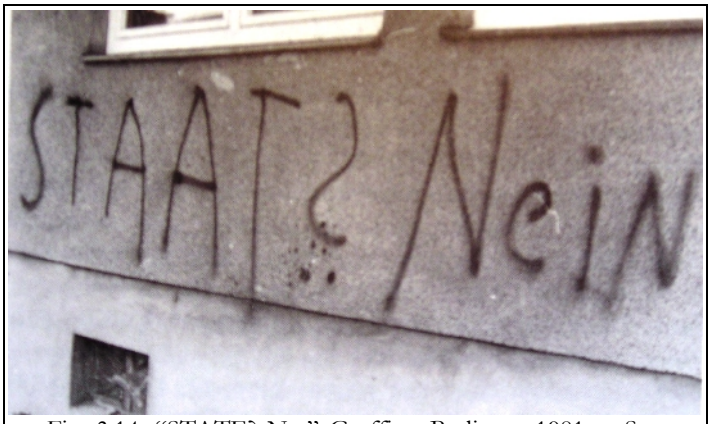

Fig. 3.14: "STATE? No." Graffito, Berlin, c. 1981. – Source: Joseph Scheer and Jan Espert, *Deutschland, Deutschland, alles ist vorbei. Alternatives Leben oder Anarchie? Die neue Jugendrevolte am Beispiel der Berliner 'Scene'* (München: Bernard&Graefe, 1982), 17.

In 1980, the Zurich youth movement had demanded, in one of their most famous slogans, that the state be turned into a "cucumber salad" (*macht aus dem Staat – Gurkensalat*). It was a conviction that was quickly adopted by their West German successors. In contrast to the 1970s, it was therefore not the capitalist system that was held responsible for what was perceived as oppression and exploitation. Although the speculation with land and living space, i.e. a basic principle of the free market, was one of the driving forces behind the destructive wholesale redevelopment of districts like Kreuzberg, modernist redevelopment policy was a project that included governmental institutions as main actors alongside private investors.[528] Given the squatters' focus on the sphere of reproduction—housing, culture, personal relationships—conceiving of their political struggle as one between Labour and Capital appeared less convincing than it had been for the *K-Gruppen* of the previous decade with their focus on the production sphere.

Yet for the often juvenile members of the squatters' scene, the concept of "the state"

527 "'Hau ab Staat!' steht an mancher Häuserwand in Kreuzberg. Knapp und präzise." Ibid.: 10.

528 Cf. Manrique, *Marginalisierung und Militanz*, 136.

oscillated between the concrete and the abstract, between personal experiences and theoretical deliberations. Due to the illegality of their actions, the squatters confronted governmental institutions (mainly in the form of the police) right from the start—an experience they shared with many New Social Movements, e.g. against nuclear power, as well as with the heroin scene. The police thus quickly became the personification of "the state" in the squatters' perception: "For the state, that is first of all the cops. […] The state is in its mid-40s, clean shaven, entirely uncomprehending, gruff and correct. In battle gear, at seven in the morning, he is suddenly standing in your house."[529] But to the squatters, the state was more than just the police; it was a metaphor for all the institutions of a Fordist, disciplinary and not the least an adult society that encompassed, in the words of Benny Härlin,

> everyone who doesn't leave you alone: the employment office, the social work guys, the politicians, the man of the redevelopment office, bosses, teachers, the people who are staring at you [*dich komisch angucken*], the television, the controller of the BVG [Berlin's public transport company, JHF], the insurance company, sometimes even the parents.[530]

This conception of "the state" thus incorporated faceless governmental authorities (police, politicians) and agents of urban restructuring programs as well as institutions of the welfare system (employment office, social workers), mass media, public transport and superiors in jobs or education. This listing shows how "the state" was understood as an encompassing, even totalitarian system of planning, care and control, in which even supposedly benign institutions (insurance) became symbols of a technocratic order. "The state is Germany: tight, crotchety, narrow-minded, work-happy [*arbeitswütig*] and everything always in order. Their order. The order in which you never have anything to say."[531] It is, in other words,

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529 "Denn der Staat, das sind zuerst mal die Bullen. […] Der Staat ist Mitte 40, glatt rasiert, vollkommen verständnislos, barsch und korrekt. Im Kampfanzug, morgens um sieben, steht er plötzlich in deinem Haus." Härlin, "Von Haus zu Haus": 10f.

530 "Erweitert sind es alle, die einen nicht in Ruhe lassen: das Arbeitsamt, die Sozial-Typen, die Politiker, der Mann von der Sanierungsstelle, Chefs, Lehrer, die Leute, die dich komisch ankucken, das Fernsehen, der BVG-Kontrolletti, die Versicherung, manchmal sogar die Eltern." Ibid.: 10.

531 "Der Staat ist Deutschland: eng, verbiestert, spießig, arbeitswütig und immer alles in Ordnung. Ihre

the adult state that is restricting the life world of youth; "their order" included parents, if not one's own then at least the image of a parental generation that was perceived as narrow-minded, uncomprehending and focussed on work as "the state" in its totality.

The state was thus not understood as an antagonistic opponent but as a condition or a lifeless environment. "The state is functioning. Like a machine, an apparatus, a computer. Behind the smooth glass and concrete facades, with a diplomat's briefcase or walkie-talkie: you are on record."[532] Government and Fordist society, technological developments and welfare state, parental control and glass and concrete as symbols for the "coldness" of modernist cities —they all came together in the metaphor of the state. "The state is everywhere. The state is that, which is and that it continues to be [*Der Staat ist das, was ist, und dass es so bleibt*]."[533]

But if the state was omnipresent and superior, how could it possibly "get lost"? Or, as one *Autonomer* in the magazine *radikal* put it: "It is not possible to implement the slogan 'get lost, state!' by holding one's hands before one's eyes and saying 'right, now it's gone', at best opening one eye once more for a throw against the cops."[534] The apparent contradiction of an omnipresent state that should nonetheless "get lost" was not actually contradictory if one adopted a spatial understanding of state and society. As much as the individual squatted houses were thought to provide free spaces—free of society's norms and demands—whole districts were imagined as potentially liberated territories.[535] If the state was "glass and concrete façades" then it could be kept outside of a traditional *Kiez* if the old buildings could be substantially preserved. If the state was bosses, teachers, employment offices and insurance

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Ordnung. Die Ordnung, in der du nie was zu sagen hast [...]." Ibid.

532 "Der Staat funktioniert. Wie eine Maschine, ein Apparat, ein Computer. Hinter den glatten Glas- und Betonfassaden, mit Diplomatenköfferchen oder Funkgerät: du bist registriert." Ibid.: 11.

533 "Der Staat ist überall. Der Staat ist das, was ist, und daß es so bleibt." Ibid.: 10.

534 "Die Umsetzung der Parole 'Verschwinde Staat!' geht nicht, indem mann und frau sich die Hände vor Augen halten und sagen 'so, jetzt isser weg' und bestenfalls beim Wurf gegen die Bullen noch einmal ein Auge freigeben." Gelbschal, "Wohin mit dem Dampf vom Häuserkampf?" *radikal* 6, no. 100 (1982): 16.

535 Lindner, *Jugendprotest*, 356.

companies, then one could do without these representatives of Fordist society by evading wage labour (either within an "alternative" economy or through petty theft and insurance fraud), by abstaining from consumption, and by renouncing governmental money. In short, by collectively overcoming the need for material security and thereby the need for submission, an autonomous life would become possible. It was a life that was to be lived not just against the state, but beyond it. Even if the state was an encompassing social condition, the spatial concentration of enough (young) people who were willing to live "differently" and who organized (city) life accordingly, could establish "different spaces", rebellious neighbourhoods outside of, and against, "the state".

In areas like Kreuzberg 36 it was possible to imagine a world without or beyond the state —at least temporarily. The slogan *Ihr habt die Macht, doch wir haben die Nacht* (yours is the power but ours is the night) makes clear that autonomy was not just a question of space but also of time. Territorial autonomy could be experienced mainly during demonstrations and clashes with "the state"in the form of the police. Here, in violent conflicts about streets, crossroads, barricades and bridges the squatters could establish a sense of unity without the need to formulate a political program.[536] In clashes with the police, spatial conceptions of the underlying social conflicts were thus seemingly confirmed. The seeming stigmatization of socially (and, especially in the case of Kreuzberg 36, geographically) peripheral districts was capable of inciting a growing territorial identification of the inhabitants with "their" neighbourhood.[537]

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536 In this sense argues Schwarzmeier, *Die Autonomen*, 27: "The shared corporeal action releases the individuals from their respective responsibilities and provides them with a wider latitude to act. It suspends moral standards and creates thereby a relatively 'free space' [*herrschaftsfreien Raum*]." Confrontations with political opponents were causing polarizations; to fend off sanctions became the common priority. This in turn increased the pressure to act but also to conform to the (political, subcultural) standards of the group. See also Lindner, *Jugendprotest*, 419.

537 Willems, *Jugendunruhen und Protestbewegungen*, 204.

The squatters' scene was therefore caught in a paradox: because it was impossible to "drop out" in a geographical sense, the conflicts with "the state" (in the widest possible sense) intensified. This furthered, in return, a focus on urban space as the main site of political conflict while the socio-economical roots of this conflict ran the risk of getting hidden from sight.

Flash: A Berlin Wall

On the occasion of US President Ronald Reagan's visit to West Berlin in June 1982, an "Office for Unusual Measures" (*Büro für ungewöhnliche Maßnahmen*) erected an "anti-Kreuzberger protective barrier" (*Anti-Kreuzberger Schutzwall*) on a bridge connecting Kreuzberg with Neukölln. The barrier resembled the Berlin wall and signs informed passers-by that they were "now leaving West Berlin". Meant to denounce the alleged hostility of the Berlin senate towards the district of Kreuzberg, it could also be understood as a symbol of rebellious pride in a neighbourhood that for many was not a part of the city of West Berlin anyway.

Fig. 3.16: The "Anti-Kreuzberger Schutzwall", Kottbusser Brücke, Berlin-Kreuzberg, 11 June 1982. – Source: Umbruch Bildarchiv.

Fig. 3.15: "You are now leaving West-Berlin", Kottbusser Brücke, Berlin-Kreuzberg, 11 June 1982. – Source: Umbruch Bildarchiv.

3.3.5. Mapping the city: a travel guide to squatted Berlin

Throughout this chapter the practical and symbolical appropriations of city space by the Berlin squatters' scene have been analyzed, especially in regard to "rebellious neighbourhoods" at the district level. A look at city maps that were produced by the squatters' scene will conclude this chapter.[538] These maps can be understood as material equivalents of the squatters' "mental maps"[539] that have been described before.

538 Maps have been used as a primary source mainly in the history of nation-building in the Early Modern Era and in the age of Imperialism. Ute Schneider, *Die Macht der Karten. Eine Geschichte der Kartographie vom Mittelalter bis heute* (Darmstadt: Primus, 2004); John B. Harley, *The New Nature of Maps. Essays in the History of Cartography* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001).

539 Cf. Alexander Klippel, "Mental Maps," in *Encyclopedia of Geography (Online Edition)*, edited by Barney Warf (Los Angeles: Sage, 2010), DOI: 10.4135/9781412939591.n762 (accessed 2 January 2013); Christof Dipper and Lutz Raphael, "'Raum' in der Europäischen Geschichte," *Journal of Modern European History* 9, no. 1 (2011): 36-39.

On 1 August 1981, the Kreuzberg Squatters' Council published a call for the so-called *Tuwat* spectacle, asking sympathizers from West Germany to come to Berlin in support of the local squatters' scene.[540] *Tuwat*, a neologism meaning "do-something", referenced the *Tunix*—Do-Nothing—congress of January 1978 that had marked the end of '1968' and the beginning of an "alternative milieu".[541] The *Tuwat* call thus tried to mobilize not only activists from outside of Berlin but also those former activists who had, at least in the squatters' perception, withdrawn into the sphere of the personal. Here again was the chance—and the duty—for them to "*tuwat für Tuwat*" (do something for *Tuwat*).[542]

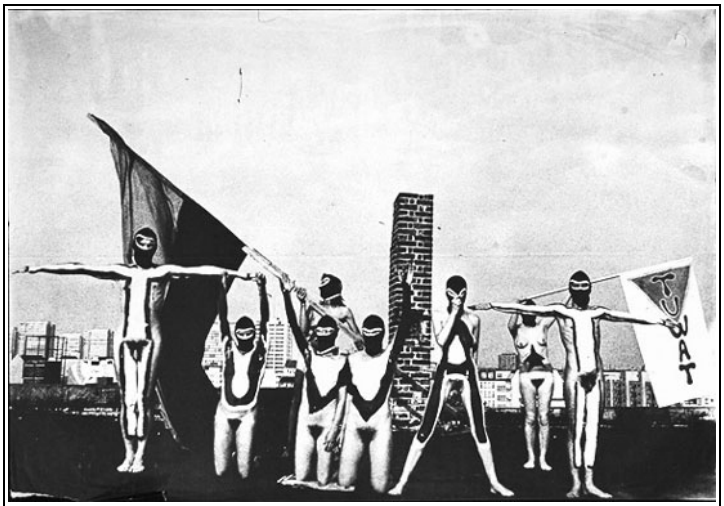

Fig. 3.17: Bodies, signs, the city. "Welcome to Tuwat," Berlin, 1981. – Source: *Linkes Plakatarchiv*, http://plakat.nadir.org, fig. 19_04 (accessed 29 September 2011).

The Berlin squatters claimed to expect 50,000 people to gather in Berlin for a whole month, starting on 25 August. Even if these numbers have to be interpreted as a boasting

540 On 11 June the conservative CDU had had replaced the former SPD-led Senate. The new senator for interior affairs, Heinrich Lummer, had made it clear that there would be no more negotiations with the squatters' movement about possible legalizations of all or even some of the numerous squatted houses in the city. In many aspects this time marked the zenith and the following decline of Berlin's squatters' scene. In August 1981 there existed 167 squats in Berlin, most of them in the borough of Kreuzberg, but the first evictions started only ten days after the new Senate had assumed office. A.G. Grauwacke, *Autonome in Bewegung*, 47-61.

541 Cf. p. 22 of this dissertation.

542 "Tuwat Spektakel in Bärlin ab 25.8.", flyer, 1981, reprinted in A.G. Grauwacke, *Autonome in Bewegung*, 54.

warning directed towards the senate—just as much as the announced "one million Mark material-damage per eviction"[543]—preparations had to be made to accommodate at least several hundreds of supporters and help them get orientated in their host city. They had to be informed about the location of the squatted houses that were to be defended, the sites of the various political and cultural events that took place until the end of September, and about the routes of several demonstrations—an anti-war demonstration on 1 September, women's, *Tuwat*, and anti-prison manifestations (4, 5, and 16 September), and what would become one of the central events of the *Tuwat* spectacle: the demonstration against the visit of the US Secretary of State, Alexander Haig, on the 13th.[544]

A special edition of the squatters' journal *Instand Besetzer Post* featured a poster-sized map of West Berlin (fig. 3.18) under the title "Berlin is a bomb. *Tuwat* travel guide to squatted Berlin."[545] It showed the main roads, railways, and subway routes into West Berlin. Black wedges indicated the city's districts, small black dots showed the viewer the distribution of squats throughout the city. Given the scale of the map it was not possible to identify the exact location of any of the squats. It gave, however, a first impression of the geographical centres of the squatters' movement. The target audience of the poster was depicted in the lower left corner: a drawing of a young guy and a girl, recognizable as hitch-hikers because of their hand-written sign, indicating their destination, "*Tokio*" (with the last letter turned into the squatters symbol, an encircled flash). Their markedly harmless and peaceful depiction, mirroring the

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543 "Eine Million Sachschaden pro Räumung." Sontheimer d.J., "'Eine Kriegserklärung an die besetzten Häuser'," *taz Berlin*, 06.08.1981: 16. See also "Tuwat für Tuwat," *taz Berlin*, 06.08.1981: 16; S. M., "Ein Kongreß für die gesamte Linke," *taz*, 07.06.1981: 3; S. M., "Berliner Besetzer in Bewegung," *taz*, 07.06.1981: 3; Götz Aly, "Kommentar: Auf nach Tuwat!" *taz*, 10.08.1981: 6; and A.G. Grauwacke, *Autonome in Bewegung*, 54.

544 "TUWAT – die offensive Hilflosigkeit [Programm]," *radikal* 6, no. 97, extra (August 1981): 6-9.

545 "Berlin is 'ne Bombe. Tuwat-Reiseführer durch's besetzte Berlin. Ein Extrablatt der Besetza-Post," *Instand Besetzer Post*, no. 20 (25.8.1981), supplement; also in *Linkes Plakatarchiv*, http://plakat.nadir.org (accessed 12 December 2012), fig. 215_14.

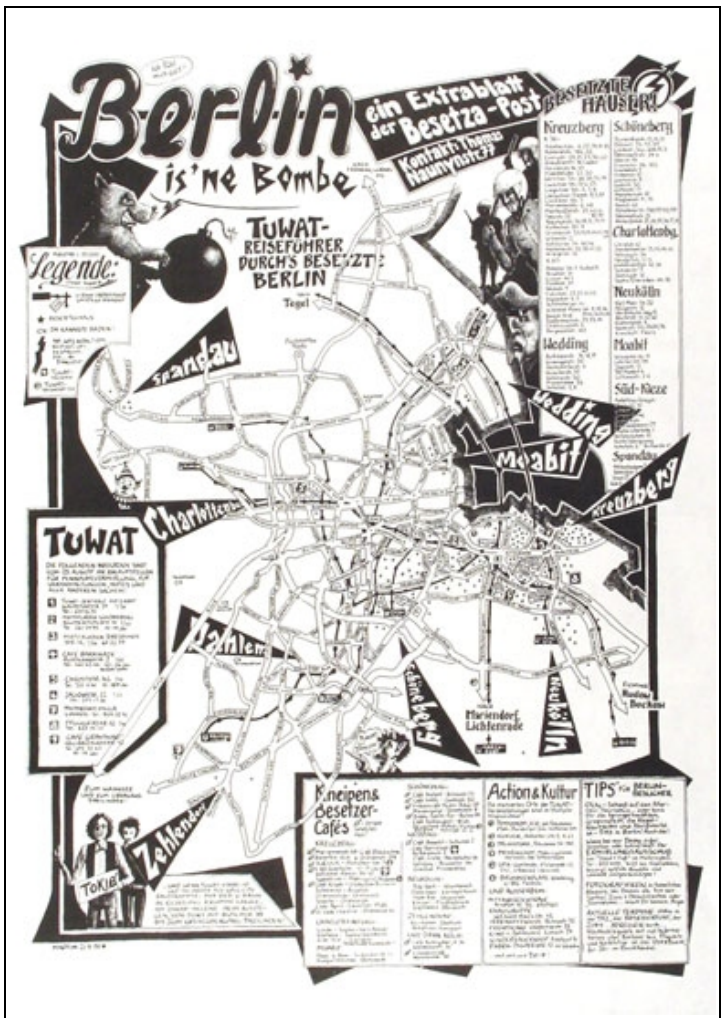

Fig. 3.18: "Berlin is a bomb." – Source: *Instand Besetzer Post*, 25.8.1981, supplement.

photograph of a similar couple on the *Besetzer Post's* previous issue's front page (fig. 3.19), found its opposite in the upper right-hand corner: four policemen, three of them equipped with helmets and batons, surveying the city with suspicious and aggressive expressions. The intention to draw as many people as possible to Berlin defined the set-up of the poster: while the eponymous bomb is only held by a comic version of the Berlin Bear (the city's heraldic figure), thus downplaying the role of militancy and violence in the expected clashes with the police, the police were reduced to a mere caricature, half hidden behind a list of squatted houses and safely contained behind the Berlin Wall. The two young people from West Germany—and possibly other European countries as well—might safely come to a city that

Fig. 3.19: "Let's go to the big festive spectacle in Berlin." – Source: *Instand Besetzer Post*, 11.8.1981: 1.

appeared as a giant adventure playground.[546]

The backside of the map showed in more detail the area where most squatting activities were taking place in Berlin: the borough of Kreuzberg (fig. 3.20). While some aspects were very similar to the first map—marked locations of squatted houses, highlighted subway routes and stations, a caricature of policemen ("Alas, we must stay outside!"[547])—it differed in the framing of the map by various photographs, which depicted centres of the *Tuwat* spectacle as well as general city views of parts of Berlin-Kreuzberg. Several keys informed visitors about

546 One where certain rules applied, though., some of which were listed in a section with "tips for Berlin visitors" in the lower-right corner: "TAKING PHOTOS in squatted houses, on demonstrations etc. is something that only informers, plain cloth cops + denunciators or journalist are doing... don't get yourself into trouble." "'Tips' für Berlin-Besucher […] FOTOGRAFIEREN in besetzten Häusern, bei Demos etc. tun nur Spitzel, Zivis + Denunzianten oder Journalisten... mach Dir keinen Ärger."

547 "Wir müssen leider draußen bleiben!"

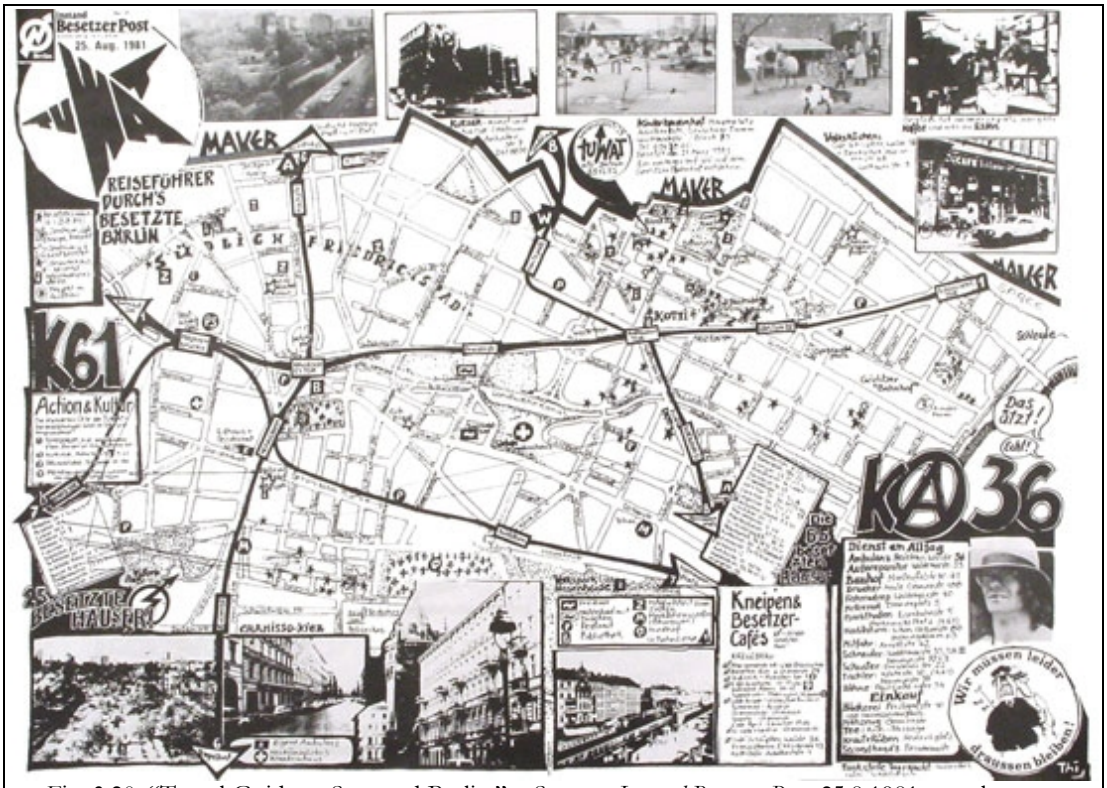

Fig. 3.20: "Travel Guide to Squatted Berlin." – Source: *Instand Besetzer Post*, 25.8.1981, supplement.

the most important infrastructural elements of the *Tuwat* spectacle: places to pitch one's tent, squatters' bars, cafés and information centres, bakeries and market halls, but also sites that could become important in case of militant clashes with police: "our own ambulances" and "ordinary hospitals", or simply "teeth" to indicate a dentist's practice.[548] In addition, there were several places that allow us a glimpse into the preferences of the 1981 Berlin underground: repair areas, bicycle and motorbike garages, shops for sewing supplies, tea, and second hand articles, an organic groceries store, libraries, gas stations, printing shops and even a "meditation centre (Bhagwan)". The various sites all found their way onto the map of squatted Berlin, unlike, for instance, the nearby Tempelhof airport which would have hardly been omitted on any regular map of this part of town.

A poster from about the same time focussed on an even smaller part of Berlin, the centre

548 "Eigene Ambulanz, Herkömmliches Krankenhaus, Zähne."

and symbol of the squatters' movement, Kreuzberg 36 (fig. 3.21). Also produced in order to raise support for an active defence of the houses, the map of the neighbourhood had no

Fig. 3.21: "If there are evictions in Kreuzberg 36... Fight, friends!" Poster, Berlin, early 1980s. – Source: *Linkes Plakatarchiv*, http://plakat.nadir.org, fig. 309_06 (accessed 29 September 2011).

informational value like the ones in the two "travel guides." Under the slogan "If there are evictions in Kreuzberg 36... Fight, friends!" a map of the neighbourhood was framed and overlapped by various photographs. Yet the nature of both the map and the pictures differed significantly from the ones in the Kreuzberg "travel guide" described above.

Although the maps covered an area that was almost identical, in this case the map itself was a simple copy of an official publication. No additional information was added. No squatted houses were marked, no transportation routes highlighted. There was no legend to inform the viewer about important addresses or to provide "tips for Berlin visitors".[549] The map was not used as a tool to provide information and orientation. It had no value other than

549 As on the first travel guide, cf. fig. 3.18.

a symbolic one. It was a symbol for the territory and the united—if not self-contained—community of Kreuzberg 36. Everything that was located north and east of the Berlin wall had been cut off. Where Kreuzberg 36 bordered on the boroughs of Kreuzberg 61 and Neukölln, pictures covered large parts of the map, thus reinforcing the impression of an urban island in a sea of white—Terra Incognita or, rather, the land that one did not want to know anything, or simply did not care, about. This insular character, which partly mirrored Kreuzberg's position within the city of Berlin, (it was far from the new city centre and surrounded on three sides by the Berlin Wall) was also emphasized in the map, which did not include the subway lines that connected this part of the city with its surroundings.[550]

The photographs differed from the ones in the "travel guides" in the same way. Unlike in the travel guide, these did not refer to concrete geographical places. Instead, they showed different groups of people, squatters, punks, a Turkish woman and a supposedly Turkish and German girl, playing together on the streets. These pictures then, organized in a circle around the map and topped by the writing "Kreuzberg 36", represented the inhabitants of this urban island who appeared united through the territorial integrity of their neighbourhood and the struggle to defend it against outside threats. It is questionable to what degree this "imagined community" (to cite Benedict Anderson) with its highly selective choice of neighbourhood representations had an equivalent in day-to-day life. Yet it would be too easy to dismiss these imaginations simply as illusions or as an unfruitful attempt to mobilize support beyond the squatters' own scene. This mental map was more than just a poster. It showed the identification with a neighbourhood and the wish for unity across social and cultural strata in the face of the squatters' movement's decline. The retreat into a geographically defined space that became visible in this poster marked the shift from a social to a military struggle (in which

550 As is visible in figures 3.18 and 3.20.

a territory was defended against an invading enemy) and from having the initiative to a position of retreat and defence.

That this was not just a state of mind but actually structured the squatters' actions is evident in the so-called "barricades plan", an episode which took place shortly after the *Tuwat* spectacle and that an activist later remembered as follows:

> Far-side Kreuzberg is enclosed by the wall, the police have only eight access points over bridges and main roads into this area. At a "purely spontaneous and secret" meeting with almost 100 chosen people eight groups are formed. […] There are no hierarchies, but for each barricade someone takes the responsibility. There are communication systems between the groups as well as plans for retreats. For each barricade at least 80 squatters declare their willingness not just to erect them but also to defend them as long as possible. Mobile watches are observing the police stations even more systematically than before, the police radio is being monitored regularly.[551]

The plan was eventually called off, due to a Senate's memorandum not to evict any houses during the following six months.[552] Still, it shows how much the movement had adopted a spatial understanding of social conflicts—just like their adversaries in the police, criminology and the Senate. And while the alternative movement had propagated the retreat to an imagined, alternative island—"We are all sailing away! ...to the beach of *Tunix*"[553]—the squatters of *Tuwat* had ended up at a similar heterotopic site, not due to a programmatic change in their politics but as a result of the intensified conflict with the state.

The maps that were produced by the squatters were therefore much more than just guides for a geographical orientation. In these maps squatters defined which spaces actually

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551 "Das hintere Kreuzberg ist von der Mauer eingeschlossen, die Polizei hat nur acht Zugänge über Brücken und Hauptverkehrsstraßen in dieses Gebiet. Bei einem 'ganz spontanen und geheimen' Treffen mit fast 100 ausgewählten Leuten bilden sich acht Gruppen. [...] Es gibt keine Hierarchien, aber für jede Barrikade finden sich Verantwortliche. Es gibt Kommunikationssysteme zwischen den Gruppen sowie Rückzugspläne. Für jede Barrikade erklären sich mindestens 80 Besetzer bereit, sie nicht nur zu errichten, sondern auch möglichst lange zu verteidigen. Fahrwachen beobachten noch systematischer als vorher die Polizeikasernen, der Polizeifunk wird regelmäßig abgehört." A.G. Grauwacke, *Autonome in Bewegung*, 64.

552 Ibid., 65.

553 "Wir segeln alle ab! zum Strand von Tunix." Koordinationsausschuß TUNIX, "Aufruf zur Reise nach Tunix," 2.

belonged to the network of sites that formed the base of the squatters' scene. They also made the idea of a rebellious *Kiez* tangible, both through the visible concentration of squatters' sites in certain areas and through the arrangement of photographs and cartoons. The role of such maps was thus threefold. *First*, they constructed an image of urban space and thereby discursively shaped certain neighbourhoods. They also provided, *second*, an orientation within the spatial networks in these urban spaces. As such they were, *third*, a means to create and provide access to identities as squatters and Kreuzbergers. These maps, then, reveal the important role that urban space played in the mobilization of political activists in the early 1980s.

3.3.6. Conclusion

From the mid-1970s, the local experienced a renaissance among political and youth activists. Losing hope of an encompassing social revolution and emancipation, activists turned to small-scale political projects that were in most cases linked to specific sites of development and protest. From the struggle for autonomous youth centres to the protest against planned nuclear power plants—youth and New Social Movements were increasingly galvanizing around single issues (peace, the environment) and specific geographical places. With the practice of squatting, "the movement" returned to the cities.[554] Modernist redevelopment policies were experienced as a "war" against organic and liveable city structures, and the newly built high-rises appeared to political activists as concrete embodiments of a standardized and normalizing society. Squatting as a political practice enabled activists to combine the defensive struggle against large-scale redevelopment policies with the appropriation of small-scale niches that would allow for alternative lifestyles.

Although the squatters' movement did not just take place *in* the city but was also a

554 A.G. Grauwacke, *Autonome in Bewegung*, 35.

struggle *about* the city, a closer look at the squatters' spatial conceptions shows a wide range of how "the city" was understood. The positions of *Stadtindianer* and punks mark the extreme poles in the squatters relation to the city. While the punks embraced at least parts of an urban modernity, the *Stadtindianer* longed for a romantic version of "nature" and "wilderness" in which the city had no place at all.

Somewhere in-between were urban conceptions of alternative *Instandbesetzer* and *Autonome*. Their demand for "free spaces" could be interpreted as a demand to fulfil a genuinely urban promise: "They are demanding that a promise be fulfilled that the cities are constantly making and breaking: The city, product and space of the artificial efforts of mankind, embodies and propagates the promise to provide a chance for every possible concept of human ways of living to be realized."[555] But their demand was not so much to change the entire Fordist urban regime but to have certain areas of the city excluded from these policies. As much as individual squats were to allow for a wide range of lifestyles beyond normative concepts (e.g. to live with people of the same age rather than as a nuclear family), they maintained that certain areas of the city should allow for these lifestyles on a larger scale (e.g. by providing a unity of work and living space that stood in contrast to a functional division of urban space). These neighbourhoods, or *Kieze*, were conceptualized as villages[556] rather than spaces of urbanity; populated by small handicraft enterprises and shops rather than factories and supermarkets, characterized by a high degree of social control where everyone supposedly knew their neighbours; a space to ride bicycles rather than buses and subways.[557]

555 "Sie klagen ein Versprechen ein, das die Städte laufend geben und laufend brechen: Die Stadt, Produkt und Raum der artifiziellen Leistungen der Menschheit, verkörpert und propagiert das Versprechen, sie biete jedem wünschbaren Entwurf menschlicher Lebensformen eine Realisierungschance." R. Lüscher and M. Makropoulos, "Revolte für eine andere Stadt," *Ästhetik und Kommunikation* 13, no. 49 (1982): 113-125, quoted in Lindner, *Jugendprotest*, 414.

556 Scheer and Espert, *Deutschland, Deutschland, alles ist vorbei*, 27.

557 "Bicycles are piling up in the hallways and staircases of the squatted houses." "In den Fluren und Aufgängen der besetzten Häuser stapeln sich die Fahrräder." Dorothea Hilgenberg and Uwe Schlicht, "Was

Squatting was a practical critique of modernist urban concepts and the accompanying policies of wholesale redevelopment but the concrete site of conflict was the *Kiez* rather than the whole city. Like the squats themselves, neighbourhoods like Kreuzberg were imagined as heterotopic counter-sites to the modernist city centres.

The squats as spaces of segregation were re-opened to neighbours through singular events like street parties or through the creation of constant access points in the form of cafés, workshops or commercial services.[558] The *Kiez* as a local point of reference was a combination of a perceived homogeneous space, the territory of the district with its inhabitants, and a network of insular spaces of the squatters' scene. Symbolic forms of appropriation and fights about (youth) cultural hegemony allowed for a successful identification of what appeared as an organically grown, historical, authentic and rebellious territory.

Although the squatters' scene had no common ideological framework, it was held together through symbolic policies, shared experiences (e.g. in clashes with the police) and the identification of "the state" as the common enemy. The state served as a metaphor for a whole series of aspects of Fordist city and society, ranging from urban restructuring policies and technological developments to insurance companies and parental control. The state could thus serve as an empty signifier onto which various evils could be projected. In accordance with the concept of heterotopic free spaces that could be clearly distinguished from their surroundings, all these evils encompassed by "the state" were supposed to "get lost", that is, to be kept out of "one's own" *Kiez*.

But keeping "the state"—meaning basically all kinds of social power relations—out of the

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Hausbesetzer denken. Über das Leben in den Häusern, über die Gesellschaft, den Staat, die Gewalt," *Der Tagesspiegel*, 10.10.1981: 12ff.

558 Cf. Sebastian Haumann and Susanne Schregel, "Andere Räume, andere Städte und die Transformation der Gesellschaft. Hausbesetzungen und Atomwaffenfreie Zonen als alternative Raumpraktiken," in Balz and Friedrichs, "*All We Ever Wanted...*" 64.

Kiez, and understanding liberation as territorial autonomy, quickly proved to be impossible. Illegal appropriations of space in an attempt to "drop out" of urban society caused the heightened, and visible, presence of the police as the main symbol of governmental authority. In turn, violent clashes with the police allowed squatters to experience social and political conflicts primarily as spatial conflicts. Even in its failure, the spatialization of the social seemingly made sense to the contemporaries, resulting in "visions of so-called 'autonomous republics' of Neukölln and Kreuzberg"[559] and plans to "defend" a whole district in a military fashion. In this respect, the squatters' conceptions mirrored those of press and police regarding the heroin scene. Even if it was not possible to free a space from unwanted persons (heroin users, police), the new political strategy was nevertheless successful in establishing space as a fundamental category of governance and resistance.

The spatialization of political protest and the search for autonomy instead of emancipation or revolution had direct consequences for the interior structure of squats and the squatters' scene. It was much easier to participate in the squatters' scene than in many other political movements or institutions. Empty signifiers like "autonomy" or "free spaces" served as positive reference points while the metaphor of the state included all kinds of rules and institutions, from parents to police. In contrast to the K-Gruppen of the 1970s, it was not necessary to agree on a political program before one could act together.

Yet with "free spaces" and rebellious territories as the only reference points, differences and contradictions within the squatters' scene and between squatters and the "normal" population could not be addressed. Relations with neighbours who were not part of the squatters' scene remained marginal. And while some of the problems within the scene could be ignored through successive spatial segregation, others, including the use of drugs like heroin,

559 "[...] Visionen von sog. 'autonomen Republiken' Neukölln und Kreuzberg." Manrique, *Marginalisierung und Militanz*, 89.

produced enormous contradictions that could not be solved as easily. How these contradictions were addressed depended significantly on the degree of spatialization of the social on part of the young protagonists, as the following chapters will show.

4. "Power to the junkies": the Zurich youth movement, heroin consumption, and the struggle about space

> *the h-demon is the movement's destructive brother with the same parents: this kaput society with its robot people and their dead living space, he doesn't lay in wait for the work animals in factory and office who, for sheer stress [...], cannot smell the shit any more in which they are living, let alone the* Bürger *who find it all quite right and good, but for the agonized and humiliated who just want a few hours of peace, emptiness and distance from everything. When the movement is clamouring, raging, dancing, and fighting he is patiently waiting until the repression hits, angst sneaks in […] -- the h-demon is fostering this and lets you forget it at the same time, as soon as you have shot up […]. he embodies the dark side of the movement.*
> *– Article, presumably by members of Drogengruppe AJZ, 1981*[560]

Thinking about spaces of juvenile delinquency in the early 1980s forces us to explore further the connection between youth and squatters' movement, their spaces, and the spread of heroin consumption. In activists' recollections and historiographical accounts of the squatters' and *Autonomen* scene, the use of heroin plays only a marginal role. It is often described as a tragedy that claimed a number of victims at the fringes of politically active movements, or it does not appear at all.[561] And even though the recent ground-breaking essay

560 "der h-dämon ist der zerstörerische bruder der bewegung mit den gleichen eltern: dieser kaputen [sic] gesellschaft mit ihren robotermenschen und ihrem toten lebensraum, er lauert nicht den arbeitstieren in fabrik und büro auf, die aus lauter stress [...] die scheisse schon nicht mehr riechen, in der sie leben, schon gar nicht den bürgern, die das alles recht und gut finden, sondern den gequälten und erniedrigten, die einfach ein paar stunden ruhe, leere und distanz von allem wollen. wenn die bewegung tobt, wütet, tanzt und kämpft, wartet er geduldig, bis die repression zuschlägt, angst sich einschleicht [...] - der h-dämon fördert das und lässt es dich gleichzeitig wieder vergessen, sobald du den schuss gesetzt hast [...]. er verkörpert die schattenseiten der bewegung [...]." [Drogengruppe AJZ?], "[als das schlackeis im letzten winter...]," 1981, SozArch ZH, Ar 201.89.4 - Mappe 1: AG Drogen, Drogengruppe ZH, 1980-82, Drogengruppe AJZ & Drogengruppe ZH, theoretische Debatte/ Aufarbeitung 1981-84, bes. Tschönkie-Raum, 5.

561 Geronimo, *Feuer und Flamme*, 236, only blames the "coldness, loneliness and depressive mental conditions" that were present in "the concrete deserts of the satellite towns" for an "incredible drug consumption" without mentioning the role of drugs for the autonomous scene. See also A.G. Grauwacke, *Autonome in Bewegung*, 66; Schultze and Gross, *Die Autonomen*, 159; Andreas Suttner, "*Beton brennt". Hausbesetzer und Selbstverwaltung im Berlin, Wien und Zürich der 80er* (Wien: Lit-Verlag, 2011), 78ff. Drugs are not mentioned at all in Manrique, *Marginalisierung und Militanz*.

collection on *The Alternative Milieu* of the 1970s and early 1980s contains an article on the heroin scenes of London and West Berlin, these appear as entirely distinct from the emerging groups of young urban activists. The heroin users' connection to the "alternative milieu" therefore remains unclear.[562]

My own research shows and emphasizes that the different scenes were not as distinct as the existing literature suggests. Those who were politically active in the youth movement or the squatters' scene were confronted with the need to react to the phenomenon of heroin consumption in their own ranks and to try to find a way to deal with it. These internal problems were fueled by the worsening situation of drug users who were subjected to intensified policing and were driven into the spaces of the squatters' scene. Problems were exacerbated by a hegemonic discourse that constructed both squatting and drug use as aspects of youth deviance. Whereas in the case of the squatters' movement it was necessary to deconstruct seemingly homogeneous categories like "the squatters", a focus on "youth" and "youth movement" will allow us to see the commonalities between political activists and heroin consumers in the early 1980s.

In Zurich, activists actively engaged in the struggle to maintain and operate an autonomous youth centre, or *Autonomes Jugendzentrum* (AJZ), understood themselves primarily as a "youth movement". Their struggle for autonomous spaces was framed as an inter-generational conflict, in which Fordist city and society appeared as hostile and cold partly because they were the embodiment of *adult* norms and values, leaving no spaces for the free and individual development of young people. By framing the struggle for space in terms of a generational conflict, activists in Zurich accepted heroin users as a genuine part of an inclusive youth movement. The drug users therefore needed to be helped by this very movement.

562 Weinhauer, "Heroinszenen."

However, conflicts about the incremental domination of the AJZ by the heroin scene soon arose among the space's various users. Initial attempts to keep drug consumption out of the AJZ could not be enforced without reproducing hegemonic strategies of exclusion. These strategies,[563] which successively aimed at governing drug consumption through the dissolution of visible heroin scenes, also drove hundreds of drug addicts into the space of the AJZ. Activists were forced to react to these strategies and to adapt their own policies with regard to space and heroin use accordingly.

Revised concepts about the use and nature of the space of the AJZ eventually led activists to establish the first (illegal) safe injection site in 1981, the *Tschönkie-Room* (junkie room).[564] Usually not more than an anecdote in historiographies of the AJZ, a sign of its unstoppable demise due to the spread of heroin (the AJZ was eventually closed by the few remaining youth activists in March 1982 due to the omnipresence of the heroin scene),[565] the *Tschönkie-Room* will figure prominently in this chapter. By treating hegemonic strategies of spatialization, heroin use and the spaces of political youth activism as interconnected phenomena, as parts of an encompassing conflict about urban space and non-conforming youth, the *Tschönkie-Room* appears as an important link between social and spatial policies in the early 1980s. With the installation of the junkie room, youth activists were reacting to a hegemonic policy that was primarily directed at the governance of space: while heroin users were driven from public places, they were to be left in peace within an area of the AJZ. But for those activists who were running the *Tschönkie-Room* it was obvious that this was not enough, or else the hegemonic strategy to render heroin use invisible and create heterotopias of youth deviance would be

563 On the nature of these strategies see chapter 2.3.

564 The exact spelling of the *Tschönkie-Room* varied widely. Throughout this text I am sticking to the above version; quotations from sources might feature different versions such as "Tschönki-Room" or "Tschönkieraum".

565 Cf. Suttner, "*Beton brennt,*" 79-80.

successful. Information campaigns such as a "drug week" were intended to remind the public of the existence of juvenile heroin addiction and the negative effects of the repressive anti-drug legislation and policy, thereby insisting on the socio-political aspects of the problem. By combining concepts of spatial autonomy with political interventions, youth activists managed to put radical alternatives to hegemonic drug policies on the local political agenda to an extent that was clearly exceptional.

The experiment of the *Tschönkie-Room* also shows the capacity of certain "different" spaces to bring about change and to become one of those "mobile and transitory points of resistance, producing cleavages in a society that shift about".[566] Initially the goals of youth activists' drug policy had been largely in compliance with hegemonic conceptions. No heroin was to be traded or consumed in the AJZ and addicts should be enabled to live a drug-free life. But experiences in the AJZ helped to develop new principles based on acceptance and harm reduction. Although the AJZ was shut down only a few weeks after the junkie room had been established, these ideas would re-emerge with the official introduction of safe injection sites several years later. Heterotopic spaces thus also appear as sites that allowed for the transgression of discursive boundaries. Within a heterotopia it was sometimes possible to think and do things that were inconceivable in all other spaces.[567]

566 Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, 96.

567 This does not mean that heterotopic places are always sites from which the new and social change are emerging, as has been argued by Kevin Hetherington, *The Badlands of Modernity: Heterotopia and Social Ordering* (London: Routledge, 1997).

4.1. Rebellious spaces for heroin use(rs)? The case of the AJZ in Zurich

Our youth movement and drugs are closely connected.
– Flyer, Zurich, 1980[568]

What contemporaries quickly came to understand as a "youth movement" or "youth revolt" had also flared up in Zurich in 1980. Protesting insufficient funding for youth culture and demanding an autonomous youth centre, or *Autonomes Jugendzentrum* (AJZ), the Zurich youth mounted the barricades. Violent clashes with police in May 1980 eventually led to the opening of the AJZ in a house behind the central train station on 28 June 1980.[569] Only two months later, on 4 September, the authorities shut down the AJZ after illegalized drugs (mainly cannabis) were seized during a police raid. The following months were characterized by fierce street battles, huge demonstrations with up to 10,000 participants, temporary squattings, immediate evictions, and attempts to storm the building in order to enforce a reopening of the AJZ. Eventually, on 4 April 1981, the AJZ opened its doors again. Officially run by youth welfare and church organizations, the AJZ was actually managed by the youth themselves who discussed and decided on all relevant issues in the general assembly of all AJZ users.

Since the beginning, heroin users were a visible element in the life of the AJZ. But not just politically conscious heroin users (or: heroin consuming political activists) frequented the AJZ. Especially after its reopening in April 1981, the AJZ was flooded with heroin users who were trying to escape repressive measures with which municipal authorities were trying to dissolve visible heroin scenes in the city of Zurich.[570] Overrun by large numbers of heroin addicts, and suffering from constant lack of funding, the youth themselves closed the doors of

568 "unsere jugendbewegung und drogen sind eng verbunden." Arbeitsgruppe Drogen [Drogengruppe AJZ], "Gras statt Gas," July 1980, SozArch ZH, Ar 201.89.7 - Mappe 3, 1.

569 The chronology according to Manfred Züfle and Jürgmeier, *Paranoia City oder Zürich ist überall* (Reinbek: Rowohlt, 1982), 10-15.

570 Cf. section 2.3.

the AJZ on 12 October 1981 in order to win some time to come up with a solution for the drug problem within the youth centre.

When the AJZ opened its doors again on Christmas Eve 1981, a room designated for the consumption of heroin—the *Tschönkie-Room*—was established in order to improve the living situation of the drug users, to encourage their attempts at self-help and to keep the rest of the AJZ free of heroin. Yet the problems were too large and numerous for the youth activists to handle alone. As more and more heroin users gathered in the AJZ, political and cultural activists increasingly stayed away. The end came in February 1982, when a fire devastated parts of the AJZ. With parts of the building in ruins, and with no financial support available from the city (not to mention the omnipresent heroin scene and a lack of activists willing to invest their time and energy into the AJZ), the whole project of an autonomous youth centre had become questionable. On 17 March 1982, the youth welfare institutions that were officially running the AJZ cancelled their agreement with the city and handed back the keys to the house in Limmatstraße 18/20. On the very same day, the city council evicted occupants from the AJZ. 118 people were arrested as a result of this process.[571] One week later, on 23 March 1982, construction workers tore down the former AJZ—by then a highly symbolic site of youth deviance as well as youth revolt.

Drug consumption was a constant topic of debate within the Zurich youth movement, beginning with the opening of the AJZ in June 1980. In this chapter I will show how youth activists' assessment of the drug problem differed from hegemonic conceptions and how it influenced their basic assumptions regarding heroin users. With the opening of the AJZ, these theoretical assumptions needed to be translated into spatial practices to organize the contested

571 Suttner, "*Beton brennt,*" 80.

space of the AJZ. Two groups were active in developing these new concepts: the *Drogengruppe (drug group) AJZ*, mainly consisting of youth activists, including (former) heroin users, and the *Drogengruppe Zürich*, founded by professionals (mainly doctors and social workers) to support the young activists in their efforts. Their example shows how experiences within the spaces of non-conforming youth led to a shift in alternative interpretations of the drug problem and how activists sought to develop new ways to deal with this problem on a micro level.

4.1.1. Alternative views on drug consumption

Hegemonic perceptions of drug consumption focussed on adolescent consumers of illegalized drugs and blamed this consumption on a general permissiveness as well as the moral decay and sexualization of society, the decline of institutions such as the church and nuclear families, but also on "sterile high-rise settlements in satellite towns" as symbols of modern urban society.[572]

During the two years in which the AJZ existed as a project (as a concrete utopia, political promise, existing space, or reference point for past experiences), youth and adult sympathizers developed cornerstones of an alternative analysis to the problems of drug consumption and addiction that differed significantly from hegemonic conceptions.[573] This analysis was based on a growing corpus of alternative interpretations of drug consumption that had developed since the early 1970s.[574]

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572 Kreuzer, *Jugend, Rauschdrogen, Kriminalität*, 25f. Cf. section 2.1.2.

573 These conceptions were developed mainly within the context of the *Drogengruppe AJZ* and the *Drogengruppe Zürich* which will be described in more detail in the following section "Developing an alternative drug policy: Drogengruppe AJZ and Drogengruppe Zürich".

574 See for instance Konkret Buchverlag, "Arbeitspapiere zum Anti-Drogen-Kongress. Hamburg, 18./19. März 1972," 1972, HIS, Release Hamburg. Texte 1970-76; "Welle der harten Drogen," *Konkret*, no. 14 (1970): 21-25; "Trip in den Tod," *Konkret*, no. 17 (1970): 55-56; "Mit Heroin auf Horrortrip," *Konkret*, no. 18 (1970): 42-46; Eduard Parow et al., *Über die Schwierigkeit, erwachsen zu werden. Rauschmittel und Adoleszenzkrise. Eine empirische Untersuchung auf der Grundlage einer dialektischen Interaktionstheorie* (Frankfurt/Main: Syndikat, 1976); *Heroin. Die süchtige Gesellschaft* (Fellbach: lucy körner, 1980); Michaela Huber and Bernd-Olaf Hagedorn, "'Ein Junkie ist

This interpretation agreed with hegemonic conceptions in so far as it viewed drug use as a genuinely modern phenomenon, only that modernity was characterized not by permissiveness and moral decline but by the presumed destructive effects of a capitalist, consumerist regime. Non-conforming youth appeared as "victims of urban planning"[575], the concrete of the modern city as the main reason for young people's suffering and rebellious behaviour. At the beginning of the film *Züri brännt*, the most famous media product of the Zurich youth movement, the city is presented as the cause of, and the main target for, the youth revolt of 1980. Against the background of monochrome shots of high-rises and traffic axes a sonorous voice explained:

> It took long until Zurich was burning and when it finally caught fire, the fire did not find any nourishment. For the concrete sounds hollow and will not burn. A supersecurityprisonblock is not a funeral pyre, but modern. Modern, square, grey and in working order are also the playgrounds, animated by plasticized Hollywood monsters; actually everything is in order which is smooth, bleak and clean. […] Devout monotony of clerks' steps in the deserted corridors of the filing authorities, huge planed spaces in front of the shopping malls, as empty and content as the heads of the fathers on Sundays.[576]

Lack of promising perspectives and the inability of consumer society to fulfil people's "true" needs were identified as reasons for the consumption of drugs; drug addiction was therefore understood as an "expression of great sensitivity in view of the increasing loss of

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ein verhinderter Spießbürger'," *Psychologie heute*, November 1981: 31-41; and especially the publications by the *Release* self-help group, for instance Release, "*Der Release-Trip*," [1973?], HIS, Release Hamburg. Texte 1970-76; Release, "*Release*," 1976, ArSozBew HH, 11.100, Drogenpolitische Initiativen; and Stephens, *Germans on Drugs*, 184-218 (chapter "Release Yourself!").

575 Regula Howald et al., *Die Angst der Mächtigen vor der Autonomie. Aufgezeigt am Beispiel Zürich* (Horgen: Gegenverlag, 1981), especially chapter "Städte waren einst zum Wohnen gedacht", 154-159.

576 "Es dauerte lange, bis Zürich brannte, und als es endlich Feuer gefangen hatte, fand dieses keine Nahrung. Denn der Beton tönt hohl und will nicht brennen. Ein Supersicherheitsklotzgefängnis ist kein Scheiterhaufen, aber modern. Modern, viereckig, grau und in Ordnung sind auch die von plastifizierten Hollywoodmonstern belebten Kinderspielplätze, in Ordnung ist überhaupt alles, was glatt, kahl und sauber ist. [...] Andächtige Monotonie von Beamtenschritten in den öden Gängen der Registraturbehörden, riesige planierte Flächen vor den Einkaufszentren, so leer und wunschlos wie die Köpfe der Familienväter am Sonntag." *Züri brännt*, CH, 1981/2005, directed by Videoladen Zürich; text quoted from Videoladen Zürich, "Züri brännt [Booklet]," 1980, SozArch ZH, QS 36.3 C1980.

personal relationships and anonymity of modern concrete cities".[577] This sensitivity might be found primarily in young people, the argument went, but the destructiveness of modern capitalism hit everybody. Different people just used different forms of intoxication to flee from reality. Young people's consumption of illegalized drugs was to be seen in the larger context of alcoholism or shopping "trips", drugs in a wider sense that kept people working and the use of which was therefore legal and even encouraged by the system.[578] Alternative evaluations of drug consumption had to shift their attention from substances like heroin and needed to ask "what else can become a drug in the sense of repression".[579] Only by understanding addiction as a behavioural pattern rather than as the effect of substances, could the harm caused, for instance, by religious practices and excessive work come into focus as well. "For who would burden our *Bürger* with the torments of withdrawal due to a Saturday night without television?", a heroin user from Zurich would later summarize this view sarcastically.[580]

This discourse on drug consumption and other forms of addictive behaviour allowed for the treatment of juvenile drug use as an issue related to adult responses to the demands and destructiveness of modern society. Yet it also assumed a subtle difference between adolescent and adult behaviour that allowed for a moral superiority amongst young "junkies" over their adult, well-adjusted fellow citizens. For while adults were resorting to substances and practices that were perceived as mind-numbing and central to the stability of the system, juvenile drug consumption was portrayed as much more ambiguous, stressing a person's underlying

577 "Ausdruck grosser Empfindsamkeit gegenüber der zunehmenden Beziehungslosigkeit und Anonymität moderner Betonstädte." Howald et al., *Die Angst der Mächtigen vor der Autonomie*, 176.

578 [Drogengruppe AJZ?], "[als das schlackeis im letzten winter...]," 1.

579 "was sonst alles zur droge im sinn von verdrängung werden kann (religion, arbeit etc)." Arbeitsgruppe Drogen [Drogengruppe AJZ], "Gras statt Gas," 1.

580 "Wer würde denn schon unseren Bürgern die Entzugsqualen eines fernsehfreien Samstagabends zumuten?" "Aus 'Gassenzytig' Zürich," *Nerv*, no. 1 (March 1984): 14.

sensitivity and drug usage as an act of resistance against the corrupting forces of the urban regime. In a flyer from 1980 it said under the headline "grass, not gas" (contrasting the use of Marijuana by the youth movement with the use of tear gas by the Zurich police):

> we are taking dope in order to get to know each other better, to dig out and expand our sensibility, tenderness, fantasy that has been embedded in concrete by the system (*shit*, *acid*), or because we are dropping out completely from the ice pack, to sense euphoric feelings of happiness, warmth and tranquillity (heroin).[581]

Framing juvenile drug use as a form of dropping out of the hostile environment of the Fordist city and society ("embedded in concrete by the system") furthered a conception of a "basic connexion between the drug problem and the Zurich unrests", as both were "signs of a fundamentally sick society".[582] The feeling that society had nothing to offer sensitive, non-conforming youth connected political activists and drug users while separating them from the adult world: "The future horizon of such [deviant, JHF] youth is dramatically different from that of their parents", an analysis from the context of the AJZ remarked in 1982. "Work, profession, career etc. have a negative or at least coercive-necessary meaning", thus offering no more incentive to adopt hegemonic norms and forms of behaviour.[583]

To activists, it remained an unanswered question as to why some youth reacted to the demands of Fordist society with conformity while others dropped out of it. Neither could they explain to their satisfaction why some youth were dropping out without drugs (the growing number of new religions, somewhat misleadingly termed "youth sects", was often mentioned

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581 "bei uns ist die sache widersprüchlicher, wir nehmen dope, um uns besser kennenzulernen, unsere vom system verbetonierte sensibilität, zärtlichkeit, phantasie auszugraben und zu erweitern (shit, acid) oder weil wir völlig aussteigen aus'm packeis um euphorische glücksgefühle von wärme und gelassenheit zu empfinden (heroin)." Arbeitsgruppe Drogen [Drogengruppe AJZ], "Gras statt Gas," 1.

582 "Hier wird auch der grundsätzliche Zusammenhang zwischen dem Drogenproblem und den Zürcher Unruhen sichtbar. Beides sind vordergründige Zeichen einer grundsätzlich kranken, von den Herrschenden mehr und mehr zerstörten Gesellschaft." Howald et al., *Die Angst der Mächtigen vor der Autonomie*, 177.

583 "Die Arbeit, der beruf [sic], die Karriere etc. haben eine negative und wenn schon höchstens zwingend-notwendige Bedeutung, der Sinn des beruflichen Lebensaufbaus scheint nicht mehr vorhanden und bietet in diesem Sinne auch keine Attraktionen zum 'Wohlverhalten' mehr." B. R. (Drogengruppe Zürich), "Ansätze zu einer kritischen Analyse des Zuercher Drogenproblems," 7.

in this context), while others chose to use drugs as a means to do so.[584] But the commonalities between drug users and activists were highlighted again and again by identifying greater socio-economic developments as the causes for juvenile drug consumption as well as relating them to other attempts by youth to drop out or, at least, escape for a moment from the dim reality of the "concrete" and "ice pack" society. Under the headline "golden shot at imperialism" a young AJZ activist wrote:

> We should be emphasizing as well that shooting up is an—albeit harmful—form of defence against the psychological strain [*Leidensdruck*] that we are all feeling. In addition, we all do have our small and big addictions. We cannot repeat these arguments often enough in order to take action against the stigmatization of fixers, against their exclusion.[585]

Both hegemonic and alternative interpretations of juvenile drug consumption were based on a deep resentment against Fordist urban society, visualized in the high-rise settlements of satellite towns around modern cities. But to youth activists drug use appeared as a direct reaction to the urban and social order, not as the effect of a simultaneous moral decay that could be stopped by a return to traditional norms and institutions. To them, these institutions had lost their objective capacity to provide a meaningful life for future generations. Identifying

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584 Ibid., 6. On "youth sects" see, for instance, Fuchs, *Jugendsekten*. By taking "youth sects" into account it becomes possible to describe a new topography of youth movements in the wider sense, including such diverse spaces as European pedestrian zones and the Indian city of Poona, headquarter of the Baghwan sect.

585 "ebenso betonen sollten wir, dass das fixen eine-wenn auch ungute- form von abwehr gegen den leidensdruck ist,den wir alle verspüren. des weitern [sic] haben wir alle unsere kleinen und grossen süchte. wir können diese argumente nicht oft genug wiederholen,um gegen die stigmatisierung der fixer, deren ausschließung vorzugehen." little bird [Drogengruppe AJZ?], "zum jahreskongress der internationalen sektionen des geheimbundes 'goldener schuss auf den imperialismus'," [1982?], SozArch ZH, Ar 201.89.4 - Mappe 1: AG Drogen, Drogengruppe ZH, 1980-82, Drogengruppe AJZ & Drogengruppe ZH, theoretische Debatte/Aufarbeitung, bes. Tschönkie-Raum, 1981-84, 4. "Golden shot" (*Goldener Schuss*) was the colloquial term for a lethal overdose by injection. That such repeated interventions were necessary had shown the example of Italy where *Autonome* had been reportedly boasting about their beating up of heroin users: "If these self-declared Mr. Cleans would honestly admit their OWN little and big addictions, dependencies and weaknesses, they might yet understand the junkies in the end and even discover similarities with them." "würden diese saubermänner ehrlicher zu ihren EIGENEN kleinen und großen süchten, abhängigkeiten und schwächen stehen, würden sie die tschönkis gar am änd [sic] begreifen und sogar gemeinsamkeiten mit ihnen entdecken!" [Drogengruppe AJZ?], "[als das schlackeis im letzten winter...]," 4.

with a profession and wage-labour had especially lost their attractiveness. In *Züri brännt* activists had clearly expressed their rejection of the Fordist model:

> We have experienced first-hand how the great illusion of welfare society has been built around us. We lived in the green cities of social housing projects, in the idyllic world of the newly populated outlying districts. Diligent and assiduous like ants, short-sighted and tenacious like mules, our parents were scrambling around the career-ladder. Hardly any of them made it to the top, but most of them made it to what they are today: a giant middle-class of narrow-minded, boring, subaltern fifty-year-olds, the unswerving helpers of Big Brother with beer-belly, clotted fantasies and walls around their brains and hearts, several meters thick.[586]

If this was the most one could expect from a successful, normal career, it was better not to play the game in the first place.[587]

The idea that fixers and activists were part of an encompassing youth movement seeking ways out of adult society was therefore plausible, even if repeatedly emphasizing the commonalities between drug users and drug-free activists[588] shows that this framing was a constant topic of debate.[589] From basic notions about the social roots of drug use, activists derived that junkies were neither sick nor criminals and that not the drugs themselves but state

586 "Hautnah haben wir miterlebt, wie um uns herum die grosse Illusion der Wohlstandsgesellschaft aufgebaut wurde. Wir lebten in den grünen Städten des sozialen Wohnungsbaus, in der heilen Welt der neu besiedelten Aussenquartiere. Unsere Eltern krabbelten emsig und tüchtig wie die Ameisen, kurzsichtig und stur wie die Maulwürfe an der Erfolgsleiter herum. Die wenigsten schafften es bis ganz oben, aber die meisten schafften es zu dem, was sie heute sind: eine riesige Mittelschicht kleinkarierter, langweiliger, subalterner Fünfzigjähriger, die unerschütterlichen Helfer des Großen Bruders mit Bierbauch, verklebter Fantasie und meterdicken Mauern um Hirn und Herz." *Züri brännt*, Switzerland, 1981/2005, directed by Videoladen Zürich; text quoted from Videoladen Zürich, "Züri brännt [Booklet]".

587 This also calls into question assumptions about a direct connection between rising numbers of unemployed youth and drug use. In Switzerland the official unemployment rate never exceeded one percent. Daniel Lampart and Daniel Kopp, *Der "liberale" Arbeitsmarkt der Schweiz - Entzauberung eines Mythos*, edited by Schweizerischer Gewerkschaftsbund. Dossier no. 92 (Bern, 2012), 10. In West Germany youth unemployment in 1979 was twice as high as among those between the age of fourty and fourty-five but still at only 4.5%. Hans-Christian Harten, "Zum Stand der Jugendarbeitslosigkeit in der Bundesrepublik," *Gewerkschaftliche Monatshefte* 31, no. 6 (1980): 382-391. Nevertheless, the economic crisis might have added to a general pessimistic view on the future among many youth. The history of emotions of the "youth revolt" of the early 1980s still needs to be written. Cf. Greil Marcus, *Lipstick Traces. A Secret History of the Twentieth Century*, 2nd ed. (London: Faber & Faber, 2001), 10. On contemporary studies regarding pessimistic expectations of youth see Arthur Fischer, "Jugend heute: Ergebnisse einer Untersuchung. Jugendzentrismus, Zukunftserwartungen, Parteiorientierungen," in *Jugend, Jugendprobleme, Jugendprotest*, edited by Hans-Georg Wehling (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1982), 60-65 and the results of the "Shell study": Fischer, *Jugend '81*.

and drug legislation were the cause of the young fixers' misery. A flyer, directed at the heroin addicts who were frequenting the AJZ, concluded:

> These insights do not fix the problem of our addiction nor do they help to reduce the everyday stress that every fixer has to deal with. But they do show us what a dirty game the authorities are playing with us and that we have to offer resistance. They do also show us a perspective for the future: to quit—yes! To quit and conform—no! All therapies that are being offered have only one goal: to get us off of heroin and to integrate us into this society, i.e. to conform. Yet he who conforms to this sick society is sick himself! Let us therefore strike back against the therapies, that is brain wash programs![590]

Yet what seemed so clear on the level of theory had to be implemented into political and, in the case of the AJZ, spatial practices. The emphasis on the generational aspect of the unrest of 1980 helped to establish the AJZ as a place for *all* non-conforming youth. And sure enough, once the AJZ opened it was frequented by heroin-addicted youth who quickly became a visible element of its clientèle. Many of them understood themselves as part of the youth movement and had participated in the struggle for the AJZ. One of them, Silvia Z., had even publicly burnt herself to death after the closing of the AJZ "so that everyone can see how screwed over people can be in this society".[591] The conception of a unified youth movement that also

588 The term "drug-free activists" as opposed to drug-consuming youth is used here only as a concession to readability. "Drug-free" has to be understood only in the sense that these youth did not consider themselves a part of the heroin scene, regardless of their actual consumption of (illegalized) drugs such as alcohol, cannabis or opiates.

589 It is important to remember that terms like "youth revolt" or "youth movement" are contemporary attributions. As the term "generation" they are not analytical categories but contemporary ways to make sense of current events. Michael Haller and Vera Isler estimated for Zurich that of the c. 90,000 adolescents between 14 and 24 years only 5,000, or roughly 5%, were participating in any way in the events of 1980/81; 3,000 (3%) were describing themselves as members of the youth movement (*Bewegler*); and only up to 1,500 youth (less than 2%) were actively participating in the long run, that is after the AJZ had been established. Haller and Isler, *Die Kunst der Verweigerung*, 188.

590 "diese erkenntnisse lösen zwar weder unser suchtproblem,noch helfen sie, den alltagsstress zu mildern,in dem jeder fixer steckt.doch sie zeigen uns,was für ein dreckspiel die behörden mit uns machen und dass wir widerstand leisten müssen. sie zeigen uns auch die zukunftsperspektiven: aufhören-ja! aufhören und anpassen-nein! sämtliche therapieplatzangebote haben nur ein ziel:uns vom heroin wegzubringen und uns in diese gesellschaft zu integrieren, d.h. anzupassen.doch wer sich an diese kranke gesellschaft anpasst,ist selber krank!wehren wir uns deshalb gemeinsam gegen die therapien, sprich gehirnwaschprogramme!" "AJZ Zürich und der Heroin-Dämon." [1982?], ArSozBew B, Soziale Kämpfe. Drogen. 1981-83, 5.

591 "Ich zünd mich an, mit Benzin – auf dem Bellevue, damit alle sehen, wie beschissen es einem Menschen in dieser Gesellschaft gehen kann." Silvia Z. in a text written shortly before her suicide, quoted in Züfle and

included heroin users was thus not simply based on ideological deliberations but also on concrete experiences during the struggle for the AJZ.

But even if one accepted heroin users as a part of the youth movement, it seemed clear that addicts were in need of help, if only to organize themselves against welfare institutions or fraudulent drug dealers. The existence of heroin users and dealers in the AJZ also posed a problem insofar as dealers (a category that included almost every heroin addict[592]) actively persuaded other youth to try heroin in order to gain new customers. If drug-free and drug-consuming youth were to share the use of the AJZ, there had to be ways developed to organize its space accordingly.

4.1.2. The AJZ as a contested space

> *If anything, it is about the rights and spaces (in the widest sense of this term) of Autonömlern, kaput Autonömlern, kaput junkies and autonomous junkies and their autonomous (not always peaceful) coexistence in an autonomous AJZ.*
> *– Drogengruppe AJZ, 1981*[593]

Only after the opening of the AJZ did drug-using and drug-free youth come into direct conflict with one another. While for adult contemporaries the AJZ was a space of a seemingly homogeneous youth movement or simply the most deviant parts of a youth gone wild, for the young users of the AJZ several distinctions within this space of deviance became apparent. Hundreds of heroin addicts, dispersed and hunted by the police from public places,[594] retreated to the AJZ in search of a temporary safe haven. Here, they were met by activists who

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Jürgmeier, *Paranoia City*, 152-153.

592 Cf. footnote 654.

593 "am ehesten geht es wohl um Rechte und Räume (im weitesten Sinne dieses Wortes) von Autonömlern, kaputten Autonömlern, kaputten Junkies und autonomen Junkies bei ihrer autonomen (nicht nur friedlichen) Koexistenz in einem autonomen AJZ." B. R. the lady (Drogengruppe AJZ), "Ideologisches," 19.11.1981, SozArch ZH, Ar 201.89.4 - Mappe 1: AG Drogen, Drogengruppe ZH, 1980-82, Drogengruppe AJZ & Drogengruppe ZH, theoretische Debatte/Aufarbeitung, bes. Tschönkie-Raum, 1981-84, 1f.

594 Cf. section 2.3.

understood the AJZ as a free space for all victims of modern society but who were successively overwhelmed by the immense social problems they had to deal with. The coexistence of drug scene and (autonomous) youth movement at the same site showed the contested nature of this space. Far from being a homogeneous counter-site—of deviation or liberation—the struggle between the different groups that were using this space shows the power relations that were structuring the heterotopia itself and not just its relation to city and society.

When the AJZ opened for the first time on 28 June 1980, the Zurich police shut down the "Hot Spot", a bar and popular meeting place of the local heroin scene, on the very same day.[595] It remains unclear whether this was just coincidence or part of a larger strategy to drive the heroin scene into the AJZ, as was suspected by youth activists. Yet the fact that the simultaneity of events was attentively observed by the activists of the youth movement shows how activists were connecting developments within the AJZ with larger (urban) policies. This was encouraged by the course of action that city officials and police took in the following weeks, especially when the AJZ was shut down again by the city on September 4 after 230 grams of marijuana were confiscated during a police raid.[596] Drug and youth policy were obviously interrelated and directly affected the spaces of non-conforming youth.

Until the AJZ could reopen its doors in April 1981, pressure on the local heroin scene intensified further. After protests by local businessmen, the Hirschenplatz, the most popular meeting place of Zurich's heroin scene in 1981, was occupied by drug squads and the scene was driven towards a parking lot in front of the AJZ. Here, a small bus stop provided a minimum of shelter and served as the preferred site for shooting up (fig. 4.1).[597]

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595 Arbeitsgruppe Drogen [Drogengruppe AJZ], "Gras statt Gas," 2.

596 Suttner, "*Beton brennt,"* 45.

597 Drogengruppe AJZ & Drogengruppe ZH, "Heutige Situation im AJZ,-- was sich seit dem vorliegenden Bericht (d.h. sei[t] August) verändert hat," [1981 or 1982], SozArch ZH, Ar 201.89.4 - Mappe 1: AG Drogen,

Fig. 4.1: In May 1981 activists tore open parts of the parking lot in front of the AJZ and planted bushes and trees. Visible in the background is the bus stop that the city would have demolished in October 1981. Zurich, May 1981. – Source: *"Allein machen sie dich ein". Die Zürcher Häuserbewegung 1979-94*, vol. 2 "Nieder mit den Alpen, freie Sicht aufs Mittelmeer (Juni 1980-März 1986)," CH, 2010, directed by Mischa Brutschin, 24:32. Original photograph and copyright by Gertrud Vogler, Zurich.

At the same time heroin consumption—meaning, in fact, heroin users—was forced out of the AJZ by youth activists. The original concept (during the AJZ's initial opening in 1980) had been to prohibit dealing and consumption of heroin in the AJZ in order to prevent other visitors from being exposed to hard drugs. Addicts who had moved into a room in the residence [*Wohnhaus*] of the youth centre "to buy the h[eroin] there in peace and to shoot up" were thrown out of the building.[598] The plenary meeting of the AJZ (the highest decision-making authority, theoretically consisting of all users of the youth centre) had decided on 26 May 1981, to install an organization for the maintenance of order. One of the main tasks of this "*ajz-schmier*" (AJZ police), as it was sometimes called pejoratively,[599] was to try to keep the

Drogengruppe ZH, 1980-82, Drogengruppe AJZ & Drogengruppe ZH, theoretische Debatte/Aufarbeitung, bes. Tschönkie-Raum, 1981-84, 1f.

598 [Drogengruppe AJZ?], "[als das schlackeis im letzten winter...]," 3.

599 Ibid., 4.

AJZ free of hard drugs.[600] This was a sharp break from activists' previous policies. Heroin users had fought together with other activists to win the AJZ for the whole youth movement. The recourse on a kind of police force to keep the heroin scene at bay shows the perplexity of activists in view of a conflict they had not foreseen. Even though the active *use* of heroin was being excluded from the AJZ and not heroin *users* as persons, the ideal of a self-regulating space for *all* non-conforming youth had become problematic. Clearly, by excluding and expelling heroin users, the activists who were running the AJZ were in danger of reproducing hegemonic strategies to manage heroin consumption.

Besides the moral question of whether or not an activist should act as a kind of police, the results of this dubious strategy were also questionable. Hopes "that the junkies would continue their efforts to organize themselves at some place other than the AJZ" quickly proved illusionary.[601] An activist recalled the situation a little later:

> in the meantime it showed that these attempts at collective self help did take place not because they had a new *power* thanks to the movement but only because of the convenient infrastructure in the ajz. they built their nest in today's women's rooms, in the present drug room, were thrown out from there, dispersed into the *sleep-in*, scrambled into the room above the action hall that was therefore bricked up as well and landed partly in the tent on the parking lot that has recently been torn down after ajz-activists had found 35g h there and scattered them on the parking lot.[602]

The frustration of this activist seemingly influenced his or her view of the heroin scene. Metaphors like "nesting" (*einnisten*) or "scrambling" (*krabbeln*) semantically reduced individual addicts to a mass of insects. The struggle against hard drugs had turned into a struggle against the heroin scene. This struggle was also fought through, and had effects on, space itself, as

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600 Suttner, "*Beton brennt,*" 79.

601 [Drogengruppe AJZ?], "[als das schlackeis im letzten winter...]," 3.

602 "mittlerweile zeigte sich, dass diese ansätze von kollektiver selbsthilfe nicht deshalb liefen, weil sie einen neuen power dank der bewegung drauf haben, sondern lediglich wegen der bequemen infrastruktur im ajz. sie nisteten sich in den heutigen frauenräumen ein, dem jetzigen drogenraum, wurden dort rausgeworfen, verzogen sich ins sleep-in, krabbelten in den raum oberhalb der aktionshalle, der deshalb ebenfalls zugemauert wurde und landeten zum teil im zelt auf dem parkplatz, das kürzlich abgerissen wurde, als dort 35g h von ajz-aktivisten gefunden und auf dem parkplatz verstreut wurden." Ibid., 3.

doors were bricked up and parts of the building sealed off. The struggle against the heroin scene resembled a battle against a plague of vermin—a "conceptual metaphor"[603] that might have been supported by concerted action to exterminate bacteria and vermin in the infested AJZ in October 1981 [*Entrümpelungs- und Entgiftungsaktion*].[604]

The heroin users were caught between a rock and a hard place. The police were shutting down scenes at public places like the Hirschenplatz, while youth activists were trying to keep them out of the AJZ. The parking lot in front of the youth centre thus became quite a peculiar site. Geographically situated between the deviant space of the AJZ and the proper rest of the city, it was really a *space in-between spaces*. Symbolically it could be seen to belong either to the heterotopia of the AJZ and therefore a space of deviant youth or as connected to the inhumanity of Fordist city space that was embodied in the paved parking lot as symbol of a city designed with cars in mind instead of the needs of young people. In this sense the parking lot was the most fragile and marginal of spaces, populated by those who had dropped so far out from society that not even the heterotopias of deviance were open to them.

During summer and fall 1981 the police intensified their presence in front of the AJZ. Youth activists noticed with unease that the police were carrying out raids at the bus stop preferably when only a handful of addicts were present:

> The message is clear: it is not about arrests, it is about moving the problem out of the public (and the glass bus stop was public), about driving the people back into the AJZ. [It is about] ensuring through such a visible presence outside that everyone is staying inside.[605]

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603 George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980).

604 "Chronologie - Zürich," in *Wir wollen alles, und zwar subito! Die Achtziger Jugendunruhen in der Schweiz und ihre Folgen*, edited by Heinz Nigg (Zürich: Limmat, 2001), 432ff.

605 "Klare message: es geht nicht um's verhaften, es geht darum, das Problem aus der Oeffentlichkeit (und das Glas-Bushaus war Oeffentlichkeit) schaffen [sic], die Leute ins AJZ zurücktreiben. Mit sehr sichtbarer Präsenz ausserhalb dafür sorgen, dass ja alle drinbleiben." Drogengruppe AJZ & Drogengruppe ZH, "Heutige Situation im AJZ," 2.

The activists suspected a "tactic of encirclement, ghettoization" by the police and a strategy to destroy the AJZ and the whole youth movement by flooding their spaces with hard drugs and by consequently destroying and criminalising the members of the movement individually.[606]

When the bus stop was eventually torn down by the city,[607] it was the final factor that pushed the heroin scene into the AJZ.[608] The whole space of the youth centre was now dominated by heroin addicts of all ages, joined by alcoholics and the homeless, while youth activists retreated more and more from what had become a rather nightmarish environment. One of these activists described the situation in fall 1981 as follows:

> The AJZ is stuffed with the whole junkie scene […]. There are also people shooting up everywhere. When you're entering the garret of the residential part, you are encountering 15 people, everyone with a spoon in front of him, lately also two extreme young ones who were holding out their arms and let others do the shooting up for them because apparently they were not yet able to do it themselves—horror visions. You're throwing out everyone […], as soon as they're gone and you want to leave yourself, the next group arrives—you recognize two from a former *Fight* on the streets last year, they won't go, no, aggressively: you can kiss my ass, this is autonomous, we do what we want, still better here than in public on the lot downstairs, you just get lost yourself. People who are intervening against the deal are being threatened more frequently, up to smashed-in teeth and knives being shown.[609]

What had been formulated by youth activists from the beginning—that the AJZ was

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606 Ibid. Cf. also section 5.1.3.

607 During a police raid of the AJZ (the eighth since its reopening in February) on 1 October 1981. "Razzia im AJZ und Räumung des Carparkplatzes," *Tages-Anzeiger*, 02.10.1981: 19.

608 Drogengruppe AJZ & Drogengruppe ZH, "Heutige Situation im AJZ," 2.

609 "Das AJZ ist vollgestopft mit der ganzen Junkie-Scene, [...] dauernd kurven Vermittler rum und quatschen jeden an, ob er/sie etwas kaufen wolle-- ob der potentielle Kunde ein 14jähriges Windenmädchen oder ein 35jähriger geschalter Typ sei, ist egal. Auch gefixt wird überall. Kommst du ins Dachzimmer des Wohnhauses, so triffst du 15 Leute an, jeder mit dem Löffel vor sich, letzthin auch zwei total junge dabei. die die Arme vorstreckten und sich den Schuss von anderen machen liessen, da sie ihn offensichtlich noch nicht selbst machen konnten -- Horrorvisionen. Wirfst alle Leute raus, in Panik, ihr H. zu verlieren, diskutieren sie gar nicht, hauen ab zum nächsten place, kaum sind sie weg und du willst selbst gehen, kommt die nächste Gruppe -- du erkennst zwei aus ehemaligem Fight auf der Strass letztes Jahr, sie gehen nicht, nein, aggressiv: du kannst mir, dies ist autonom, wir machen, was wir wollen, immer noch besser hier, als öffentlich auf dem Platz unten, hau nur du ab. Leute, die gegen den Deal vorgehen, kriegen nun öfters Drohungen bis zu eingeschlagenen Zähnen und vorgezeigten Messern." Ibid., 1.

open to *all* non-conforming youth—was now being demanded by young members of the heroin scene. They were claiming access to a space that they felt was rightfully theirs as well. Yet the activists who were running the AJZ were not able to handle this situation any longer. The presence of the drug scene threatened the whole project of an autonomous youth centre in Zurich. The AJZ was simply not big enough to accommodate everyone. Many rooms could not be used as they still had to be renovated by the self-organized *Baugruppe* and the occupation of several rooms by the drug scene caused an acute space shortage. Other work groups were therefore unable to take up their tasks or could only do so in a very restricted way.[610]

"I know, you're right", an activist summarized a typical reply of heroin users, "but where should we go? Do you want to deliver us to the cops? Here I am being cheated the least, the dope is the best [and the] cheapest. It is nicer to hang out here and wait for the dealer than on the fucked up Hirschenplatz, in sight of the cops."[611] This was an understandable reaction from a heroin user's perspective and one that also highlights the relatedness of a seemingly disconnected heterotopia to its surrounding environs. All attempts to reassign the scene to a single room eventually failed due to the sheer mass of heroin users and their unwillingness to cooperate. Activists had not foreseen such conflicts among youth and were therefore left without concepts to resolve them. The few remaining activists became more and more paralyzed. When on top of this development the *Baugruppe* had to stop its work due to a lack of funding, it was the final blow. On 12 October 1981, the youth activists who were running the

610 Suttner, "*Beton brennt,*" 78 (footnote 523). The AJZ was run by several work groups whose duties were coordinated by the plenary meeting. Their work covered a wide range of topics such as culture, women, first-aid, cinema, the prison system, bar, kitchen, sleep-in, printing press, drugs, and gardening.

611 "ich weiss schon, du hast ja recht, aber wo sollen wir denn hin? willst du uns der schmier ausliefern? hier werde ich am wenigsten gelinkt, der stoff ist am besten, billigsten. es ist angenehmer, hier rumzuhängen und auf den dealer zu warten als auf dem abgefuckten hirschenplatz, in sichtweite der schmier." [Drogengruppe AJZ?], "[als das schlackeis im letzten winter...]," 3.

AJZ closed the autonomous youth centre with resignation.

It was now clear that, should the AJZ ever reopen its doors, new ideas would be required to allow for an orderly use of its rooms by drug-free youth without trying to hand young heroin addicts over to police and youth welfare institutions. While the city of Zurich actively developed spatial strategies to control and disperse local heroin scenes, the AJZ activists were forced to react to these governmental strategies and to adapt their own policies regarding drug users accordingly. The questions of juvenile drug consumption and the organization of autonomous spaces had become inseparable.

4.1.3. Developing an alternative drug policy: Drogengruppe AJZ and Drogengruppe Zürich

> *power to the junkies, the broken, all of us!*
> *– Drogengruppe AJZ, Zurich, 1982*[612]

With the opening of the AJZ in June 1980 a number of activists, some of them former or current heroin addicts, had founded the *Arbeitsgruppe Drogen* in order to find ways to deal with drug problems collectively and to fend off repressive measures by the state.[613] The drug problems within the AJZ should "certainly not" be solved by "an internal police" but through "discussions, growing awareness, solidarity and responsibility".[614] The developments described above quickly showed that these ideals had been too naïve. The result was an ongoing series of discussions about the goals and the possibilities of an alternative or autonomous drug policy.

The abstract evaluation of drug consumption in modern societies had to be translated into a political practice at the micro-level. After the reopening of the AJZ in April 1981, the

612 little bird [Drogengruppe AJZ?], "zum jahreskongress," 5, English original.

613 Arbeitsgruppe Drogen [Drogengruppe AJZ], "Gras statt Gas," 1.

614 "wir werden diese pobleme [sic] sicher nicht durch eine interne schmier lösen, sondern durch diskussionen, bewusstwerdung, solidarität und verantwortung jedes einzelnen und durch widerstand gegen jegliche staatsrepression." Ibid., 2.

work group, now under the name *Drogengruppe (drug group) AJZ*, formulated some core elements of their new vision. Although some illusions regarding "the will to solidarity with the ajz by the fixers" had to be given up in a painful process, the *Drogengruppe* still wanted to create and support attempts at "fixer self-help".[615] This was understood in political terms (not as therapy) as an attempt to organize resistance against fraudulent dealers, lawyers and District Attorneys, physicians, (psychiatric) hospitals and prisons.[616] The main goal, though, was to change the power structures within the heroin scene that, for instance, forced addicted women to be at the dealers' sexual disposal and led addicts to betray one another for small amounts of the drug. The drug group wanted to tear "the coarse fabric of a power structure that is spreading into the smallest ramifications, into the love relations of a fixer couple. Only a collective self-organisation of those involved can change something in this aspect."[617] Interestingly, the heroin scene did not appear as a heterotopia of deviation but as an extreme embodiment and "caricature" of the hegemonic capitalist order.[618] Instead of being an "other space", the social practices among heroin users revealed with unmatched clarity the violent structure that underlay the spaces of the heroin scene as well as all other spaces in a capitalist and patriarchal society.

The drug activists' focus on self-help and self-organisation was not specific to their work with drug users but fit into their overall idea of autonomy, which was also the basis for the AJZ as a whole:

> Work and struggle in the drug group can only be understood as a part of the entire political struggle in the autonomy scene. But also vice versa: The struggle for autonomy

615 [Drogengruppe AJZ?], "[als das schlackeis im letzten winter...]," 2.

616 Ibid., 3.

617 "das grobe gewebe einer machtstruktur, die bis in die kleinsten verästelungen, bis in die liebesbeziehungen eines fixerpärchens wuchert. nur eine kollektive selbstorganisation der betroffenen kann hier was verändern." Ibid.

618 B. R. (Drogengruppe Zürich), "Ansätze zu einer kritischen Analyse des Zuercher Drogenproblems," 6.

> must not leave the drug problem aside. The Zurich movement must not be split into its neat and its not so pleasant parts.[619]

Yet the evocation of commonalities and the appeal to solidarity referred to one of the biggest problems of the *Drogengruppe*: the lacking acceptance of their work. The *Drogengruppe AJZ* understood itself as a "pressure group"[620] for the concerns of young heroin addicts towards institutions of discipline and control but also towards other groups within the AJZ. Yet other activists viewed the *Drogengruppe* with suspicion due to the lack of solidarity with the AJZ by many addicts, the membership of (former) addicts in the *Drogengruppe*, and a fear of contact with hard drugs and the people who were using them. And in contrast to those groups who fought against concrete institutions and structures like "wage labour, lack of housing, nuclear power plants, prisons, etc.", the work of the drug group lacked a concrete target and its members suspected that most activists could not empathize fully with the problem of drug addiction as long as they were not addicted themselves.[621]

Other factors that made the work of the drug group more difficult were the high fluctuation of its membership, a general mistrust by heroin consumers, and a lack of proper spaces in which to organize meetings and to provide a contact point for heroin addicts. These problems intensified with the reopening of the AJZ in April 1981. A new first-aid group, consisting mainly of male proletarian youth, appeared on the scene. Their sexist behaviour apparently discouraged the few women who were active in the *Drogengruppe* from participating,

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619 "Arbeit und Kampf in der Drogen-Gruppe kann nur als Teil des gesamten politischen Kampfes in der Autonomie-Scene verstanden werden. Aber auch umgekehrt: Autonomie-Kampf kann das Drogen-Problem nicht beiseite lassen. Die Zürcher Bewegung darf nicht in ihre gepützelten und weniger angenehmen Teile gespalten werden." B. R. (Drogengruppe AJZ), "Standort Drogengruppe / bis und mit 12.11.81 (was bisher beschlossen und akzeptiert wurde)," 18.11.1981, SozArch ZH, Ar 201.89.4 - Mappe 1: AG Drogen, Drogengruppe ZH, 1980-82, Drogengruppe AJZ & Drogengruppe ZH, theoretische Debatte/Aufarbeitung, bes. Tschönkie-Raum, 1981-84.

620 Ibid., English original.

621 "im gegensatz zu andern gebieten,wie z.b. akw,stadtzerstörung,fühlen sich nicht alle direkt betroffen." little bird [Drogengruppe AJZ?], "zum jahreskongress," 1, 4.

evidence of the gender conflicts that were structuring the space of the AJZ in general.[622] Class conflicts between the proletarian and heavily alcohol-consuming "gutter people [*Gassenleute*]" and the more middle-class "polit-culture-freaks" broke out as well.[623] A "typical night shift of the drug group" in summer/fall 1981 was characterized by these conflicts between, according to *Drogengruppe AJZ*, people "who were just on the helper trip" and those drunk and "bloodlusty first-aid freaks" who quite literally fought for a chance to distinguish themselves by performing (unnecessary) operations on their patients "until eventually there really was blood".[624] Professional physicians who had been working with the *Drogengruppe* and had taken shifts in the drug room to provide help in the case of overdoses were appalled by these incidents and withdrew their active support as a consequence. Last but not least, the lack of proper spaces, and the organization of the existing one, posed a serious problem, as became apparent from the same report: "2 beds in which 4 alcoholics were sleeping off their intoxication, all of this in a 10 m² room with a window through which some lechers were staring to get to watch the topless massage of a woman".[625] In light of these chaotic and cramped conditions it was a wonder that the *Drogengruppe AJZ* managed to continue its work at all.

Support came in the fall of 1981, when a group of street and social workers, team members of therapeutic institutions like the *Drop-In* or the *Auffangstation Tiefenbrunnen* and independent psychologists and physicians founded the *Drogengruppe Zürich*.[626] Earlier attempts

622 [Drogengruppe AJZ?], "[als das schlackeis im letzten winter...]," 1.

623 Ibid., 2.

624 Ibid., 1.

625 "2 betten, wo 4 oder noch mehr alkis ihren rausch ausschliefen, das alles in einem 10m/2 grossen raum mit fenster, durch welches ein paar geiler glotzten, um wiedermal eine obenohne massage einer frau zu erleben: so sah der durchschnittliche nächtliche präsenzdienst der drogengruppe aus." Ibid.

626 B. R. (Drogengruppe Zürich), "Ansätze zu einer kritischen Analyse des Zuercher Drogenproblems," 1; B. R. (Drogengruppe Zürich, Drogengruppe AJZ), "Wichtige Differenzpunkte innerhalb der Drogengruppen,"

to include professional health care workers directly within the *Drogengruppe AJZ* had been unsuccessful due to a supposed fundamental conflict of interests between doctors and the heroin addicts of the group. The activists' refusal to exclude addicts from the group had made cooperation with professional physicians impossible. Similarly, according to *Drogengruppe AJZ,* a certain "wild west romanticism, dreamt up in the doctor's practice" and suggestions by some doctors to "'form an anti-dealer-gang with bulletproof vests'" did not fit well with the drug group's conceptions.[627] With the self-organisation of these professionals—a truly autonomous concept—cooperation between the two groups became a possibility.

Still, there continued to be major differences regarding, for instance, the protagonists, their motivation and their loyalties. The *Drogengruppe AJZ* was part of the youth movement, extremely heterogeneous and was undergoing significant fluctuations. By contrast, the *Drogengruppe Zürich* was relatively stable, "mostly clean" of drugs and, although sympathetic with the movement, consisted of individuals with a "mostly 'orderly'" social background.[628] The two groups also differed in their motivations in the sense that the young activists understood their work based on their self-conception as autonomous youth activists while the members of the *Drogengruppe Zürich* were largely driven by voluntaristic motives. And while the *Drogengruppe AJZ* had no formal loyalty ties towards any institutions (except for the AJZ itself), the members of the *Drogengruppe Zürich* had better connections to funding, politicians and institutions. However, they had also had to take into account possible consequences from their employers and therefore proceeded more cautiously than their younger partners.[629]

16.02.1982, SozArch ZH, Ar 201.89.4 - Mappe 1: AG Drogen, Drogengruppe ZH, 1980-82, Drogengruppe AJZ & Drogengruppe ZH, theoretische Debatte/Aufarbeitung, bes. Tschönkie-Raum, 1981-84, 1.

627 "im arztpraxiszimmer ausgegorene wildwestromantik 'bildet eine antidealergang mit kugelsicheren westen' ist nicht so unsere ebene." [Drogengruppe AJZ?], "[als das schlackeis im letzten winter...]," 2.

628 "[...] meistens 'geordnete' Verhältnisse." B. R. (Drogengruppe Zürich, Drogengruppe AJZ), "Wichtige Differenzpunkte innerhalb der Drogengruppen," 1.

629 Ibid.

With two separate groups, cooperation was now possible despite all these differences. Earlier obstacles even proved to be an advantage, such as the membership of (former) heroin addicts in the *Drogengruppe AJZ*. "We were totally glad that they were present in the ajz almost *nonstop* in the beginning", it said in a flyer, "and therefore they knew the scene here much better than the most of us, knew much more about the *h-business* than we did."[630] This knowledge could now be used by the two drug groups to develop some fundamental elements of their drug policy. These would have to be based on the principle of autonomy but also needed to reflect the experiences already gained in the AJZ during the summer of 1980 and especially following its reopening in April 1981.

Compared to the theoretical analyses of the drug problem and the original expectations of the *Arbeitsgruppe Drogen* these fundamentals were much more pragmatic and focused concretely on the AJZ space. References to the drug market and drug consumption as a factor of modern capitalism were still made sporadically but they no longer played a major role. The same applied to the structures of the black market. While earlier conceptions had formulated changing these structures as a primary goal, the experience of violent confrontations with drug dealers had had a sobering effect. "Here [i.e. in regard to the black market, JHF] we cannot do anything in principle, for the international drug mafia is a bit too big for us [*ein paar Nummern zu groß für uns*]; in addition the battle on local level can get quite dangerous for us."[631] Local spatial practices, such as the attempts to keep drug dealers out of the AJZ, had transformed the abstract criticism of an anonymous international drug trade into very concrete

630 "wir waren total froh, daß sie zu beginn fast nonstop im ajz präsent waren, deshalb die siin hier weitaus besser kannten als die meisten von uns, viel besser bescheid wussten als wir übers h-business, daß dank ihnen und durch sie jene schweinedealer rausgeschmissen wurden und drankamen." "AJZ Zürich und der Heroin-Dämon," 1.

631 "was können wir gegen den schwarzmarkt tun? hier muss vor illusionen gewarnt werden:prinzipiell können wir gar nichts tun,denn die internationale drogenmafia ist ein paar nummern zu gross für uns, zudem kann auch der kampf auf lokaler ebene sehr gefährlich für uns werden." little bird [Drogengruppe AJZ?], "zum jahreskongress," 3.

confrontations with actual drug dealers. For the dealers, the AJZ was not a free space for non-conforming youth but a valuable market for their product—a market that they were willing to keep open by any means necessary. After some violent clashes between activists and mid-level drug dealers and following a realistic evaluation of their capacities, AJZ activists shifted their focus away from the "international drug mafia" and towards the conditions within the AJZ.[632] These experiences in regard to the concrete space of the AJZ thus affected the theoretical conceptions of (anti-) drug politics on the side of the youth. Mid- and long-term goals remained mostly unchanged. Demands that politicians completely legalize drug consumption were upheld; the "creation of solidarity among the consumers"[633] and their possible self-organisation[634] were still formulated as primary goals.

Yet it was in those moments where the actual subjects of the drug groups' policy came into focus—the individual consumers and their presence in the space of the AJZ—that the pragmatic turn in policy became most apparent. The main focus of the drug groups was "the real drug-scene, the way it is and will be", according to a concept paper dated from mid-November 1981. "That means: pre-therapeutic reality, unsolved/unsolvable terrains."[635] Idealistic conceptions had given way to acceptance of the fact that, for some heroin users, abstinence was not an option. The task was therefore to develop more pragmatic approaches to improve the circumstances of these youth. Plans to "reconquer territories inside the junkie that are being governed by h", up to the point at which he or she might be able to live without

632 Cf. Haller and Isler, *Die Kunst der Verweigerung*, 188: "It is nonetheless clear that the youth, tending towards overconfidence, were immediately overrun by the hefty problems of such an urban district: here, the pimp with a pulled out switch knife; there, the AJZ activist, shivering and deprived of his good vibe... Repeatedly the AJZ activists called the police for help, threatened by armed dealers and thugs from the red-light milieu – and were let down."

633 "die wichtigste praxis, was den handel betrifft:schaffung von solidarität unter den konsumenten." little bird [Drogengruppe AJZ?], "zum jahreskongress," 3.

634 "AJZ Zürich und der Heroin-Dämon," 1.

635 "Zunächst ist Hauptthema v.a. die reale Drogen-szene, so wie sie eben ist und wird. Also: vor-therapeutische Realität, ungelöste/unlösbare Terrains." B. R. (Drogengruppe AJZ), "Standort Drogengruppe".

heroin, receded into the background.[636] At the end of 1981, the *Drogengruppe AJZ* made it clear that "our main concern is not the question of how to get a grip on the H., that is how to reduce the H-consumption drastically and get the people drug-free."[637] Instead, it was "about making life in the actually existing drug scene fairer, more liveable, more possible".[638] Within the small space of the AJZ, and based on the firm conviction that heroin addicts must not be excluded from the youth movement, drug users, youth activists and open-minded professionals learned a lesson that would only be embraced by mainstream drug policy-makers many years later. Accepting that a drug-free AJZ/society was an illusion and that abstinence was simply not an option for many heroin users, the *Drogengruppen AJZ* and *Zürich* together developed a policy based on what would later become known as the harm reduction paradigm.[639]

From and within the space of the AJZ new discursive strands and non-discursive

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636 "[...] gebiete im tschönkie zurückzuerobern, die vom h beherrscht sind, im idealfall natürlich bis zu dem punkt, wo er völlig aufs h verzichten kann." [Drogengruppe AJZ?], "[als das schlackeis im letzten winter...]," 3.

637 "Vorauszuschicken ist, dass unsere Hauptsorge nicht der Frage gilt, wie wir das H. in den Griff bekommen können, also wie wir den H.-Konsum drastisch vermindern und die Leute drogenfrei machen können." Drogengruppe AJZ, "Diskussionen über Forderungen, über Wege aus dem tödlichen Puff," [December 1981/ January 1982], SozArch ZH, Ar 201.89.4 - Mappe 1: AG Drogen, Drogengruppe ZH, 1980-82, Drogengruppe AJZ & Drogengruppe ZH, theoretische Debatte/Aufarbeitung, bes. Tschönkie-Raum, 1981-84, 1.

638 "Es geht darum, das Leben in der nun einmal bestehenden Drogen-Scene fairer, lebbarer, möglicher zu machen." B. R. (Drogengruppe AJZ), "Standort Drogengruppe".

639 The development and acceptance of the harm reduction paradigm is characterized by many ruptures and dissimultaneities and should therefore not be misunderstood as a story of progress and liberalization. First experiments took place as early as 1971 with the "Princenhof" in Amsterdam but had to shut down in the early 1980s. For more details, also on the development in Switzerland: Johannes Herwig-Lempp et al., "Entkriminalisierte Zonen: Frei-Räume für Drogenkonsumenten," in *Umgang mit Drogen. Sozialpädagogische Handlungs- und Interventionsstrategien*, edited by Karin Böllert and Hans-Uwe Otto (Bielefeld: Karin Böllert KT Verlag, 1993), 76-96. Bergschmidt, "Pleasure, power and dangerous substances", argues against narratives of progress and liberalization in regard to (German) drug policies. In the same sense argue Hans-Peter von Aarburg and Michael Stauffacher, *Verwirrender Imagewandel des Heroinkonsums* ([Basel], [c. 2001]) with a focus on Swiss drug policies.

practices developed that had hitherto been inconceivable.[640] The space of the AJZ was a necessary precondition for these practices to even become imaginable. It needed to be understood as an autonomous space for all non-conforming youth and as a heterotopic "free space" that was different from all other spaces.[641] When conflicts emerged over the question of heroin use (and therefore about the very character of this space), youth activists confronted the necessity to either reproduce governmental practices of exclusion—or to develop new ways of thinking about, and handling, heroin consumption among youth.

Neither *Drogengruppe Zürich* nor *Drogengruppe AJZ* wanted to deal with heroin addiction as a problem of social work and health issues alone. Both groups agreed in their interpretation of the city's drug policy as an attempt to render the local heroin scene invisible by driving it into the AJZ. The political aspect of the drug groups' work could therefore not be restricted to general demands of legalization or de-criminalization.[642] Rather, it had to react to these strategies on a local level. Drug policy had to be understood as a political conflict. "Our main goal as people of the movement is to make public, to make political, and to make conscious the conflict that so far has taken place, on the one hand, in the psyche of everyone and, on the other hand, in the state's repression," the *Drogengruppe AJZ* constituted.[643] From this followed that city and local society needed to be reminded of the existence of the heroin problem and of their responsibility for it. Government officials should also be forced to take measures for improving the lives of the addicts themselves, by means of the "unsparing and unvarnished

640 Cf. footnote 567.

641 Cf. section 3.2.

642 There had been a debate whether the demand to legalize drug consumption (*Legalisierung*) was too affirmative and should therefore be replaced by a demand for de-criminalization (*Entkriminalisierung*). B. R. the lady (Drogengruppe AJZ), "Ideologisches," 3.

643 "Unser Hauptziel als Leute der Bewegung ist, den Konflikt, der sich bisher einerseits in der Psyche, [sic] jedes einzelnen und andererseits in der Repression vom Staat abgespielt hat, öffentlich zu machen, politisch, bewusst zu machen." Drogengruppe AJZ, "Diskussionen über Forderungen, über Wege aus dem tödlichen Puff," 1.

presentation of the real conditions".[644]

The AJZ had been closed by its young activists in October 1981 because the omnipresence of the heroin scene had made it almost impossible to run the AJZ in an orderly fashion and keep it attractive for other youth as well. As it prepared to reopen on 24 December 1981, two pillars of the drug groups' policy had taken shape. The first concerned the space of the AJZ. It needed to become again a safe place for drug-free youth, with usable spaces for different work groups and without the danger of being "hooked up" to heroin by addicts. At the same time, the heroin scene needed to be included within the AJZ, so that the repressive measures of their 'enemies' were not endorsed and because previous attempts to keep the youth centre drug-free had proven impossible to implement. The second pillar took the relational aspects of AJZ and its surroundings into account. Even if one wanted to create a safe place for the heroin scene within the AJZ, there needed to be an active opposition to the city's policy of dispersion. The problem of heroin use needed to stay a visible factor in urban space, so that it could not be ignored by the politicians and citizens of Zurich. The struggle that was about to come could not simply be about the creation of a counter-site to hegemonic policies. Instead, it needed to be fought against the very spatialization of social politics.

644 "[...] die schonungslose und ungeschmickte Darstellung der wirklichen Verhältnisse." B. R. (Drogengruppe AJZ), "Standort Drogengruppe".

4.2. Creating spaces of heroin consumption: the *Tschönkie-Room*

> *Where is there a place for junkies who do not want to quit shooting up in the foreseeable future and where they can dwell, live without being subjugated to ongoing repressions? They, who are being driven away everywhere, don't they have a right to houses where they are left in peace?*
> *– Pamphlet, presumably Zurich or Berlin, 1982*[645]

The drug activists of the AJZ were caught between the city's policy of turning the drug problem into a matter of managing urban spaces and their own focus on the socio-political aspects of the matter. They were not willing to help the city in its efforts to render heroin consumption invisible by trying to solve the problems of heroin consumers behind the walls of the AJZ. But neither were they willing to give up on the concept of the AJZ as an open space for all and adopt governmental policies of segregation and exclusion.

In November 1981, the *Drogengruppe AJZ* formulated its "most urgent concern": the reopening of the AJZ "without splitting off the drug scene".[646] Its members believed the reopening should also be accompanied by a "drug campaign", so that giving heroin users a safe haven would not "unburden the Zurich public" of awareness of "the drug problem that has been driven into the AJZ".[647] While a solution for the AJZ itself still needed to be found, the "drug campaign" was intended to inform the public and actively oppose attempts to render the heroin scene—and with it the problem of heroin consumption in general—invisible by driving it into the AJZ.

But the question of spatial organization of the AJZ itself posed a serious problem: to what extent was it possible and desirable to segregate the heroin scene from the other users of

645 "wo gibt's einen platz für tschönkis, die in absehbarer zeit nicht aufhören wollen zu fixen und wo sie ohne ständigen repressionen ausgesetzt zu sein, wohnen, leben können? sie, die überall davongejagt werden, haben sie nicht ein recht auf häuser, wo man sie in ruhe lässt?" "AJZ Zürich und der Heroin-Dämon," 2.

646 "Dringlichste Anliegen: Wiedereröffnung AJZ ohne Abspaltung der Drogenfrage." B. R. (Drogengruppe AJZ), "Standort Drogengruppe".

647 "Mit der Wiedereröffnung breit angelegte Drogen-Kampagne zur Vermeidung der Entlastung der Zürcher Oeffentlichkeit vor dem ins AJZ getriebene [sic] Drogenproblem." Ibid.

the AJZ without jeopardizing its inclusive character? The idea for a separate house for junkies was quickly dismissed. Many feared that such a house would spark the hegemonic "horror of 'lawless spaces'".[648] The safety from police measures could not be guaranteed and heroin addicts themselves opposed the project "as they believe that the house would certainly not provide as much shelter as the AJZ; the cops would come anyway". A little disappointed the *Drogengruppe AJZ* noted that this attitude ignored the fact "that the AJZ might soon be no more shelter" because if things did not change, no more activists would be willing to run the AJZ in the first place.[649]

Eventually an entirely new concept began to take shape: the drug groups decided to install a "junkie room", or *Tschönkie-Room*, within the AJZ instead. This room should also allow the trade and consumption of heroin, only now under the protection (and supervision) of the AJZ. The obvious question was: would such an experiment really work?[650] In order to install such a room permanently and to ensure the acceptance of both drug-consuming and drug-free users of the AJZ, it would be necessary to come up with a well-thought-out concept for the room itself, to win the support of the people who frequented the AJZ and to make sure that the problem of heroin addiction would not be forgotten by the rest of society.

After outlining the concepts, expectations and organization regarding the *Tschönkie-Room* and the accompanying "drug week" in January 1982, I will analyze in detail the organization and effect of the *Tschönkie-Room* once it was installed. Even if the AJZ had to be closed after no more than a few weeks because it was completely overrun by the local heroin scene, the

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648 "Problem: kann man das erreichen? (Bürger mit ihrem 'rechtsfreiem Raum'-Horror)." Drogengruppe AJZ, "Diskussionen über Forderungen, über Wege aus dem tödlichen Puff," 2.

649 "Junkies selbst sind in Gesprächen dagegen, da sie glauben, so viel Schutz wie das AJZ werde das Haus bestimmt nicht bieten, die Schmier werde trotzdem kommen. (Dass das AJZ vielleicht bald kein Schutz mehr ist, weil ev. niemand mehr sich dort drin einsetzt, wird nicht überlegt)." Ibid.

650 A similar room had apparently existed during the last three weeks that the AJZ was open in September/October 1981, although no substantial information on this experiment seems to exist. [Drogengruppe AJZ?], "[als das schlackeis im letzten winter...], 1. See also Suttner, "*Beton brennt,*" 79.

junkie room was a pioneering experiment in trying to find new ways of dealing with drug addiction on a local level. The idea of a "free space" did play a (minor) role in this concept, similar to the one embraced by the squatters' scene. Using the *Tschönkie-Room,* the Zurich youth movement actively opposed a purely spatial treatment of the problem of juvenile heroin consumption as was characteristic for local governmental anti-drug policies. These policies focused primarily on the segregation and repression of drug users in an attempt to render the problem invisible, as described in section 2.3. The youth movement, on the other hand, aimed to create a space that was clearly separated from its surroundings and that was to be used exclusively by members of the heroin scene. Yet through its location within the AJZ and through ongoing attempts to return the problem of heroin addiction to public urban space, the youth movement tried to keep this problem visible and therefore on the local political agenda.

The *Tschönkie-Room* was therefore not just a reaction to drug use in spaces of the youth movement but also to hegemonic anti-drug policies. It was an attempt to deal with, and to endure, a constant contradiction between compliance with these hegemonic policies—by helping the city render the heroin scene *invisible* through its geographical concentration within the AJZ—and an opposition to these policies—by rendering the problem of heroin addiction *even more visible* through its unprecedented concentration in a semi-public space. With the *Tschönkie-Room* experiment youth activists gained new possibilities for drug-political interventions on a local level. The necessity to organize different forms of youth deviance at the same place thus led to new spatial and social practices as well as to new discursive "truths". The "free space" of the AJZ, though by no means disconnected from its surroundings, enabled youth activists to transgress the boundaries of the thinkable and to develop a hitherto inconceivable treatment to the problem of heroin consumption. The *Tschönkie-Room* was an attempt to react to governmental strategies of spatializing drug use and to simultaneously insist

on its being treated as a socio-political rather than spatial phenomenon.

4.2.1. The Tschönkie-Room: concepts, expectations, organization

> *In many meetings together with these people [of the* Drogengruppe AJZ*], we developed the idea of the* Tschönkie-Raum. *And specifically not to be a model solution for drug problems in general but more as a... well, we didn't know how to deal with the drug problem at all […]. Nevertheless we had to do something and we thought the best would be to make this clearly visible, also in the AJZ. Visible namely by disentangling it. Running it on the one hand and shooting up on the other hand. But not in a way that would cause a ghettoization but as a possibility to take the dope and then be able to somehow participate in the running [of the AJZ] without having to look for this dope. That was more or less the basic idea, why the* Tschönkie-Raum *came into being.*
> *– Umberto Blumati, social worker and member of Drogengruppe Zürich in a radio show, Berlin, 1982*[651]

After the idea of a separate house for the heroin scene had been dismissed by the drug groups, the *Drogengruppe AJZ* decided to implement a room within the AJZ in which the trade and consumption of heroin would be permitted while the rest of the youth centre remained drug-free. The room was intended to be only a "short-term interim solution" to be complemented by "sleep-ins" outside the AJZ in the near future.[652] Such a room seemed to be an adequate solution because many addicts were already gathering in the AJZ, the policy of "no H in the AJZ" had proven impossible to maintain and because a differentiation between

651 "Und in vielen Sitzungen gemeinsam mit diesen Leuten [von der Drogengruppe AJZ] sind wir auf die Idee des Tschönkie-Raums gekommen. Und zwar ganz klar nicht als ein Lösungsmodell, für Drogenprobleme allgemein, sondern mehr als ein .. ja wir wußten nicht, wie wir überhaupt mit dem Drogenproblem umgehen können [...]. Trotzdem mußten wir etwas tun, und wir dachten das Beste ist, das klar sichtbar zu machen, auch im AJZ. Und zwar sichtbar, indem man es entflechtet. Der Betrieb einerseits und das Tschönken andererseits. Aber nicht so entflechten, daß es da eine Ghettoisierung gibt, sondern die Möglichkeit, in einem repressionsfreien Raum halt seinen Stoff reinnehmen kann [sic] und dann im Betrieb irgendwie aktiv und ohne nach diesem Stoff suchen zu müssen, teilhaben zu können. Das war so etwa die Grundidee, weshalb der Tschönkie-Raum entstanden ist." Umberto Blumati, social worker and member of *Drogengruppe Zürich* in: "Der 'Tschönkie-Room' in Zürich, ein Beispiel - oder ein 'Verbrechen'?," 1982, directed by Johannes Wendt, Schweizerisches Sozialarchiv Zürich Ar 201.89.4 - Mappe 1: AG Drogen, Drogengruppe ZH, 1980-82: Fixerraum /1 Radiobeitrag 1982, 2.

652 B. R. (Drogengruppe AJZ), "Standort Drogengruppe".

drug consumers and dealers was not possible either, as almost every consumer was selling heroin to finance his or her addiction.[653]

The *Tschönkie-Room* was intended to serve several purposes: *first* of all, it was an act of solidarity with the heroin addicts, a concrete measure to keep the heroin scene within the AJZ and protect it as an integral part of the whole youth movement. It is also conceivable that activists feared a defeat of the youth movement once it began to dissolve into discrete groups, each with their particular interests. It should, *second*, serve as a place in which aspects of self-help and self-organization could take place and be supported by the drug groups.[654] It would, *third*, be a means to improve the hygienic conditions under which actual heroin consumption took place.[655] And it was, *fourth*, a means for the drug groups to maintain contact with their clientèle and possible members:

> If [other] polit-groups don't have enough contact to those concerned [*zu den Betroffenen*], […] then that's their problem,– we simply cannot afford this. A political struggle of the d[rug] g[roups] that is being fought over the fixers' heads has to fail right from the start. […] For this reason alone the t[schönkie] r[oom] is for us essential in the near future, apart from establishing and organizing elementary forms of self-help that is the core and starting point of further developed forms of resistance.[656]

Yet the *Tschönkie-Room* was not just intended to improve the situation of the heroin addicts. Its *fifth* aspect lay in the "attempt to keep the drug population in the AJZ without ceding the whole [youth] scene to it", that is to say, to disentangle heroin and drug-free users

653 "Der Tschoenki-Raum im AJZ. Wie es dazu kam. Wie es jetzt ist. Wie es werden soll/könnte. Vor.- und Nachteile," [end of 1981/ beginning of 1982], SozArch ZH, Ar 201.89.4 - Mappe 1: AG Drogen, Drogengruppe ZH, 1980-82, Drogengruppe AJZ & Drogengruppe ZH, theoretische Debatte/Aufarbeitung, bes. Tschönkie-Raum, 1981-84.

654 Ibid.; little bird [Drogengruppe AJZ?], "zum jahreskongress," 4; Günter Amendt, "Ein Schuß im Zentrum," *Konkret*, no. 3 (March 1982): 94.

655 Amendt, "Ein Schuß im Zentrum": 94.

656 "wenn politgruppen nicht genügend kontakt zu den betroffenen haben, [...] so ist das ihr bier,- wir können uns dies schlicht nicht leisten.ein politischer kampf der dg,der über den köpfen der fixer geführt wird,muss von vornherein scheitern. [...] schon deshalb ist der tr für uns in nächster zeit unentbehrlich,ganz abgesehen von der bildung und organisierung elementarster formen von selbsthilfe, welche den kern und ausgangspunkt weiter entwickelter widerstandsformen ist." little bird [Drogengruppe AJZ?], "zum jahreskongress," 4.

of the AJZ by creating a threshold between the two scenes.[657] By concentrating the heroin scene in a single place, all other users of the AJZ would not be confronted with heroin use as easily: "Who enters the room has to be aware that they will come into contact with H (no hooking up in the rest of the AJZ)."[658] Once one entered the room, though, its *sixth* and final purpose would quickly become clear: through the spatial concentration of the heroin scene, the room would also serve as "a demonstration of drug-misery".[659]

The *Tschönkie-Room* opened its doors, together with the whole AJZ, on Christmas Eve 1981. The responsibility for the space lay with the *Drogengruppe AJZ*. The role of the *Drogengruppe Zürich* seems to have varied, depending on the individual member, but was generally restricted to supportive functions.[660] Information is scarce but this support probably ranged from providing sterile syringes and needles to an active presence in the drug room itself.[661]

In order for the room to function according to the concept of the drug groups, the potential users were informed about the new space and its proper use. In a flyer under the headline "Self-help against oppression – self-organization in the *Tschönkiraum* – solidarity among junkies! For the AJZ! Against the state!" the *Drogengruppe AJZ* informed heroin addicts

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657 "Versuch die Drogen-Population im AJZ zu behalten, ihr aber nicht die ganze Scene zu überlassen." B. R. (Drogengruppe AJZ), "Standort Drogengruppe".

658 "H-Szene an einem Ort und nicht im ganzen AJZ verteilt. Wer den Raum aufsucht, muss sich bewusst sein, mit dem H in Kontakt zu kommen (kein Anfixen im übrigen AJZ)." "Der Tschoenki-Raum im AJZ. Wie es dazu kam. Wie es jetzt ist. Wie es werden soll/könnte. Vor.- und Nachteile," 1.

659 "[...] eine Demonstration des Drogenelends." Amendt, "Ein Schuß im Zentrum": 92.

660 B. R. (Drogengruppe Zürich, Drogengruppe AJZ), "Wichtige Differenzpunkte innerhalb der Drogengruppen".

661 The existence of sterile syringes is mentioned by Amendt, "Ein Schuß im Zentrum": 92. Regular visits by a member of the *Drogengruppe Zürich* to the junkie room are described in [Drogengruppe Zürich?], "Emotionale, persönliche Erfahrungen um den Tschönkiraum," [1982?], SozArch ZH, Ar 201.89.4 - Mappe 1: AG Drogen, Drogengruppe ZH, 1980-82, Drogengruppe AJZ & Drogengruppe ZH, theoretische Debatte/Aufarbeitung, bes. Tschönkie-Raum, 1981-84.

who frequented the AJZ about the *Tschönkie-Room*, its possibilities and rules. The room was presented as an opportunity to share information about experiences with "oppressors (cops, prison, hospital, clinics, drug advice centres etc.) and discussions, what we might do about it".[662] The absence of the police would provide time to verify purchased drugs before consumption, preventing accidental overdoses and enabling the drug users to warn each other of fraudulent drug dealers. The ideals of the alternative movement made their way into invitations to "take in the dope collectively at the same price from fair low-level dealers from the scene who are addicted themselves, thereby breaking the hierarchy chain."[663]

But beside these requests to build up structures of "self-help as consumers", the *Drogengruppe AJZ* also formulated clear rules that members of the heroin scene would have to adhere to. These included demands to keep the room clean and tidy but surely the most important rule was that drug-dealing and shooting up were limited to this single room while the rest of the AJZ had to be "kept clean from the *äitsch-scene*. If that doesn't work, we can forget the whole stuff." The second rule was that "nobody is being hooked up. Not either in the room."[664] The *Drogengruppe AJZ* made it clear that the organization of the drug room was inseparably related to the spatial organization of the youth centre as a whole. Its activists attempted to implement a spatial policy that served heroin addicts and drug-free users of the AJZ alike. In 1980, this policy had demanded that no heroin be traded or consumed within the AJZ at all. A year later, its use was allowed but restricted to a specific part of the AJZ. Yet in

662 "selbsthilfe gegen Unterdrückung - selbstorganisation im Tschönkiraum - Solidarität unter Tschönkis! Für's AJZ! Gegen den Staat! […] gegenseitige informationen über erlebnisse mit den unterdrückern (schmier, knast, spital, kliniken, drogenberatungsstellen, usw.) und diskussionen, was wir dagegen unternehmen können." All quotes in the following from "AJZ Zürich und der Heroin-Dämon," 4f.

663 "statt des scheißigen jeder-für-sich-egotrips kollektiv zu gleichem preis bei fairen kleindealern [aus] der scene, die selber drauf sind den stoff reinnehmen und damit die hierarchieleiter durchbrechen."

664 "gleichzeitig sollte JEDER/M VON EUCH klar sein, nur im tschönkiraum zu dealen, [illegible, JHF], fixen und das übrige ajz von der äitsch-scene sauber zu halten. falls das nicht läuft, können wir den ganzen kram vergessen. ausserdem muss von allen erwartet werden, dass niemand angefixt wird. auch im raum nicht."

order to implement this policy, the members of the drug groups depended on the cooperation of everyone, especially the heroin users.

In contrast to the idea of a separate junkie house, the concept of the *Tschönkie-Room* seems to have been met with restrained approval by participants in the heroin scene, especially those who were in some way identifying with the AJZ as a political project. "I care about the AJZ. I like it", one heroin user was quoted in a magazine report and continued: "I do believe that the fixers will use the room. […] But in the beginning it will probably be difficult because most junkies are very suspicious against each other. Yet more discussions, more arguments with each other can only foster solidarity."[665] Others saw the room as an opportunity to win back some control over their free-time. One of them explained:

> Such a room sure would be nice. Here on the *Hirschen*[666] it is far too cold and you can't do anything but wait so that you do not miss the moment when the dope arrives. In the AJZ one could occupy oneself with something else and talk to people, not just about dope like here.[667]

Such an opportunity could potentially affect the rest of the AJZ if the room did not serve to segregate the heroin scene entirely from the rest of the users. "It is simply important that the fixers are not being isolated through this room from the rest of the AJZ but are truly accepted. Then it would also be possible to talk about problems, for example the hooking-up, something that I think is total bullshit."[668] Acceptance and understanding were thus formulated

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665 "Mir liegt etwas am AJZ. Ich finde es gut. Ich glaube schon, dass die Fixer den Raum benützen werden. Gut wäre natürlich, wenn wir diesen Raum selbstverwalten könnten, selbst bestimmen könnten, was darin läuft. Aber am Anfang wird es schon schwierig sein, weil die meisten Tschönkis sehr misstrauisch zueinander sind. Aber mehr Gespräche, mehr Auseinandersetzungen untereinander kann die Solidarität nur fördern." Quote from tell, no. 53/4 (December 1981): 19, in: "AJZ Zürich und der Heroin-Dämon," 2.

666 The Hirschenplatz, the drug scene's favourite meeting place in 1981.

667 "So ein Raum wäre schon gut. Hier auf dem Hirschen ist es im Winter viel zu kalt und man kann nichts anderes machen als warten, um den Moment nicht zu verpassen, wenn der Stoff kommt. Im AJZ könnte man sich auch noch mit etwas anderem beschäftigen und mit den Leuten quatschen, nicht nur über Dope wie hier." Quote from tell, no. 53/4 (December 1981): 19, in: "AJZ Zürich und der Heroin-Dämon," 2.

668 "Wichtig ist halt, dass die Fixer durch diesen Raum nicht isoliert werden vom übrigen AJZ, sondern wirklich akzeptiert werden. Es wäre dann auch möglich, über Probleme zu sprechen, wie z.B. über das Anfixen, etwas was ich total Scheisse finde." Quote from tell, no. 53/4 (December 1981): 19, in: ibid.

as a complementary process; if the addicts were to be accepted and integrated as a part of the AJZ, they would in turn be more willing to modify their own behaviour and assume responsibility not just for the *Tschönkie-Room* but for other users of the AJZ as well.

Fig. 4.2: The first drug room in the AJZ, in the attic above the office wing, end of May 1981. – Source: Haller and Isler, *Die Kunst der* Verweigerung, 158.

One means to create such a feeling of acceptance was the space itself. The former drug room that had been occupied by drug users while the policy of "no heroin in the AJZ" was still in place[669] had been characterized by its rather unfriendly and spartan interior. As a photograph from May 1981 shows (fig. 4.2), the interior had consisted mainly of some mattresses and a mirror. The walls had been spray-painted with slogans ranging from "who doesn't resist, lives the wrong way" (*wer sich nicht wehrt, lebt verkehrt*) and a reference to the West-German urban guerilla group Red Army Faction (RAF) to "fucking money" and a laconic "*Ende gut, alles putt*" – it's a happy ending once everything is kaput. On top of that, the windows had been painted black (and therefore were completely blocked off from the outside world)—probably not the best surrounding for fostering the developments that the *Drogengruppe AJZ* had in mind.

669 Cf. footnote 563.

As a consequence, the drug group was not content with providing just any room but made some effort to design a room that would support their goals. That is to say, they were trying to make the space *support* the social instead of *replacing* it. First of all, the room, located in the former sports hall and besides the workshop,[670] seems to have been much bigger than the former drug room[671] and the *Drogengruppe AJZ* was actively trying to "make it as comfortable as possible (with wood, colours, plants and light)".[672] It was dominated by a large set of plants right in its centre (fig. 4.3) and benches and tables lined the walls.[673] A bar—a reference to places of 'normal' drug consumption?—was also built in an attempt to create a space of communication and to prevent an atmosphere of apathy.[674] Two wash basins were installed to provide clean and fresh water (which was needed to dissolve the heroin crystals) to improve the hygienic conditions in which heroin was consumed.[675]

The room was opened from noon until midnight[676] and then closed to prevent it from turning into a sleep-in. Members of the drug group(s) were present during that time, mainly "to talk with the junkies, to help when someone is lying down[,] to not just leave him there".[677]

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670 "Der Tschoenki-Raum im AJZ. Wie es dazu kam. Wie es jetzt ist. Wie es werden soll/könnte. Vor.- und Nachteile," 1.

671 Detailed descriptions of the *Tschönkie-Room* as a real space (as opposed to the theoretical concept) are extremely rare. The most detailed report was published in the left-leaning West-German magazine *Konkret*, written by the Hamburg drug therapist, social scientist and activist Günter Amendt. Accompanying the article were also two of only three photographs of the interior of the room that I was able to find. All assumptions about the design of the room need thus to be taken with caution. Amendt, "Ein Schuß im Zentrum": 90-96. During the "drug week" it was explicitly forbidden to take pictures inside the room. "'Drogenwoche' im AJZ," *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 28.01.1982.

672 "Wir versuchen ihn (immer noch) möglichst gemütlich (mit Holz, Farbe, Pflanzen und Licht) einzurichten." "Der Tschoenki-Raum im AJZ. Wie es dazu kam. Wie es jetzt ist. Wie es werden soll/könnte. Vor.- und Nachteile," 1.

673 Amendt, "Ein Schuß im Zentrum": 91.

674 "Der Tschoenki-Raum im AJZ. Wie es dazu kam. Wie es jetzt ist. Wie es werden soll/könnte. Vor.- und Nachteile," 1.

675 Amendt, "Ein Schuß im Zentrum": 91. Cf. also p. 117 of this dissertation.

676 The details about opening-times vary between noon to midnight and 1:00 p.m. to 1:00 a.m.

677 "Die Drogengruppe [...] führt einen Präsenzdienst, indem [sic] es hauptsächlich darum geht mit den Jönkies zu reden, zu helfen, wenn einer flachliegt ihn nicht einfach liegen zu lassen." "Der Tschoenki-Raum im AJZ.

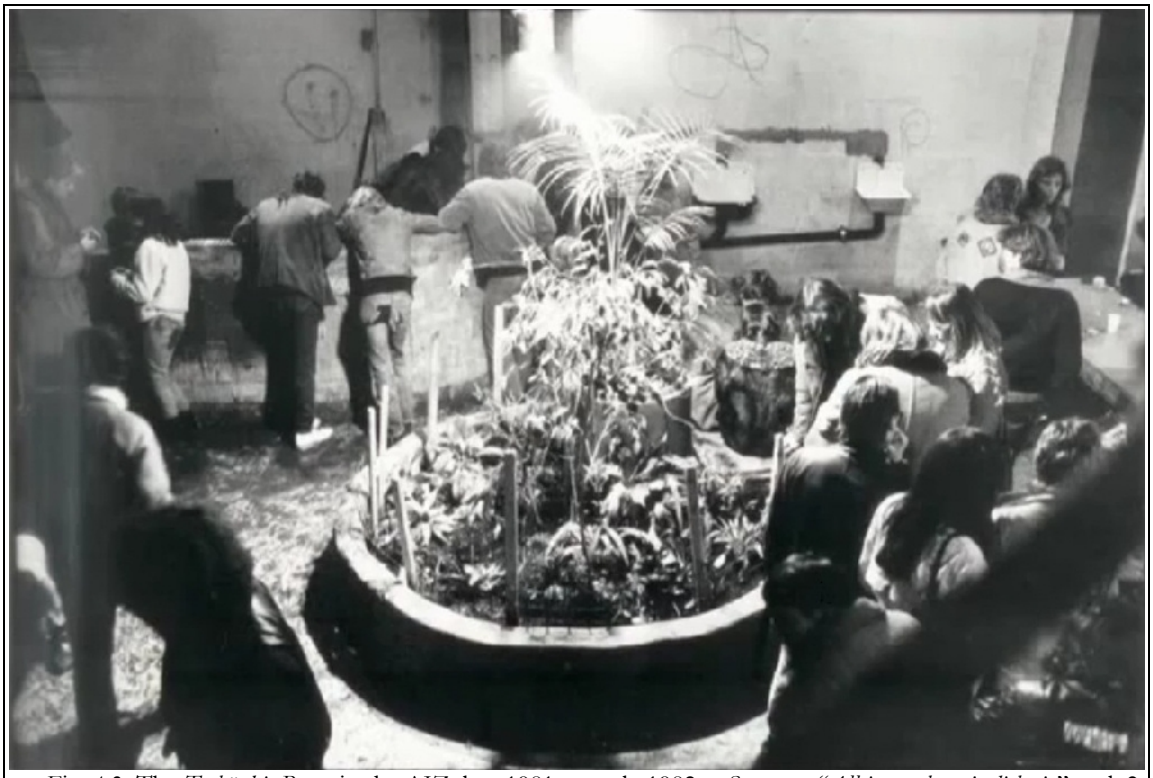

Fig. 4.3: The *Tschönkie-Room* in the AJZ, late 1981 or early 1982. – Source: *"Allein machen sie dich ein*", vol. 2, directed by Mischa Brutschin, 32:00. Original photograph and copyright by Gertrud Vogler, Zurich.

The *Drogengruppe AJZ* had its own weekly meetings in an adjoining room.[678] Every Tuesday at eight in the evening it also helped organize a plenary meeting of heroin addicts, the *Jönkie-VV* which, according to *Drogengruppe AJZ*, was "pretty well attended" although "the debate was still rather chaotic".[679] The *Drogengruppe AJZ* thus did everything to create a space (by providing a room and shaping it architecturally and organizationally) that would hopefully be accepted by the heroin scene, increasing chances that the rest of the AJZ would remain attractive to the drug-free parts of the youth movement.

Wie es dazu kam. Wie es jetzt ist. Wie es werden soll/könnte. Vor.- und Nachteile," 1.

678 It is not entirely clear if this was a separate room or a part of the *Tschönkie-Room* itself. It says in "Der Tschoenki-Raum im AJZ. Wie es dazu kam. Wie es jetzt ist. Wie es werden soll/könnte. Vor.- und Nachteile" that the drug group was meeting "in the drug room" and that this room also served as a possible retreat during opening hours, indicating that a separate room for meetings and possibly consulting or first-aid treatment existed beside the actual junkie room.

679 "Die letzte [Jönkie-VV] wurde recht gut besucht, aber das Gespräch war noch ziemlich chaotisch." Ibid., 1. The abbreviation "VV" stood for "Vollversammlung" or plenary meeting.

4.2.2. In/Visible: the junkie room in operation and the "drug week" of January 1982

> *Because we think it's important that our work is not only restricted to the AJZ while the town council's candidates are enjoying the clean Hirschenplatz and soon the first crocuses will be blossoming, we have planned a drug week. Thereby we want to inform the public that the problems now simply continue to exist in the AJZ.*
> *– Discussion paper, presumably Drogengruppe Zürich, Zurich, 1981*[680]

Even before the reopening of AJZ and junkie room in December 1981 the drug groups had decided to organize an informational campaign. They wanted the "drug week" to have an "offensive, self-confident, non-charitable" character and include as many heroin users as possible.[681] Whereas local governmental drug policy was primarily a struggle about public places, the drug groups were trying to evade this purely spatial logic. They understood the "struggle about spaces not as an end in itself but within the framework of a continuous drug-accompanying-policy [*Drogen-Begleit-Politik*] that is directed at the entire public".[682] It was not enough to provide spaces for heroin addicts; the whole complex of drug use—its reasons, its legal status, its consequences—needed to be discussed and treated as a political and social problem. The spatial practices needed to be complemented by discursive practices, social work needed to be accompanied by political interventions.

This seemed all the more necessary as the work of the drug groups and the whole concept of the *Tschönkie-Room* became threatened from three sides. *First*, the *Auffangstation Tiefenbrunnen*, a sleep-in for young drug addicts, closed its doors from 15 January to 8 February

680 "Da wir es aber auch wichtig finden, dass unsere Arbeit nicht nur aufs AJZ beschränkt bleibt, während sich die Stadtratskandidaten am sauberen Hirschenplatz erfreuen und schon bald die ersten Krokusse erblühen, haben wir eine Drogenwoche geplant. Wir wollen damit auch die Oeffentlichkeit darüber informieren, dass die Probleme jetzt einfach im AJZ weiter bestehen." Ibid.

681 "Drogen-Woche: offensiv, selbstbewusst, nicht charitativ [sic], möglichst grosser Einbezug der Junkies." B. R. (Drogengruppe AJZ), "Standort Drogengruppe".

682 "Kampf um Räume nicht als Selbstzweck sondern im Rahmen einer ständigen Drogen-Begleit-Politik die sich an die ganze Oeffentlichkeit richtet." Ibid.

1982, thereby increasing the run of young heroin users on the AJZ. Both *Auffangstation* and AJZ had unsuccessfully demanded funding for therapeutic programs and were now caught between their wish to provide shelter and their unwillingness to become pure holding institutions.[683] *Second*, the drug groups were under pressure as a result of constant police raids, sometimes twice within twenty-four hours.[684] During these raids only minor quantities of illegalized drugs were confiscated, but they threatened to undermine the concept of a space in which it was possible to consume without stress and fear of persecution. Furthermore, in a tautological line of argument the police took their own actions as evidence for their necessity: "From the point of view of the city police the third raid [*Personenkontrolle*] in the AJZ has underlined the fact that the drug situation in the AJZ has to be regarded as serious", the daily *Tages-Anzeiger* reported in January 1982.[685] This point of view was supported, *third*, by the institutions that were officially running the AJZ.[686] These acknowledged that police raids would not solve the problem of addiction but assumed that they could at least suppress the drug trade, a position that members of the drug groups attacked sharply.[687] The organizing institutions argued that they could not tolerate a "lawless space" in the AJZ[688] and that they viewed the association of the youth centre with a drug room as problematic.[689] The AJZ

683 "Auffangstation wird für drei Wochen geschlossen," *Tages-Anzeiger*, 13.01.1982.

684 "Zweite AJZ-Razzia innert 21 Stunden," *Tages-Anzeiger*, 21.01.1982; "AJZ: Dritte Kontrolle innert acht Tagen," *Tages-Anzeiger*, 27.01.1982.

685 "Die dritte Personenkontrolle im AJZ hat nach Meinung der Stadtpolizei die Tatsache unterstrichen, dass die Drogensituation im AJZ als ernst bezeichnet werden müsse." "AJZ: Dritte Kontrolle innert acht Tagen," *Tages-Anzeiger*, 27.01.1982.

686 A body consisting of delegates from the two Landeskirchen (Protestant and Catholic) and the youth welfare organization *Pro Juventute*.

687 "Zweite AJZ-Razzia innert 21 Stunden," *Tages-Anzeiger*, 21.01.1982; "Drogengruppen setzen sich zur Wehr," *Tages-Anzeiger*, 22.01.1982. A member of the Drogengruppe AJZ accused the organizing institutions to play "the role of the system's court jester [*die Rolle als Hofnarr des Systems*]".

688 "[...] da sie gemäss Vertrag mit der Stadt keinen rechtsfreien Raum – und darum handelt es sich beim Drogenraum – dulden dürfe." "'Drogenwoche' im AJZ," *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 28.01.1982.

689 "AJZ-Trägerschaft will externen Fixerraum," *Tages-Anzeiger*, 10.02.1982.

activists had burdened themselves with an "unsolvable problem" by installing the *Tschönkie-Room*.[690]

In light of this external pressure, an information campaign to raise support for the experiment seemed especially necessary. From 28 to 31 January 1982—five weeks after the AJZ and the junkie room opened their doors and only one day after yet another police raid—the drug week took place as planned. While the *Tschönkie-Room* remained open, the bar was not to sell any alcoholic beverages because, in the words of a member of the *Drogengruppe AJZ*, "alcohol in the AJZ was a problem that was almost as big as illegal drugs".[691] The program featured various film screenings, theatre productions, talks and discussions on a wide range of topics. These included the opium production in Pakistan, heroin use in India, the local drug scene at Hirschenplatz, the prison system, therapeutic *Wohngemeinschaften* and "psychiatrization [*Psychiatrisierung*]".[692]

The drug groups' main goal was to incite a public discussion about the drug problem, but that was only one of several objectives. The target audience for the drug week messaging seems to have been the users of the AJZ. In the view of the *Drogengruppe AJZ*, the drug week was the first attempt to establish a consensus on the topic of drug consumption in the AJZ since its opening in 1980.[693] In this sense, it was aimed at heroin users and drug-free activists alike. While it was hoped that the former would be motivated to become actively engaged in the project of the drug room, the drug groups also wanted to raise the room's acceptance among the latter, to gain "rear cover for the *tschönkiraum* by the ajz-users, work groups, by the left, liberals".[694]

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690 "Zweite AJZ-Razzia innert 21 Stunden," *Tages-Anzeiger*, 21.01.1982.

691 "Vor vollem Haus die Drogenprobleme diskutiert," *Tages-Anzeiger*, 30.01.1982.

692 "Drogen: Betroffene schaffen im AJZ Öffentlichkeit," *Tages-Anzeiger*, 28.01.1982.

693 The following according to a report in: little bird [Drogengruppe AJZ?], "zum jahreskongress," 2, unless otherwise noted.

694 "rückendeckung des tschönkiraums durch die ajz-benützer, arbeitsgruppen, durch die linken, liberalen."

The *Drogengruppe AJZ's* evaluation of the drug week was mixed. Only the last point—raising support for the *Tschönkie-Room* amongst other AJZ users—was considered to have been an absolute success.[695] The other aspects were assessed much more cautiously. Despite changing attitudes towards drug users, a true consensus among all the users of the AJZ still seemed far away. The attempt to motivate the addicts to become politically active—especially in the long run—was still questionable although many of them had attended events that had taken place in the junkie room: "the full *tschönkiraum* during the events already says everything, how much we are still in the beginning here, how difficult this is going to be, yet for the struggle of the d[rug] g[roup] essential".[696] (According to press reports relatively few heroin users attended the events. It is quite possible, though, that journalists did not recognize heroin users as such if they did not match their expectations regarding the look and habitus of "junkies".)[697] For the drug groups it was therefore all the more important that ten to fifteen new members could be recruited during the drug week, so that their strenuous work, especially the presence in the *Tschönkie-Room* during opening hours, would be shared more widely in the future.

But what about the most important aspect of the original purpose of the drug week? Were the drug groups successful in preventing the problem of heroin addiction from becoming invisible behind the walls of the AJZ? During the drug week about a thousand people made their way into the AJZ, among them, according to the *Tages-Anzeiger*, "social

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695 This position was also presented in a press conference shortly after the drug week. Besides the Drogengruppe AJZ, other groups were witnessing increased activities, including those responsible for the printing press, cinema, bar, women's and cultural issues. "Vor allem bei der Arbeitsgruppe sei eine Neubelebung unverkennbar: Die Druckerei komme wieder in Gang, Die Kino-, Spunten-, Frauen- und Kulturgruppe seien wieder, zumindest sporadisch, aktiv." "Vor vollem Haus die Drogenprobleme diskutiert," *Tages-Anzeiger*, 30.01.1982.

696 "der volle tschönkieraum während den [sic] veranstaltungen sagt schon alles, wie sehr wir hier noch am anfang stehen, wie schwierig, für den kampf der dg jedoch lebenswichtig, dies sein wird."

697 "Vor vollem Haus die Drogenprobleme diskutiert," *Tages-Anzeiger*, 30.01.1982.

workers, youth, psychologists, doctors, educators, those confronted with the drug problem in the widest sense".[698] The local press had announced the campaign, providing background information on heroin use in Zurich, the program of the drug week,[699] and debating the concept of the Tschönkie-Room.[700] The *Tages-Anzeiger* published a detailed report on a panel discussion on the history and concept of the *Tschönkie-Room*[701] and approved of the drug groups' positive evaluation of the event, stating that the drug week had shown the importance of the room for the AJZ.[702] The local radio also reported on the drug week. Its coverage included an interview with a young fixer who described her positive experiences with the drug room.[703] It was one of the very few times that young heroin addicts were presented with the opportunity to describe their situation and to explain their point of view. These otherwise unheard voices and perspectives informed the media's evaluation of the drug week. "The fixers shall be able to decide, decide about their therapy for instance", radio DRS concluded, emphasizing the addicts' rights of self-determination.[704]

> That the experiment of the drug room, drug [users'] self-help, is an approach that we have to discuss and continue to pursue – that has nobody denied during the debates of the last four days in the AJZ. There was also a consensus that the public has to take seriously not just the phenomenon of drug addiction but, finally, also the drug addicts themselves.[705]

And the *Tages-Anzeiger*, although hesitantly, considered that accepting addicts and addiction might be a prerequisite for therapeutic successes. In a reversal of official politics the *Tschönkie-Room* could thus serve to lead heroin addicts "from a process of ghettoization into a

698 "[...] fanden sich während der vier Tage gegen tausend Interessierte ein, Sozialarbeiter, Jugendliche, Psychologen, Ärzte, Erzieher, im weitesten Sinn mit dem Drogenproblem Konfrontierte." "Drogenwoche zeigte: Fixerraum für AJZ wichtig," *Tages-Anzeiger*, 04.02.1982.

699 "Drogen: Betroffene schaffen im AJZ Öffentlichkeit," *Tages-Anzeiger*, 28.01.1982.

700 "'Drogenwoche' im AJZ," *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 28.01.1982.

701 "Vor vollem Haus die Drogenprobleme diskutiert," *Tages-Anzeiger*, 30.01.1982.

702 "Drogenwoche zeigte: Fixerraum für AJZ wichtig," *Tages-Anzeiger*, 04.02.1982.

703 Regionaljournal Zürich, "Drogenwoche im AJZ," DRS, 31 January 1982, directed by Isabel Baumgartner, http://zureich.cytracon2.info/de/ton/regionaljournal-drs.html (accessed 6 February 2013).

704 Ibid., 5:00.

705 Ibid., 8:11.

process of socialization [*vom Ghettoisierungs- in einen Sozialisierungsprozess geführt werden*]".[706] These were remarkable successes; the fact alone that heroin users were becoming visible and audible in the discourse on heroin use was truly exceptional. Never before had it been possible for young heroin users to publicly demand their right to self-determination—and to make the media listen sympathetically.[707]

Yet the drug groups assessed these results rather sceptically. "Did we make it?", the members of *Drogengruppe AJZ* asked themselves and came to the conclusion: "yes, although our adversaries […] can and will profit from this as well."[708] The drug week had been a powerful demonstration of what a combined spatial and informational politic was capable of. Specifically, that it might be possible to change the discourse on heroin from one on space and public order into one that was primarily concerned with self-determination and the social and health conditions of young heroin addicts. But despite their undeniable successes, the drug groups still needed to keep the problem of heroin addiction as a visible part of urban space and an ongoing topic in local politics also in the long run. Even the drug week itself had taken place within the walls of the AJZ and there seem to have been no demonstrations or other direct interventions into the city during these days. While the drug week might have served the space of the AJZ, it remained to be seen whether it had successfully engaged local politics.

The key for such an intervention was the question of visibility. Was the drug scene more visible in the AJZ or less? And what were the effects? The scene's visibility was first and foremost one that was apparent to those who visited the drug room in person. Günter

706 "Vor vollem Haus die Drogenprobleme diskutiert," *Tages-Anzeiger*, 30.01.1982.

707 Usually heroin addicts' life-stories would be framed in a narrative of passive victims in need of help and/or driven by "the desire to be normalised". Bergschmidt, "Pleasure, power and dangerous substances": 67-69.

708 "hammers jeschafft? […] ja, wobei auch unsere gegner [...] davon profitieren können und werden." little bird [Drogengruppe AJZ?], "zum jahreskongress," 2.

Amendt, a drug therapist from Hamburg, visited the *Tschönkie-Room* in early 1982 and described his impressions in an article for *Konkret*, a prominent intellectual, leftist magazine, as follows:

> It is a shock. I am getting cold and dizzy. I am not feeling sick, although the scenery is sick. But the poking around in cartilaginous veins, the squirting of blood when a shot is missing its target – I know this, I have seen this frequently.
> But never have I experienced it like this: as a matter of course and totally openly [*in aller Öffentlichkeit*]. There is no escape route for the eyes – girls and boys hooked to the needle are standing, sitting, kneeling and squatting everywhere. "This is the end", the line of a song by Jim Morrison is crossing my mind.[709]

Although Amendt was used to the unpleasant sights of heroin addiction from his own work in the *Therapie-Zentrum Altona* in Hamburg,[710] the scene in the *Tschönkie-Room* still came as "a shock" to him. What exactly caused this shock is open to interpretation. It was certainly based in part on the sheer mass of consumers and the visible demonstration of the numerical dimensions of heroin use among Zurich youth. According to Amendt, between one and two hundred people were frequenting the room during weekdays, while on weekends these numbers rose to some three to five hundred people on a single day.[711]

But the scene might have also been experienced as so appalling because the lack of fear and nervousness could be misread as a lack of shame, so that the whole scenery appeared as "the end" of fundamental norms and values. This impression was reinforced by the still prevailing practices of needle-sharing and of hooking-up youth to heroin who had hitherto not been shooting up:

> One, who so far had been standing apart, moves away from the wall and holds his arm out towards the instigator [*Anfixer*]. The crook of his arm is white, tender and smooth.

709 "Es ist ein Schock. Mir wird kalt und schwindlig. Übel ist mir nicht, obwohl die Szene übel ist. Aber das Herumstochern in verknorpelten Venen, das Spritzen von Blut, wenn ein Schuß danebengeht - das kenne ich, das habe ich oft gesehen. Doch nie habe ich es so erlebt: selbstverständlich und in aller Öffentlichkeit. Den Augen bietet sich kein Fluchtweg - überall stehen, sitzen, knien und hocken Mädchen und Jungen an der Nadel. 'This is the end', die Zeile eines Songs von Jim Morrison schießt mir durch den Kopf." Amendt, "Ein Schuß im Zentrum": 91.

710 Ibid.: 92.

711 Ibid.: 94.

> The scene has something unbelievably obscene. It is as if one would be witnessing an orgy. I have had enough. I have witnessed an hour of truth.[712]

The sexualized description of the scene that evoked the act of heroin consumption alongside acts of deflowering and promiscuity showed the difficulties inherent in a concept assuming that the visibility of the heroin scene would speak for itself and could thus serve as a simple "demonstration of the drug-misery".[713] The visibility of the heroin scene was open to interpretation, it therefore needed to be situated within a framework of meaning and morality. What was for one a demonstration of misery that incited indignation about a failed (anti-)drug policy, appeared to others as a sign of moral disintegration. The "single real place" of the *Tschönkie-Room* contained, it seems, "several sites that [were] in themselves incompatible".[714] And while Amendt, a pronounced critic of hegemonic drug policies, remained at least ambiguous regarding his ultimate assessment of the experiment, it seems doubtful that more than a small minority would have been moved to support the two drug groups in this matter.[715]

The question of whether or not *Drogengruppe AJZ* and *Drogengruppe Zürich* were successful in keeping the drug scene visible as opposed to it becoming invisible behind the walls of the AJZ, addresses only half the problem. With the spatial concentration of the heroin scene in the AJZ, the problem of juvenile heroin addiction became less visible in the rest of the city, a situation that the short drug week was not able to reverse. The scene did, however, become much more visible within the AJZ, at least for those people who frequented the AJZ themselves or read about it in the news. But not much was gained from this visibility alone, as the drug groups were unable to simultaneously shift the discourse on drug addiction. The

712 "Einer, der bis dahin abseits stand, löst sich von der Wand und streckt dem Anfixer seinen Arm entgegen. Seine Armbeuge ist weiß, zart und glatt. Die Szene hat etwas unglaublich Obszönes. Es ist, als würde man Zeuge einer Orgie. Mir reicht's. Ich habe eine Stunde der Wahrheit erlebt." Ibid.: 92.

713 Ibid. Cf. also footnote 644 of this dissertation.

714 Foucault, "Of Other Spaces": 25.

715 Cf. section 2.1.4. For others, the situation in the *Tschönkie-Room* was fascinating rather than appalling; cf. [Drogengruppe Zürich?], "Emotionale, persönliche Erfahrungen um den Tschönkiraum," 1.

visible drug scene could thus be interpreted in very different ways. It could be seen as a socially produced misery, which required a new drug policy based on harm reduction that would also affect heroin users *outside* the spaces of *Tschönkie-Room* and AJZ. Or it could be interpreted as an effect of moral decay and the lack of repression and control, that is, as a result of the drug policy *within* the AJZ.[716]

4.2.3. Further development and the end of Tschönkie-Room *and AJZ*

> *The fixer room stays open. […] Not because it had caused any substantial change, but because there is simply no alternative [*weil es einfach keinen Ausweg gibt*].*
> *– Günter Amendt in Konkret, 1982*[717]

While it was beyond the capacity of *Drogengruppe AJZ* and *Drogengruppe Zürich* to establish that juvenile heroin addiction was a visible reminder of failed, local drug policies, the young heroin consumers themselves seem to have embraced the *Tschönkie-Room*. Yet for them, the drug room existed not in relation to a drug-free 'normalcy' (the rest of the AJZ) as it did to the drug groups' activists. Heroin users were relating the heterotopia of the *Tschönkie-Room* to the places of their own normalcy which basically were other sites of heroin consumption. One of them praised the junkie room in a statement for the *Drogengruppe AJZ* by first evoking the usual life on the streets:

> Away from the toilet where you constantly had to expect to be discovered, to be handed over to the police, [where you] got ordered to stay out of bars and had to endure to be insulted as a filthy lot and dirty fixer [*Saupack und Dreckfixer*]. Where you were risking that dope and instruments be taken away from you. Where feelings of guilt and fear were taking all the pleasure from you. Away from the gutter where the only interpersonal relations are consisting of negotiations about price and amount.[718]

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716 In this sense the drug commissioner of the city of West Berlin, Wolfgang Heckmann, in: "Der 'Tschönkie-Room' in Zürich, ein Beispiel - oder ein 'Verbrechen'?", esp. p. 5.

717 "Der Fixerraum bleibt geöffnet. [...] Nicht weil sich durch ihn wesentliches geändert hätte, sondern weil es einfach keinen Ausweg gibt." Amendt, "Ein Schuß im Zentrum": 94.

718 "Weg von der Toilette, wo man sich jederzeit darauf gefasst machen musste, entdeckt, der Polizei übergeben zu werden, Wirtshausverbot bekam und von anderen Gästen als Saupack und Dreckfixer beschimpfen lassen musste. Wo man riskierte, dass einem Stoff und Gerät weggenommen wurde. Wo Schuldgefühle und Angst

The *Tschönkie-Room* was first and foremost a place that allowed young addicts to leave other places, sites where they were subjected to control, repression and humiliation by police and citizens. Such spaces were invested with emotions, not just with stress but also with "guilt and fear", emotions that had a direct impact on the act of heroin consumption. The spaces themselves were perceived as a significant factor for the miserable lot of young heroin addicts, their lack of joy and the absence of meaningful interpersonal relationships. Only against this background did the *Tschönkie-Room* produce its positive results:

> The *Junkie-room* was furnished especially for us in a tasteful way and allows for everything that is missing on the Hirschenplatz. The liberating effect on the individual fixers who here have joined together to [form] a palpable community for the first time is obvious. Here it is finally allowed to shoot up, so you take your time for it and thereby you are experiencing the pleasure that you are actually wanting from the heroin. Here you are staying afterwards [i.e. after shooting up, JHF] and almost inevitably you are picking up a conversation with the others. […] At these points I realize that I am not alone […].[719]

The junkie room held "everything that [was] missing" on the streets. This was mainly identified in the form of an absence—of repression and the stress that resulted from it—, yet the "tasteful" decoration of the room also contributed to improving social relations between heroin users. It seems that the efforts of the *Drogengruppe AJZ* to make the *Tschönkie-Room* as homey as possible, with plants, lots of light etc., produced the desired effects. Addicts started to "exchange experiences that [they had] made with withdrawal, clinics, physicians and police"

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einem jeden Genuss nahm. [sic] Weg von der Gasse, wo die einzigen zwischenmenschlichen Kontakte darin bestehen über Preis und Menge zu verhandeln." "Tschoenki - Raum. Gegenüberstellung Gasse – Junkie-room," 26.01.1982, SozArch ZH, Ar 201.89.4 - Mappe 1: AG Drogen, Drogengruppe ZH, 1980-82, Drogengruppe AJZ & Drogengruppe ZH, theoretische Debatte/Aufarbeitung, bes. Tschönkie-Raum, 1981-84.

719 "Der Junkie-room wurde eigens für uns geschmackvoll eingerichtet und ermöglicht all das, was auf dem Hirschenplatz fehlt. Die befreiende Wirkung auf die einzelnen Fixer, die sich hier erstmals zu einer fühlbaren Gemeinschaft zusammenschliessen, ist unübersehbar. Hier ist es endlich erlaubt sich einen Schuss zu setzen, also nimmt man sich Zeit dazu und kommt somit schon mal zu dem Genuss, den man sich eigentlich vom Heroin erwünscht. Hier bleibt man danach sitzen und kommt fast unweigerlich in ein Gespräch mit den anderen. [...] An diesen Punkten erkenne ich, dass ich nicht allein bin mit der ganzen Problematik." Ibid.

and to "ponder the possibilities" they had for common activities.[720] The *Jönkie-VV*[721] was considered to be "extremely important" for this process of growing solidarity among heroin consumers.[722] While the parking lot in front of the AJZ had been a liminal *space in-between spaces*, the *Tschönkie-Room* gave young heroin users their "proper" space and with it the opportunity to interact, as subjects "of will and power", with their surroundings.[723]

But things were not as positive as this account might suggest. The practice of hooking-up was still common, as was the presence of drugs, the drug trade and drug consumption outside of the *Tschönkie-Room*. This was largely due to the sheer size of the heroin scene at the AJZ. There were several hundred visitors per day and this was more than the room could accommodate.[724] Although it seems there was less aggressive behaviour than in the past, there continued to be brawls, petty thefts and problems with mid-level drug dealers who "prefer the toilet in order to protect their anonymity".[725] The wished-for character of the *Tschönkie-Room* had been established successfully—but not its boundaries.

Following a brief interval when the heroin scene and political activists were both using the AJZ in a form of "autonomous (not always peaceful) coexistence"[726], the heroin scene began to take over more and more parts of the AJZ. Soon, it was impossible to close the *Tschönkie-Room* when the AJZ was still open. Ultimately, it opened even on days when there was no other work group active in the AJZ.[727] Little by little *Autonome* and other political or cultural activists retreated from the AJZ.

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720 Ibid.

721 Cf. footnote 679 of this dissertation.

722 "Tschoenki - Raum. Gegenüberstellung Gasse - Junkie-room".

723 de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, xix.

724 Amendt, "Ein Schuß im Zentrum": 94.

725 "Auch mit Grossdealern gibt es Schwierigkeiten weil [sic] sie um ihre Anonymität zu wahren, die Toilette vorziehen." "Der Tschoenki-Raum im AJZ. Wie es dazu kam. Wie es jetzt ist. Wie es werden soll/könnte. Vor.- und Nachteile," 2.

726 Cf. footnote 593 of this dissertation.

727 "Der 'Tschönkie-Room' in Zürich, ein Beispiel - oder ein 'Verbrechen'?" 4.

One of the main problems was not just the organization of the room itself but the various ways it related to other spaces. For the members of the drug groups that were running the *Tschönkie-Room*, it existed primarily in relation to the rest of the AJZ; it was a part of the entire autonomous youth centre project and was to serve the centre by disentangling heroin users from drug-free activists. For its users, on the other hand, the junkie room existed not primarily in relation to the rest of the AJZ but to the Hirschenplatz; the favourite meeting place of the heroin scene within the city. It was a chance to get away from streets and the repression of the police. Loyalties towards the rest of the AJZ were therefore comparably weak.

As a result, some of the professionals dropped out of the drug groups,[728] disillusioned and disappointed about the drug users' apathy. About ten addicts had joined the *Drogengruppe AJZ* and were actively participating; a rather astonishing number but still frustratingly small in light of the total number of heroin consumers in the AJZ.[729] Even the more idealistic activists of the *Drogengruppe AJZ* feared that the junkie room might not serve only to deter drug-free youth and to contain the heroin scene but that it could also "draw people in, especially if it is the only place that flourishes in the AJZ".[730]

Those were problems that could not be solved until the AJZ was finally shut down in March 1982. Yet the *Tschönkie-Room* remained present as a valuable experience that the space of the autonomous youth centre had enabled. Evaluating its operations was highly controversial, though. Had it been a complete failure and the main reason for the eventual end of the AJZ? Or had it been, on the contrary, a courageous attempt to find a humane solution to the drug problem that had fallen victim to Zurich's repressive anti-drug policy?

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728 The exact composition of the two drug groups is unknown, but some professionals seem to have participated in the *Drogengruppe AJZ* as well.

729 Amendt, "Ein Schuß im Zentrum": 94.

730 "Er kann eine abschreckende Wirkung haben, [...] er kann aber auch Leute hineinziehen, vorallem [sic] wenn es der einzige Ort ist der [sic] floriert im AJZ [...]." "Der Tschoenki-Raum im AJZ. Wie es dazu kam. Wie es jetzt ist. Wie es werden soll/könnte. Vor.- und Nachteile," 2.

4.2.4. "An example – or a crime?" Long-term effects of the Tschönkie-Room experiment

> *If the Zurich drug groups are on the right track is not up for debate. There is nobody who could tell what the right way was. All ways so far have been dead ends. I have come to known the different personal and political motivations of the staff. Some I did not understand, some appeared questionable to me, and regarding the political questions I would gladly argue with one or the other. But these are no charlatans. These are people who have failed as I did, who had hopes to get at the roots of the drug problem.*
> *– Günter Amendt in Konkret, 1982*[731]

The *Tschönkie-Room* had been installed in an attempt to keep young heroin users in the AJZ and still allow for an orderly running of the youth centre by disentangling the heroin scene from the drug-free youth. In this sense, the experiment was clearly a failure.

But this was just one aspect among many others and it would be a mistake to restrict an evaluation of the junkie room based on isolated criteria. Besides positive temporary effects for drug users and social workers, the room was an attempt to oppose a repressive drug policy that aimed at spatial dispersion and exclusion. It was a first step towards new concepts in the treatment of drug addiction based on the harm reduction paradigm. The *Tschönkie-Room* was the first of many projects to provide spaces for the relatively safe consumption of illegalized drugs. Rooted in the youth movement of the early 1980s, the *Tschönkie-Room* would have an effect not only at the local level but even more so in an international context where it lived on as an idea and experience that helped shape more liberal drug policies in subsequent decades.

The practices of hooking-up and needle-sharing could not be stopped during the time of

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731 "Ob die Züricher Drogengruppen auf dem richtigen Weg sind, steht nicht zur Diskussion. Es gibt niemanden, der sagen könnte, was der richtige Weg ist. Alle bisherigen Wege waren Sackgassen. Ich habe die unterschiedlichsten persönlichen und politischen Motive der Mitarbeiter kennengelernt. Einiges habe ich nicht verstanden, anderes erscheint mir fragwürdig, und in politischen Fragen würde ich mich gern mit dem einen oder anderen streiten. Aber das sind keine Scharlatane. Das sind Gescheiterte wie ich, die Hoffnungen hatten, dem Drogenproblem beizukommen." Amendt, "Ein Schuß im Zentrum": 94-96.

the junkie room's existence. It would probably be too much to ask of a project that lasted less than three months to break such prevailing habits, though. Nevertheless, the room had allowed for better hygienic conditions compared to those on the streets: clean water to dissolve heroin crystals had been readily available, the absence of repression had enabled the drugs to be checked, at least superficially, before they were taken,[732] sterile needles and syringes had been provided by the *Drogengruppe Zürich* and overdoses and "horror trips" had been taken care of by members of the drug groups. During its months of operations, no lethal overdoses appear to have occurred, although the media reported that the official number of drug-related deaths in Zurich doubled in 1981 and that not even police were expecting a reversal of this trend in 1982.[733] It is no surprise that, despite the general lack of solidarity with the AJZ and its users (based to a large degree on the latter's need to constantly procure money and drugs), the junkie room was remembered as a pleasant interlude in the daily struggle of many addicts. "Nevertheless I liked to be in the AJZ", one of them recalled later, "and the *Scene* in the attic, where something like solidarity could evolve, was really good. We felt more like chatting with each other than here on the *Hirschen[platz]*."[734] If nothing else, the *Tschönkie-Room* had been a temporary safe haven for young heroin addicts who were otherwise left to the misery of living in the streets.

Those who were responsible for the room, *Drogengruppe AJZ* and *Drogengruppe Zürich*, came to a much more ambiguous assessment when they evaluated the experiment in February 1982.

732 This lack of repression was only relative, as the police was frequently carrying out raids in the AJZ, especially in the *Tschönkie-Room*. A definite quality assessment was not possible due to lacking drug screening installations. Rising numbers of accidental overdoses could therefore only hypothetically be attributed to purer heroin on the market. Cf. Ibid.: 94, 96.

733 Amendt, "Ein Schuß im Zentrum": 94. The number of drug-related deaths rose from 13 in 1980 to 23 in 1981 in the city of Zurich. Beat Schweizer, "Zahl der Drogentoten in Zürich verdoppelte sich," *Tages-Anzeiger*, 05.01.1982.

734 "Trotzdem war ich gerne im AJZ und die Scene im Dachraum, wo sich etwas wie eine Solidarität unter den Fixern heranbilden konnte, war schon gut. Wir hatten mehr Lust miteinander zu quatschen als hier auf dem Hirschen." "AJZ Zürich und der Heroin-Dämon," 2.

Some aspects were considered to be quite positive. The junkie room was an important model that had the potential of being adapted by "liberal circles" as well; the rudiments of solidarity among the heroin users but also of other groups in the AJZ with the work of the drug groups were valued as a sign of progress; and the visibility of the problem of heroin addiction was perceived as a "good display of crisis", while the "sensual display of the problem in its massiveness" was assessed as "important information even for ourselves".[735] But these positive aspects came at a price. Members of the drug groups felt exhausted and overcharged, comparing themselves to the sorcerer's apprentice who could not get rid of the spirits he himself had summoned. Also, there was a perceived lack of political engagement in favour of pure social work, as the everyday stress of the drug groups' work left participants with no capacity for information campaigns or other political interventions. As people wore themselves out within the AJZ, the city of Zurich got rid of the problem of a visible heroin scene without much effort. The drug groups' activists thus felt like they were "working into the hands of the political enemy".[736] At the same time, the illegal character of the drug room could be used by city officials to put pressure on professional drug therapists and physicians to withdraw their support for the *Tschönkie-Room*, or else face negative consequences for their careers. This fostered existing fractions between the more youth-dominated *Drogengruppe AJZ* and *Drogengruppe Zürich,* with its largely adult and professional membership. Participants feared the *Tschönkie-Room* was perhaps "too hard a touchstone for the heterogeneous drug groups" in the long run.[737]

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735 "Einschätzung des Junkie-raums: wichtiges Modell / Solidarisierungsansätze/ […] gute Krisendarstellung für AJZ und junkie-scene / […] Übernahme des Modells dch. liberale Kreise / […] sinnliche Darstellung des Problems in seiner Massierung als wichtige Information auch für uns / […] Solidarisierung von AJZ-Gruppen." B. R. (Drogengruppe Zürich, Drogengruppe AJZ), "Wichtige Differenzpunkte innerhalb der Drogengruppen," 2.

736 "dem polit. Feind in die Hände arbeiten."

737 "zu harter Prüfstein für Standort der heterogenen D-Gruppen." B. R. (Drogengruppe Zürich, Drogengruppe AJZ), "Wichtige Differenzpunkte innerhalb der Drogengruppen," 2.

Yet despite these fears, the two drug groups continued to work together after the closing of the AJZ[738] and developed a revised set of principles for an alternative drug policy. Two main points in the new policy were a direct result of their experiences with the junkie room. First, the refusal to focus solely on those heroin addicts who were willing to withdraw from heroin permanently and, secondly, a critical view on attempts to disentangle the drug scene from the youth movement.[739] The drug groups tried to fuse these revised principles with their ideals of self-help and autonomy, the need to react to municipal, spatialized anti-drug policies as well as their concrete experiences within the *Tschönkie-Room*. Most addicts, as the groups learned, were not willing to withdraw from heroin and live a life without drugs, while most drug-policy measures were aimed only at the minority of drug users who did so. Left-wing drug policy therefore had to shift its focus to address the whole heroin scene, keeping in mind the social conditions that were structuring it. Drug policy needed to be understood as "part of an encompassing youth, social, domestic, and financial policy", based on the acceptance of heroin addiction as a characteristic of modern society.[740] Policies also needed to consider the possible "ghettoization" that might take place if one separated the heroin scene from other youth and that was accompanied by a specialization of those who were dealing with the heroin scene. In the space of the AJZ, with two different drug groups and at least rudiments of a self-help program for addicts, it had been possible to avoid this ghettoization and specialization. In other contexts this mechanism might not work any more, so that heroin users were in danger of becoming "victims of disentanglement", driven "into a socially marginal position". The separation of heroin users from the youth scene might lead to the creation of a distinct drug

738 B. R. (Drogengruppe Zürich), "Ansätze zu einer kritischen Analyse des Zuercher Drogenproblems," 1.

739 Drogengruppe Zürich, "Versuch eines kritischen Rasters zur Drogenpolitik," [1983?], SozArch ZH, Ar 201.89.4 - Mappe 1: AG Drogen, Drogengruppe ZH, 1980-82, Drogengruppe ZH 1982-83, Referate, Artikel, 1.

740 "Drogenpolitik ist Teil einer gesamten Jugend-, Sozial- und Innen/Finanzpolitik." Ibid.

subculture. This subculture would in turn produce the need for a "culture of administration" specialized in this subculture, including police, lawyers and judges as well as medicinal personnel and social workers. The heroin scene and this new group of institutional experts were thus "mutually giving rise to and sustaining each other" because heroin consumers had been isolated from other youth.[741] As a consequence, "left drug policy is [to be] directed against ghettoization/specialization and, furthermore, institutionalization", the *Drogengruppe Zürich* concluded.[742]

These results were also recorded in the form of a diagram, featuring the "forcefield of the drug scene" (fig. 4.4). The drug scene formed the centre of the diagram. Outside forces that were structuring the scene were subdivided into three sections: "populace", including schools, the "world of consumption" and the media; "authorities", including police, prisons and politicians; and "helpers", including social workers, clinics, therapists and "alternatives: AJZ, autonomous scene, autonomous drug groups". The drug scene itself was understood as a combination of a number of factors. These included the various consumed substances, the social practices surrounding them (marked by catchwords like deal, Mafia, prostitution, crime) and the subjects involved (divided into addicts and occasional consumers). Significantly, the members of the *Drogengruppe Zürich* who had drawn up the diagram, placed "space" on top of the list, thus marking it as a crucial category. A few words described the poles of this category:

741 Recent studies of heroin substitution programs support this assessment. Scholars who have critically engaged the normalizing character of these programs come to the conclusion that today heroin addicts are doubly dependant on heroin (or substitutes like methadone) and specialized socio-medicinal institutions. Von Aarburg and Stauffacher, *Verwirrender Imagewandel des Heroinkonsums*, 2; Bergschmidt, "Pleasure, power and dangerous substances": 64.

742 "Entmischung [der Drogen- von der restlichen Jugendszene] führt weiter zu Ghettoisierung einerseits/Spezialisierung andererseits: die Opfer der Entmischung werden gesellschaftlich in eine Abseitsposition gedrängt. Es entsteht einerseits Subkultur/gleichzeitig spezialisierte 'Verwalterkultur' (Polizei/Justiz/Medizinal/Sozial) die sich gegenseitig bedingen und aufrechterhalten. [...] Linke Drogenpolitik wendet sich gegen Gehttoisierung/Spezialisierung [sic] und weiter Institutionalisierung." Drogengruppe Zürich, "Versuch eines kritischen Rasters zur Drogenpolitik," 1.

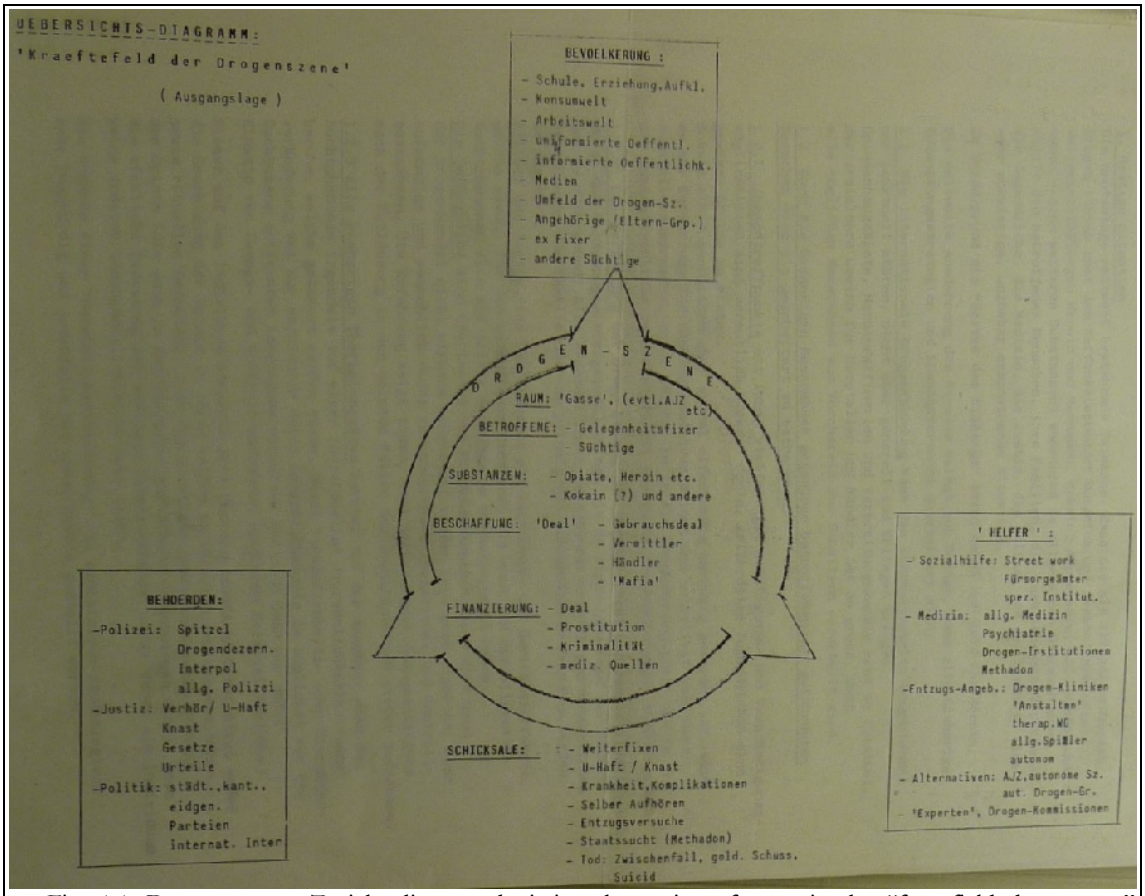

Fig. 4.4: Drogengruppe Zürich: diagram depicting the various factors in the "forcefield drug scene" (*Uebersichts-Diagramm: 'Kraeftefeld der Drogenszene'*). Zurich, April 1982. – Source: B. R. (Drogengruppe Zürich), "Ansätze zu einer kritischen Analyse des Zuercher Drogenproblems."

"'gutter'" (the status quo) and "possibly AJZ etc.". These were not just geographical terms but also symbols of the present dreadful reality and a possibly brighter future.

The diagram, it said in the accompanying text, should therefore not be mistaken as the representation of a fixed and rigid status quo. Rather, "the relations between the groups and between certain factors of the groups" could be changed any time.[743] The dynamic character of the forcefield was exemplified through the category of space:

> Thus, how we were able to experience first hand, the introduction of the factor 'Junkie-Room' (at group drug scene, factor space) would all of a sudden cause a whole series of changes in other areas as well (e.g. factor 'financing' of the drug scene, factor 'uninformed

743 "[...] dass die Beziehungen innerhalb der Gruppen und zwischen den bestimmten Faktoren der Gruppen jederzeit verändert werden kann [sic]." B. R. (Drogengruppe Zürich), "Ansätze zu einer kritischen Analyse des Zuercher Drogenproblems," 2.

public' and 'media' at [the category of] the populace, factor 'police' and 'politics' at the authorities, factor 'withdrawal' and 'alternatives' at the helpers, etc.).[744]

Instead of conceiving of the *Tschönkie-Room* as a simple "free space and space of resistance" removed from its surrounding, repressive environment,[745] it was understood as one aspect of a wider field of drug consumption and its governance. Implementing utopian ideals in practice, that is the creation of a heterotopia of juvenile drug consumption, changed the character of these ideals and the drug scene alike. Spaces such as the junkie room were not just containers for the drug scene or stages on which the state performed a spectacle of governance and control. Space itself was shaped by youth activists and heroin users both constructively—by furnishing the *Tschönkie-Room* in a "tasteful" way and by providing a clean water supply—and through social practices—by declaring the rest of AJZ drug-free and by offering assistance in case of overdoses. Space in turn shaped the subjects themselves: it lowered the stress level of heroin users and it changed activists' evaluations of the drug problem. It changed, in other words, the ways in which resistance against the "ice-pack society" and official drug-policies was conceived.

These results were not restricted to the small circle of activists, social and health workers who were, or had previously been, members of one of the drug groups. Shortly after the drug week in January 1982, the drug groups planned to "check out what's going on abroad regarding h and junkies", seeking contacts with like-minded people especially in West Berlin.[746]

744 "So würde die Einführung des Faktors 'Junkie-Raum' (bei Gruppe Drogenszene, Faktor 'Raum') ganz plötzlich, und wie wir aus nächster Nähe erfahren haben, eine ganze Reihe von Veränderungen auch in anderen Bereichen verursachen (z.B. Faktor 'Finanzierung' bei der Drogenszene, Faktor 'uninformierte Öffentlichkeit' und 'Medien' bei der Bevölkerung, Faktor 'Polizei' und 'Politik' bei den Behörden, Faktor 'Entzug' und 'Alternativen' bei den Helfern, etc." Ibid.

745 In this sense u. b. [Drogengruppe AJZ ?], "2. Bewegung und linke autonome Gruppen," 11.02.1983, SozArch ZH, Ar 201.89.4 - Mappe 1: AG Drogen, Drogengruppe ZH, 1980-82, Drogengruppe AJZ & Drogengruppe ZH, theoretische Debatte/Aufarbeitung, bes. Tschönkie-Raum, 1981-84.

746 "[...] abzuchecken,was im ausland punto h und tschönkies abläuft.in erster linie sollten kontakte zu berlin

The resulting contacts (most of them probably between members of *Drogengruppe Zürich* and other professional drug therapists and social workers[747]) made the experiences with the junkie room available to an international public—a form of visibility inconceivable to the drug groups in 1981.

One concrete result was that the experience with the *Tschönkie-Room* was featured in a radio show of *Sender Freies Berlin* in July 1982. Members of the *Drogengruppe Zürich* reported about their experiences while the staff of Berlin's drug information centres debated the possible consequences of the room for their own work.[748] As for the guiding question, as to whether the *Tschönkie-Room* was a crime or a positive example that was worth copying, the Berlin drug workers replied that there were no plans to install a similar experiment in Berlin. The junkie room in Zurich had not been part of a larger therapeutic program but had evolved within the youth movement in an effort to address an existing problem within its ranks.[749] Nevertheless, it would be wrong to view the experiment as a failure, as its lifespan was too short to allow for a conclusive assessment. There had been contacts between addicts, former heroin consumers and therapists—a cooperation that had been only possible because of the scene's visibility and geographical stability.[750] Furthermore, a single and relatively small "free

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hergestellt werden." little bird [Drogengruppe AJZ?], "zum jahreskongress," 5.

747 Cf. letter of Berliner Drogenberatungsstellen, Arbeitsgruppe: 'Entkriminalisierung von Drogenabhängigen' to [Drogengruppe Zürich?], Berlin, [1982?], SozArch ZH, Ar 201.89.4 - Mappe 1: AG Drogen, Drogengruppe ZH, 1980-82, Drogengruppe AJZ & Drogengruppe ZH, theoretische Debatte/Aufarbeitung, bes. Tschönkie-Raum, 1981-84.

748 "Der 'Tschönkie-Room' in Zürich, ein Beispiel - oder ein 'Verbrechen'?".

749 Ibid., 7.

750 "Two, three years ago, or even further, ten years ago, the drug addicts roamed relatively free and easy in public places. They were also known city-wide. That was a field where they were shooting up in public and also trading stuff and that was also the field where we, for instance, were doing our work; that is, we were doing street work, were talking to people [...]. To the degree that the police became more active at these sites, the people have, of course, disappeared, into the side-streets, into the dark corners. Thus they were much less reachable for us, that is, one could not talk at all with them any more." "Vor zwei, drei Jahren, oder noch weiter weg, vor zehn Jahren, haben sich die Drogenabhängigen noch relativ ungeniert auf öffentlichen Plätzen gezeigt. Die waren auch stadtbekannt. Das war ein Feld, wo sie halt in aller Öffentlichkeit auch

space" within the context of the criminalization of heroin users in the rest of Switzerland was likely to become very attractive for many drug-consuming youth. "Basically this just shows as well that the drug problem cannot be solved from one small, tiny point alone. Rather, it needed to be approached throughout society in a different way."[751] The junkie room, born from the youth movement and its spaces, might have 'failed' on a local level but it continued to live on as an idea among European drug experts.

4.2.5. Conclusion

The example of the AJZ shows that the youth movement and the heroin scene were two distinct but not entirely separated groups. A self-conception based on "youth" prevented activists from copying governmental strategies of segregation and exclusion in favour of attempts to include heroin-addicted youth as part of "the movement". With the opening of the AJZ, the youth movement had a place at its disposal to try to create a space that was different from the "ice pack" surrounding it, a heterotopic notion that was met by perceptions of the AJZ as a heterotopia of deviance on the side of many adults.[752] The successive movement of the local heroin scene towards the AJZ, fostered by constant police raids at meeting points like the Hirschenplatz, supported such a perception.

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gedrückt haben und auch Sachen vertickt haben, und das war auch das Feld, wo wir halt zum Beispiel gearbeitet haben, das heißt 'streetwork' gemacht haben, mit den Leuten geredet haben [...]. In dem Maße wie die Polizei an diesen Plätzen aktiver geworden ist, sind die Leute natürlich mehr verschwunden, in die Seitenstraßen, in die dunklen Ecken. Damit waren sie für uns auch viel weniger erreichbar, das heißt also, man konnte überhaupt nicht mehr mit ihnen reden [...]." Dieter Rulff of the *Verein zur Beratung Drogenabhängiger* in Berlin-Schöneberg, in: ibid., 6.

751 "Das zeigt aber eigentlich auch nur, daß nicht von einem kleinen winzigen Punkt aus das Drogenproblem zu lösen ist. Sondern das müßte dann in der gesamten Gesellschaft anders angegangen werden." Ibid., 8.

752 Haller and Isler, *Die Kunst der Verweigerung*, 187. This notion was also underlying later press reports in which the AJZ figures as just one in a series of many former meeting places of the heroin scene, for instance in Alfons Sonderegger, "Drogenszene Stadelhoferplatz: Die Orte wechseln, die Menschen bleiben," *Tages-Anzeiger*, 19.03.1983: "Hirschenplatz, AJZ, backside of the train station, Riviera, Stadelhofen... The places are changing, the people are staying […]."

Yet for youth activists, the AJZ was far from being a homogeneous site of deviance. Rather, it was a space to be shared by very different people. The coexistence of youth who were interested in political and cultural activities in the AJZ and youth who were primarily looking for a place to buy and consume heroin in relative peace proved to be a rather difficult task. To prevent the AJZ from being overrun and completely dominated by the heroin scene, *Drogengruppe AJZ* and *Drogengruppe Zürich* developed the concept of a designated area within the AJZ to improve the health and social conditions of the heroin users without endangering all other visitors to the AJZ—the *Tschönkie-Room*.

The need to organize several spaces within a single real place had thus changed activists' overall conceptions of drug use and (anti-)drug policy. For although the concept of the *Tschönkie-Room* seemed to have failed, proving wrong alternative ways of dealing with the drug problem—it would be "a crime" to try something similar again, a youth from Zurich was quoted in a radio show[753]—, it actually signified an empowerment for left-liberal and more radical approaches at the local level. While municipal governmental strategies had focussed on local spaces for years, trying to turn the problem of drug consumption into a matter of spatial order, left-wing critics continued to focus on the social and socio-economical aspects of drug trade and consumption. After their experiences with the AJZ, though, it was possible to counter-act anti-drug policies on a local level instead of being limited to abstract critiques of consumerism, lack of perspectives and social and architectural coldness. "It is a crime to do nothing", members of the *Drogengruppe Zürich* said self-confidently with regard to similar projects in the future. "It is a crime to close the eyes and say, we have nothing to do with these problems. At least we did something."[754] By simultaneously abandoning the ideal of a drug-free

753 "Der 'Tschönkie-Room' in Zürich, ein Beispiel - oder ein 'Verbrechen'?" 5.

754 "Ein Verbrechen ist, nichts zu tun. Ein Verbrechen ist, die Augen zu schließen und zu sagen, wir haben mit diesen Problemen garnichts zu tun. Wir haben wenigstens etwas gemacht." Ibid., 11.

life and society and focussing on harm reduction instead, local spaces like the *Tschönkie-Room* paradoxically held the potential to incite an encompassing change in drug policies and to reverse hegemonic attempts at regulating the drug problem's spatialization.

In this sense the *Tschönkie-Room* should be evaluated as a success rather than a failed experiment. In combination with the drug week and other attempts to keep the problem of heroin addiction visible in urban space, the project of the junkie room was a reaction to official policies to dissolve local heroin scenes. Yet the underlying concept was not based on a purely spatial understanding of resistance against this policy. The purpose of the room was to provide a "free space" but not in the heterotopic sense in which many squatters understood their spaces. It was rather conceived as a temporary retreat for drug consuming youth and its proponents insisted on a political solution to end the misery of the young addicts. The solution was not to make this misery disappear from view, not even to help (or force) them to lead a drug-free life—but to reduce the negative impact that heroin and a repressive anti-drug strategy had on these youth. Repressive strategies against non-conforming youth, including heroin users, could thus be countered on a local level without following the hegemonic shift towards urban space as the key site to govern social conflicts.

5. Free spaces? Drugs, gender, and the limitations of squatters' heterotopia

> *There is no pure form of heterotopia, but different combinations, each reverberating with all the others. In a sense, they do not fully function except in relation to each other. But their relationships clash and create further disturbing spatio-temporal units.*
> *– Peter Johnson, "Unravelling Foucault's 'different spaces'"*[755]

So far the conflicts between authorities and youth or, on a more abstract level, between a hegemonic regime and those who were excluded by, or trying to drop out of, this normalizing order, have been described as a conflict about place and between spaces. This conflict took the form of a presumed antagonism between spaces of the hegemonic order and heterotopic counter-sites that were more or less clearly distinguishable from all other spaces. Three perspectives on heterotopias have been discussed so far. They were seen to emerge, *first*, as heterotopias of deviation. Heroin scenes appeared as (volatile) spaces of a deviant other, spaces that were primarily created as an object of governmental policies. Heterotopias of deviance such as the Bahnhof Zoo seemed to contain this deviant other. By putting on display the misery of those who did not live up to social expectations they were also a means to stabilize the hegemonic order. In the case of squatted houses and their surrounding *Kieze*, the heterotopic character was conceived, *second*, as either that of a lawless space or of a utopian counter-site of autonomy and rebellion. A look at the Berlin squatters' movement showed how governmental imaginations about "other spaces" were mirrored in the conceptions of those who were trying to oppose the hegemonic order. In accordance with these conceptions the spaces of youth activism have been described, *third*, as starting points for changing utopian imaginations and practical policies, in this case regarding heroin use among youth. The

755 Johnson, "Unravelling Foucault's 'different spaces'": 87.

situation in the AJZ and the resulting creation of the *Tschönkie-Room* provided experiences that would inform a revised alternative drug policy based on harm reduction. And while scholars have described the heroin scene and the youth or squatters' scenes as separate phenomena, the example of the *Tschönkie-Room* also showed both the dynamic character of the spaces of youth activism and drug consumption and the relation between them. People seemed to occupy and act from within the very same sites; the spaces of the excluded and the drop-outs, heterotopias of deviance and resistance.

Yet the case of the AJZ—its contested nature, its end after being overrun by the local drug scene—called into question ideas of the heterotopia as a homogeneous counter-site. From an outside perspective, heterotopias of deviance were just that—spaces of everything deviating from the norm. But from an inside perspective, differences *among* the youth who were gathering in these spaces became as important as their common opposition against "the state" or the "ice pack society". The more youth identified with supposedly "free spaces", the more apparent these problems became to them. To scrutinize the difficulties that came with the idea of "dropping out" and with political identification based on such "free spaces", I will analyze two fields of conflict within the West German squatters scene.

First, I will describe the conflict about drug use and heroin users among Berlin squatters. In comparison with the youth activists' policies in the AJZ, in particular, the consequences of a comparably stronger identification with space will become clear. While activists in Zurich understood young heroin users as part of their movement who needed to be included in their spaces, activists in Berlin conceived drug users as alien and even as a threat to the squatters' scene. "Junkies" quickly appeared as agents of governmental policies to destroy supposedly "rebellious neighbourhoods" with heroin and were consequentially excluded from the "free spaces" of the squatters' scene. Consequently, the struggle against heroin was understood as a

struggle about urban spaces, and squatters resorted to the same strategy of segregation that the assumed enemy ("the state") had formulated and implemented. The conflict about heroin use in the Berlin squatters' scene shows that the imagined homogeneity of the "free spaces" had to be actively ensured both discursively and by physically controlling access to these spaces. Far from being simple counter-sites, the "other spaces" of the squatters' scene were structured by power relations in the same way that all other spaces were.

The *second* section concerns conflicts about gender roles and relations within the squatted houses. As with heroin users, squatters were confronted with the question of integration versus segregation, albeit under different premises. The idea of a heterotopic "free space" suggested that those who were part of this space had, quite literally, put behind themselves power structures such as sexism and patriarchal dominance that were characteristic of mainstream society. When traditional gender concepts and misogynist behaviour persisted in the squatted houses, these assumptions were shaken. The further self-segregation of women and the creation of women's spaces as heterotopias in/from heterotopias became a possible solution, although a highly ambiguous one. Even where there were women's spaces, the conflicts with the rest of the squatters' scene continued and gender remained a central category for the question of whether spaces could truly count as "free spaces".

This chapter shows the difficulties squatters encountered in bringing about social change through a politic that was based on the idea of, and identification with, "free spaces". These spaces were neither homogeneous in nature nor clearly separated from their surroundings. In many aspects, the "free spaces" of the squatters' scene did not liberate their inhabitants from the constraints of a normalizing society. Rather, they were themselves "free" of any such developments. Conflicts about drugs and gender in squatted houses in the 1980s thus also call into question the very concept of heterotopic counter-sites. While some scholars have

described heterotopias as spaces of resistance and transgression,[756] a closer look reveals that there were no clear dichotomies, in terms of notions of liberation and social change, between the urban order and presumed counter-sites.

756 Good examples for such an approach are Hetherington, *The Badlands of Modernity* and Arie Graafland, "Denkmodelle - Amsterdam und Tokyo. Figures of Thought - Amsterdam and Tokyo," in *Other Spaces. The Affair of the Heterotopia. Die Affäre der Heterotopie*, edited by Roland Ritter and Bernd Knaller-Vlay (Graz: Haus der Architektur, 1998), 72. Such approaches are often relating Foucault's idea of the heterotopia with Mikhail Bakhtin's descriptions of the carnivalesque as a site of transgression. Mikhail M. Bakhtin, *Rabelais and his World* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1968). For a critical discussion of these approaches see Johnson, "Unravelling Foucault's 'different spaces'": esp. 81ff.; Genocchio, "Discourse, Discontinuity, Difference," 36; and Stallybrass and White, *The Politics and Poetics of Transgression*, 6-26.

5.1. Between self-reflection and segregation: the squatters' movement's drug policy

At the same time that the Zurich youth movement was struggling to find a way to organize drug use and/in the AJZ, the debate on heroin use struck the squatters' scene in Berlin as well. Compared to Zurich, the squatters' discourse on drug use in Berlin was almost negligible but it intensified during the winter of 1981/82, culminating in a series of panel discussions, direct actions and articles and letters in alternative newspapers and squatters' magazines.

The use of heroin among youth activists affiliated with the AJZ had been evident from its opening in 1980; the debate on a junkie-room and other possible solutions to the problem of heroin use in late 1981 had been the direct result of a successive conflict about the limited space of the AJZ. In Berlin, the situation was much different. The Berlin squatters' movement had reached its zenith in the summer of 1981. August and September had witnessed the "Tuwat spectacle", an attempt to draw as many as 50,000 supporters from all over Europe to Berlin. While this was a media hoax, and part of militant squatters' scare-tactics rather than a manifestation of actual strength, it did point to the size of the squatters' movement in Berlin.[757] *Radikal*, the unofficial mouthpiece of the more radical parts of the squatters' scene, published an article in its August issue that, under the headline *Anarchie als Minimalforderung* (Anarchy as minimum demand), outlined the basis for new autonomous politics, marking a first step away from *Häuserkampf* to subcultural struggles against "the state".[758] Shortly thereafter, on September 22, the 18-year-old Klaus-Jürgen Rattay was hit by a bus when police drove

757 "Mythos, Realität und Obelix-Feeling," *radikal* 6, no. 97 (August 1981): 4-5.

758 "Anarchie als Minimalforderung," *radikal* 6, no. 97 (August 1981): 10; A.G. Grauwacke, *Autonome in Bewegung*, 56.

demonstrators into the traffic during evictions in Berlin-Schöneberg.[759] His death sparked anger among the squatters but also feelings of powerlessness.[760] In this situation and under pressure from the Social Democrats, the new conservative mayor of West Berlin, Richard von Weizsäcker, announced a six-month moratorium on evictions. Although no guarantee was given directly to the squatters, no evictions were to take place until Easter. "After all there is a time without dramatic evictions, a hard-won free space", activists reflected later. They then asked rhetorically, "What did the squatters' movement do with it?" The answer did not leave room for ambiguities: "There is the '*Psycho-Winter*'!"[761] Without constant pressure from governmental institutions, the heterogeneity of the squatters' scene soon became apparent and suppressed conflicts and emotional turmoil—the *Psychos*—came to the fore.[762]

For many people, it was their first winter in a squatted house. Differences between well-organized and skilled *Instandbesetzer* and less fortunate squatters (or those who were simply less willing to work) became more important during winter. While some invested much time, work and money to secure the houses against the cold, others tried to survive the winter by sealing off windows with thick blankets, wrapping themselves in several layers of clothes and huddling together in a single room in an otherwise dilapidated building in order to keep themselves warm—"not to mention the drugs".[763] The relative peace together with the need to address differing needs among the squatters resulted in open conflicts. As a result of the cold and frustrations about managing it, the consumption of alcohol and other drugs, including heroin,

759 Ermittlungsausschuss im Mehringhof, *abgeräumt? 8 Häuser geräumt... Klaus-Jürgen Rattay tot*.

760 A.G. Grauwacke, *Autonome in Bewegung*, 62.

761 "Immerhin gibt es eine Zeit ohne dramatische Räumungen, einen erkämpften Freiraum. Was macht die Besetzerbewegung damit? Es gibt den 'Psycho-Winter'!" Ibid., 65.

762 The term *Psycho-Winter* was coined by a collective of anonymous authors who had participated in the autonomous movement of the 1980s. Yet even if this term mirrors a later reflection of historical events, already in late 1981 it was obvious to most squatters that the heyday of the squatters' movement was over. Ibid., 65f.

763 "Andere hängen dicke Decken vor die Fenster, organisieren Kleider aller Art, kuscheln sich in einem Zimmer mit vielen zusammen, weil das auch warm hält (von Drogen völlig abgesehen)." Ibid., 66.

intensified among squatters.[764] "The slogan: 'we want everything, but subito' is being bellowed by many only when drunk", an article in *radikal* on heroin stated in January 1982. "The problems that have been hurled away with every stone's throw are returning and hit, it seems, much harder than previously the cobblestones."[765]

The debate on drug use thus has to be understood as a reaction to the squatters' scene's desolate situation and frustration in the *Psycho-Winter* of 1981/82. It resulted from the movement's interior constitution and was not triggered by external pressures. In the following section I will show how Berlin squatters nevertheless portrayed drug use and drug users as something fundamentally different from, and alien to, the squatters' movement, its houses and its neighbourhoods.

In contrast to Zurich, in Berlin the self-conception of squatters as an urban social movement rather than a youth movement facilitated the perception of drug use as something alien to the squatters' scene. The focus on "free spaces" and "rebellious neighbourhoods" furthered this notion and led to the exclusion of drugs and their users from the squatters' scene and what they considered to be their spaces—both discursively and through attempts to distribute bodies in spaces accordingly, that is to keep squatters and heroin scenes clearly separated.

While self-reflections on the squatters' own drug consumption were frequent, these did not influence actual spatial politics in regard to individual squatted houses. Although it was acknowledged that the reasons to intoxicate and stupefy oneself were basically the same, the dividing line between "squatters" and "junkies" was determined on the surface by the consumed substances: while alcohol and cannabis were acceptable drugs for squatters, the

764 Scheer and Espert, *Deutschland, Deutschland, alles ist vorbei*, 133f.

765 "Die Probleme, die mit jedem Steinwurf weggeschleudert wurde, kehren zurück und treffen, so scheint's, härter als zuvor die Pflastersteine. […] Die Parole: 'wir wollen alles, aber subito' gröhlen viele nur noch im Suff." "Berliner Blues oder Alpträume in der Mauerstadt," *radikal* 6, no. 100 (Januar 1982): 8.

consumption of heroin marked people as outsiders. The ultimate reason for such a distinction lay in the presumed lack of productivity of heroin users. As a result of their drug consumption, they ceased to participate efficiently in the activities of the squatters' scene and ceased to be valuable members of the movement.

Interventions of AJZ activists who wanted to share their experiences in order to help develop an integrative and pragmatic approach based on "free spaces" for heroin addicts met with little understanding. Although the spatial conditions were much better in Berlin, creating *Tschönkie-Rooms* for people who were neither part of the movement nor capable of participating in any political struggle, seemed like pure social work to the Berlin squatters' scene. As no coherent drug policy was developed, the inhabitants of each house had to deal with the problem of heroin consumption on their own. Spatial segregation, throwing the addicts out, seemed a logical conclusion based on the preceding discursive exclusion.

The othering of heroin users became most apparent at the district level. Squatters noticed an increasing presence of visible drug scenes in Kreuzberg. As heroin was believed to be used by "the state" to destroy rebellious movements and "their" neighbourhoods (such as Kreuzberg), "junkies" were perceived as both victims and agents of state policies. Under the slogan "*Kiez* against heroin" squatters appealed to the imagined community of the neighbourhood to defend itself against heroin and its users. Although the topic of heroin use was discussed controversially, an analysis of squatters' spatial conceptions and policies in regard to drug use shows—especially in comparison with simultaneous debates in the context of the AJZ in Zurich—significant congruities with hegemonic drug discourses and policies.

5.1.1. "Heroin as Power-Ersatz?" Drug consumption in the squatters' scene

> *Among squatters and in the whole movement drugs—from beer to heroin—are playing a significant role.*
> *– "Kiez gegen Heroin", taz Berlin, December 1981*[766]

The consumption of drugs had always been part of the squatters' scene but to contemporaries its intensity and its ends seemed to have changed during the winter of 1981/82. At the same time, the debate about drug use among squatters was initiated by groups that had also noticed an increasing presence of heroin users in the district of Kreuzberg. They perceived this phenomenon as part of a governmental attack on their movement. From the outset therefore, the squatters' debate on drugs was characterized by a double focus on internal reasons for drug use and heroin as an outside threat.[767]

The consumption of drugs was probably as widespread among the squatters in Berlin as it was amongst Zurich's youth activists. This applied first and foremost to legal drugs like alcohol and nicotine. The use of cannabis was also so common that Hans-Georg Behr, author of *Weltmacht Droge* and a left-wing authority on the topic of drugs, asked only rhetorically "and who is not smoking dope in the left-wing scene" on a panel discussion only to give the answer right away: "At one point or another everybody has been toking."[768] The absence of institutions of control (parents, neighbours, janitors) in squatted houses also enabled squatters

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766 "Bei den Hausbesetzern und in der ganzen Bewegung spielen Drogen vom Bier bis zum Heroin keine unbedeutende Rolle." "Wider die innere Vermummung. Diskussion am Sonnabend: Drogen und Bewegung," *taz Berlin*, 04.02.1982. "Heroin as *Power-Ersatz*?" taken from Ben, "Kiez gegen Heroin," *taz Berlin*, 21.12.1981.

767 The first event to inform the squatters' scene of the threat of heroin was the *Info-Fete "Kiez gegen Heroin"*, *Kiez* against heroin, that took place in the *Frontkino* in Waldemarstraße in Kreuzberg on 19 December 1981. Ben, "Kiez gegen Heroin," *taz Berlin*, 21.12.1981.

768 "Man kann den Kiffer - und wer kifft nicht in der linken scene; die meisten tun's - man braucht kein politisches Motiv, wenn man ihn einlochen will: ein krümel dope reicht. Und irgendwann hat doch jeder gekifft." "wider die innere vermummung," 06.02.1982, ArSozBew B, Soziale Kämpfe. Drogen. 1981-83, 9. See also A.G. Grauwacke, *Autonome in Bewegung*, 68.

to install their own cannabis plantations. Dealing cannabis was seen as an acceptable way to earn money without having to subject oneself to wage-labour.[769]

In the winter of 1981/82 some squatters noticed a rise in the consumption of alcohol (and other drugs), for example during their work in squatters' bars.[770] This increased consumption was sometimes related to the decline of the squatters' movement and the harsh winter conditions, as reported in *radikal* in January 1982:

> Stricken with hunger and their own helplessness, many children of the revolt are fleeing to Mama and her cooking pot. Where we do not have this security, we are desperately grazing the meadow of alternative beneficence. […] No wonder then that the last Mark is turned into alcohol. New on the menu is heroin. But there, at the latest, it's radically over with any self-determination.[771]

While drug consumption within the squatters' scene was thus acknowledged, a dividing line was drawn between alcohol (and implicitly cannabis) on the one side and heroin on the other, between "soft" drugs that still allowed an active participation in the scene and "hard" drugs that were synonymous with the loss of self-determination and hence the basis for political activism. Such a seemingly clear separation between drug consuming squatters and heroin addicted junkies had the potential to split and weaken the squatters' scene but voices calling for solidarity with "junkie[s], alcoholics, pot-heads" and that demanded to search for the reasons for squatters' drug use were scarce.[772]

Consequently, the squatters' scene was perplexed when it came to explaining the increased drug use by its activists. Hans-Georg Behr suggested that drug use was common in

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769 Ibid., 53; 70.

770 "wider die innere vermummung," 2.

771 "Vom Hunger und der eigenen Hilflosigkeit geplagt, fliehen viele Kinder der Revolte zu Mama und ihrem Kochtopf. Wo wir diese Sicherheit nicht haben, grasen wir verzweifelt die beinahe abgefressene Weide alternativer Wohltätigkeit ab. [...] Kein Wunder also, daß die letzte Mark in Alkohol umgesetzt wird. Neu auf dem Speisezettel ist das Heroin. Doch spätestens da ist mit jeder Selbstbestimmung radikal sense." Einige Bewegte, "Stillstand ist das Ende von Bewegung," *radikal*, no. 100 (January 1982): 14.

772 One example is a letter to the editors of the *taz* by a former heroin addict: Conny, "Hey hallo da draußen," *taz Berlin*, 07.01.1982: "Diskriminierung den Junkie, Alkis, Kiffern gegenüber?"

protest movements due to the high level of frustrations and the hostility of the social and political environment in which these movements took root.[773] Others pointed out that the "refusal of expected behaviour" which had once characterized everyone's decision to drop out of society and join the squatters' scene might explain squatters' drug use.[774] These explanations did not answer the question, though, of why people continued with a behaviour that had been directed against their normative environment once they were living in the free space of a squat. One of the organizers of a panel discussion summarized the questions that were behind their information campaign:

> What is actually happening when we are dropping out of *bürgerliche* or normal contexts, what is actually happening with us there? Are we already changed a bit, just because we made a step there towards Kreuzberg or Wedding into a squatted house or aren't we carrying around with us a whole lot of shit that is hitting exactly in that moment when we are no longer under pressure from the outside? […] Why do we booze? Why are we hanging around and why aren't we actually using the breathing room differently?[775]

Answering these questions would have meant confronting possibly painful insights—that the heterogeneous scene lacked a stable base and might be about to be split and defeated. Closer reflection might also reveal that one was not so different from the *Spießer*, the bourgeois, as one imagined. As a result, answers were sometimes formulated as questions:

> Why are we falling for alcohol, *shit* etc., why? Because it numbs us [*zumachen*] against the frustration around us, among us, not [being able] to talk plain language with each other, [about] what we want from each other? […] Why aren't many more people asking daily and openly the question what they should do when their friends, comrades, co-fighters are trotting daily on the beaten tracks to the *scene* bars and getting filled up?[776]

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773 "wider die innere vermummung," 10.

774 "Ob nun Arbeitsverweigerung im Betrieb, Verweigerung in der Schule oder zu Hause bei den Eltern der Anfang war, bleibt sich gleich, da es sich auf jeden Fall um eine Verweigerung von erwartetem Verhalten handelt." "Wider die innere Vermummung. Diskussion am Sonnabend: Drogen und Bewegung," *taz Berlin*, 04.02.1982.

775 "wo wir uns also gesagt haben, was passiert eigentlich, wenn wir aus bürgerlichen oder so normalen Zusammenhängen aussteigen, wat passiert 'n da eigentlich mit uns? Sind wir da schon n Stück verändert, bloß weil wir da 'n Schritt nach Kreuzberg oder Wedding in 'n besetztes Haus gemacht haben oder schleppen wir nicht noch ne Menge Scheiße mit uns rum, die genau dann nämlich zuhaut, wenn wir von außen nicht mehr bedrängt werden. […] Warum saufen wir? Warum hängen wir rum und wieso nutzen wir die Atempause eigentlich nicht anders?" "wider die innere vermummung," 2f.

776 "Warum fahren wir auf Alk, Shit etc. so ab, warum? Weil es zumacht gegen den Frust um uns herum, unter

It was often easier to pose these questions than to search for the answers. However for some, this was the wrong approach altogether. "Anti-imperialists" criticized the information campaign as the beginning of a retreat into the personal and a purely subjective inwardness that would only serve to focus on one's "Psychos" instead of the actual political struggle.[777] The organizers countered that the global political framework of "anti-imperialism" held no answers to the problem of drug use: "That we don't get along with our relationships, that we are getting tight with booze, junk or dope, that there are rapes in the movement and that in some cases we even smash each other's faces is not simply linked to the fact that new mid-range missiles are being deployed in Europe." Therefore, people needed to examine their personal circumstances and political structures critically. "It is not enough to talk about the damn *Staatsschutzglotze* [roughly: State Protection Television] if we're not asking why we're still falling for such senseless bullshit."[778] Although the use of different mind-numbing drugs, from television to heroin, was acknowledged, the debate never went further than the posing of rhetorical questions and vague demands for a self-reflective behaviour. "We know that neither the state nor the others are catching us from the streets, putting the needle against us and throwing us back into the streets as addicts. So let's start with ourselves", the *smash-H-Gruppe* had written in January 1982.[779] The proposed solutions included intensified information and

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uns, nicht mal Klartext reden miteinander , [sic] was mensch voneinander will? […] Wieso stellen nicht viel mehr Leute täglich und offen die Frage, was sie tun sollen, wenn ihre Freunde, Genossen und Mitfighter täglich die ausgelatschten Pfade zu den scene-Kneipen [sic] latschen und sich abfüllen?" "Berliner Blues oder Alpträume in der Mauerstadt," *radikal* 6, no. 100 (January 1982): 8.

777 "Vorwort," in *Frontstadt-Info*, no. 2 (1982), quoted in die neuen Verinnerlichten, "'Kleinkrieg führt nie zum Sieg'! Eine Antwort auf's Vorwort des Frontstadt Info Nr. 2," *radikal* 7, no. 102 (March 1982): 13.

778 "Daß wir mit unseren Beziehungen nicht klar kommen, daß wir uns zu saufen, junken oder kiffen, daß in der Bewegung Vergewaltigungen vorkommen und wir uns zum Teil noch gegenseitig die Fresse einhauen, hängt eben nicht nur damit zusammen, daß in Europa Mittelstreckenraketen stationiert werden. […] Es reicht nicht, von der scheiß Staatsschutzglotze zu reden, wenn wir uns nicht fragen, weswegen wir immer noch auf solch sinnlosen Mist abfahren." Ibid.

779 "Wir wissen, daß weder der Staat noch die anderen uns von der Straße abgreifen, uns die Nadel ansetzen und uns süchtig wieder auf die Straße zurückwerfen. Also fangen wir bei uns selbst an." smash-H-Gruppe,

education especially about the international drug trade and its significance for the upper classes, further discussions of the "*Junkproblem*" in the *Besetzerrat*, and a "sensitizing" of the movement as "we – the movement – are the fertile ground for *junk*".[780] These proposals, however, showed the inability of the squatters to find a practicable solution to their own drug consumption in general and the presence of heroin and heroin users within their ranks in particular.

While the reasons for squatters' drug consumption remained vague, there seemed to be more clarity about the state's interest in this issue. For many squatters it was obvious that the state was trying to push heroin into the squatters' scene in order to weaken and ultimately to destroy it. Illegalized drugs were believed to serve a double function.

First, they could be used to criminalize the squatters' scene as a whole and to imprison individual activists regardless of political debates about the squatters' demands and possible political solutions for the squatted houses. As one squatter suggested, "one doesn't need a political motive if one wants to put him behind bars: a crumb of dope is sufficient."[781] Political protest could thus be de-politicized and situated in a milieu of delinquency, allowing the state to treat the existence of a squatters' scene as an ordinary criminal offence without further political implications, for example in regard to urban redevelopment policies.

The *second* function, especially in the case of heroin, was to de-politicize the individual squatters, rather than the scene as a whole. "Who is pushing, is quiet, is adjusting [to social norms]", the *smash-H-Gruppe* stated.[782] It was the publication's conviction (and that of many squatters) that this quietness, this silencing of protest, was the goal behind governmental

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"@ statt H," *radikal* 6, no. 100 (January 1982): 11.

780 "Daß wir – die Bewegung – den Nährboden für Junk bilden […]." Ibid.: 9.

781 "[...] man braucht kein politisches Motiv, wenn man ihn einlochen will: ein krümel dope reicht." "wider die innere vermummung," 9.

782 "Wer drückt, verhält sich ruhig, paßt sich an." smash-H-Gruppe, "@ statt H," *radikal* 6, no. 100 (January 1982): 11.

attempts to infiltrate the scene with heroin.[783] Those who were addicted were portrayed as "potential 'resistance fighters'": "Most junkies are youth who are, often unconsciously, refusing to accept dominant norms […]. A junkie is exclusively worrying about his daily demand, there is simply no time to think, let alone to rebel."[784] In the eyes of the *smash-H-Gruppe* it was a simple calculation for the state, which had to weigh the social and economic costs of drug addiction and its persecution against the benefits of social peace (through the destruction of political protest movements) and economic redistribution due to drug-related crime.[785]

That the state would not hesitate to use drugs as a means to destroy political protest movements, seemed obvious to squatters based on historical and international experiences. While the Zurich youth movement had focussed only on the present and the single space of the AJZ, without many references to historic events or other movements' experiences,[786] there were frequent references to history and precedents in the Berlin squatters' discourse on drugs.

> The APO/movement [*Außerparlamentarische Opposition*, the umbrella term for the protesters of 1967-69, JHF]; there too OPIUM had been driven strategically into the movement. […] What they are now resorting to again, hoping to shut down Kreuzberg with heroin, no, better said, to paralyze it. To you/us it must be clear that this is a real mean and manipulated "ATTACK" on the part of the pigs.[787]

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783 Cf. "Berliner Blues oder Alpträume in der Mauerstadt," *radikal* 6, no. 100 (January 1982): 8. Here, heroin consumption was equated with alcohol and television as forms of consumption that had depoliticizing effects on the consumer.

784 "Die meisten Junkies sind Jugendliche, die sich zumeist unbewußt gegenüber den herrschenden Normen verweigern, vor allem gegenüber der Arbeit. [...] Ein Junkie kümmert sich ausschließlich um die Beschaffung seines täglichen Bedarfs, da ist kein Platz zum Nachdenken oder gar zum Rebellieren." smash-H-Gruppe, "@ statt H," *radikal* 6, no. 100 (January 1982): 11.

785 If heroin addicts needed to procure immense amounts of money through theft and robbery, the *smash-H-Gruppe* argued, the stolen goods needed to be bought again by its former owners, thus stimulating the market for consumer goods.

786 Dominique Rudin, "'Im ersten Bundesrat saßen drei Guerillakommandanten.' Zur Bedeutung historischer Bezugnahmen der frühen Zürcher 1980er Bewegung," in Balz and Friedrichs, *"All We Ever Wanted..."* 120-135.

787 "Die APO/Bewegung; da wurde auch gezielt OPIUM in die Bewegung gesteuert. [...] Worauf se nun auch wieder zurückgreifen in der Hoffnung, Kreuzberg mit Heroin stillegen, nee, besser ausgedrückt, lahmlegen zu können. Euch/uns ist doch klar, daß es nen ganz mieser und manipulierter 'ANGRIFF' von Seiten der Schweine ist." Conny, "Hey hallo da draußen," *taz Berlin*, 07.01.1982.

Squatters never discussed examples such as the alleged destruction of the students' revolt through opium in detail. Rather, these examples served to blame anonymous forces for the defeat of political movements—it remained unclear by whom the opium was driven into the APO—and to demonize the political enemy. For this purpose it was enough to simply evoke some catchwords without providing evidence of actual cases in which the police or other institutions had supplied protest movements with heroin or other drugs.[788] To activists it had to "be clear" that the police, "the pigs", were capable of every conceivable crime when it came to the fight against enemies of the state.

This lack of evidence put the actual heroin consumers in a precarious position: if heroin was used to depoliticize people and to destroy the whole squatters' movement, then the individual heroin user was at least lost for purposes of the political struggle. Even worse, drug users could also embody the threat of destruction and appear as a tool in the hands of "the pigs". Since the squatters' scene was not willing, or capable, of reflecting the widespread wish to numb oneself through consumption—of alcohol, television, cannabis, heroin—the line between "squatters" and "junkies" was determined not so much by the substances being consumed as by each individual's capacity to engage him- or herself in the movement. As Hans-Georg Behr pointed out:

> For the problem is that drugs are being taken […] as a kind of life support [*Lebenshilfe*], as a support with which one wants to better manage everyday life – including the Left. And then there are some who through or despite such a relief are falling flat on their face. And there we suddenly make a difference. […] Here, our *bürgerliche* society sets an infallible criterion: at the loss of productivity. From then on he is drug-addicted [*drogenkrank*]. But not before that.
> And strangely enough this formula has been taken over by the Left. Unquestioned. If

788 These references included the students movement in Berkeley, the Black Panther Party, Italy after 1977, and the AJZ in Zurich; cf. footnote 845. There are similar references in analyses by the two drug groups in Zurich who also referred to the case of the Black Panther Party and "fringe group activists in German, French and Italian metropolises." Such statements indicate a less self-centred and more historically conscious character of (parts of) the Zurich youth movement than has been suggested by Rudin (cf. footnote 786). Drogengruppe AJZ & Drogengruppe ZH, "Heutige Situation im AJZ," 2.

> someone attracts attention: whoops, this one can't go on; he's permanently drunk. Whoops, this one can't go on; he has but eyes like pins – then he's out.[789]

The autonomous and squatters' movement, together with the New Social Movements and the alternative scene of the late 1970s and early 1980s, had all been a reaction against the call for "revolutionary discipline" by the *K-Gruppen* of the 1970s.[790] Yet the organization of spaces such as the various squatted houses, their renovation and the accompanying political work all needed a certain degree of discipline and willingness to participate actively in the squatters' movement. Practices that used to be "forms of resistance" were now paralyzing the movement, including the use of drugs: "Tuning out [*zumachen*] against authorities at the workplace, in school and elsewhere was and is resistance against being given lectures about norms [*gegen das Volllabern mit Normen*]. Tuning out [*zumachen*] here means to take away the opportunity to be criticized and change oneself."[791] In other words: whoever was taking heroin to a degree that he or she was incapable of participating actively in the squatters' scene, to be "productive", was (consciously) thwarting the political project of squatting. This emphasis on productivity was less surprising if one takes into account activists' definition of self-determination. Autonomy meant taking full responsibility for one's life and not allowing anyone—parents, social workers, political organizations—to restrict one's ability to actively

789 "Denn das Problem ist, daß Drogen von den meisten, die sie gebrauchen und zwar als Drogen gebrauchen, auch als Medikamente, als eine Art Lebenshilfe genommen werden, als eine Stütze, mit der man besser zurechtkommen will in seinem Alltag - auch die Linken. Und dann gibt's welche, die fallen durch oder wegen oder trotz solcher Stützen grauenvoll auf die Nase. Und da unterscheiden wir dann plötzlich. Aber es gibt da keinen wirklichen Unterschied. [...] Hier setzt unsere bürgerliche Gesellschaft ein unfehlbares Kriterium ein: bei Verlust der Leistungsfähigkeit. Ab dann ist er drogenkrank. Und vorher nicht. Und eigenartigerweise wurde dieses Schema auch von den Linken übernommen. Ungefragt. Wenn einer auffällt: hoppla, der kann nicht mehr; der ist permanent blau. Hoppla, der kann nicht mehr; der hat nurmehr Stecknadelaugen - dann ist er ausgeschieden." "wider die innere vermummung," 4.

790 Cf. section 1.2.1.

791 "Zumachen gegenüber Autoritäten am Arbeitsplatz, in der Schule und anderswo war und ist dort Widerstand gegen das Vollabern mit Normen. Zumachen hier heißt, sich die Möglichkeit zu nehmen, Kritik aufzunehmen und sich zu verändern." "Wider die innere Vermummung. Diskussion am Sonnabend: Drogen und Bewegung," *taz Berlin*, 04.02.1982.

exercise control over their own life. Here lay the reasons for the self-chosen compulsory activity that was characteristic of the autonomous movement.[792]

The perception of junkies was thus rather ambiguous. They appeared as victims of society as well as of a political strategy to destroy the movement on the one hand and as obstacles and undisciplined saboteurs on the other. Similar to hegemonic conceptions that had demanded "therapy for addicts, imprisonment for dealers", squatters differentiated theoretically between consumers as victims and dealers as seducers and perpetrators. Yet as most addicts were also dealing heroin when their supply situation allowed for it, this distinction had no practical consequences. All heroin users were equally suspicious.

When heroin addicts were portrayed as wannabe *Spießer*—"Their ideals are those of our normal bourgeois world: not to feel anything, not to touch it, not to become engaged [politically] in some way", as the then left-wing *Psychologie heute* wrote in November 1981—they were turned into a projection screen for the squatters' own unacknowledged desires.[793] The more the squatters' scene denied its own tendencies to "get tight", to shut out all the problems that life in the squatted houses brought with it, especially in the *Psycho-Winter* of 1981/82, the more the "junkies" were condemned for allegedly doing just that.

Heroin users thus served as a projection screen for squatters, as a scape-goat for decreasing political activities and the increasing consumption of intoxicants. The demonization of heroin[794] and the fetishization of space—here the rebellious Kreuzberg, there the evil state

792 Haunss, *Identität in Bewegung*, 115ff., 135ff.

793 "Ihre Ideale sind die unserer normalen Spießerwelt: Nichts spüren, nicht dran rühren, gar nicht groß engagieren." Michaela Huber and Bernd-Olaf Hagedorn, "'Ein Junkie ist ein verhinderter Spießbürger'," *Psychologie heute*, November 1981: 31-41.

794 The supposed demonization of heroin was an important topic among members of the Zurich drug groups (cf. the following section "Drugs, squatted houses, and the historical lesson of the AJZ"). By focussing on the ascribed attributes of the substance heroin, individual dispositions and especially the social conditions that were turning drug users into addicts came out of focus. This fetishization was common in contemporary drug discourse, most notably in claims that heroin would "make addicted" [*abhängig machen*] after a specific number of times of its consumption. Drogengruppe AJZ, and Drogengruppe Zürich, "Heroin in Zürich und

—added their share to squatters' wish to keep heroin out of "their" territory. As a result, heroin addicts were confronted with persistent mistrust amongst the squatters.[795]

Flash: Solidarity

"Junkies: Addicts dependent on heroin, one should keep them off one's back because of their antisocial attitude [*Gemeinschaftsfeindlichkeit*]."[796]

Fig. 5.1: "Warning! Heroin dealers, piss off!" poster, 1980s. – Source: St. Pauli Archiv, Drogen bis 1993.

Berlin," *radikal* 7, no. 102 (March 1982): 11; "Heroin: Die Szene wird vollgepumpt," *Der Spiegel*, 27.08.1979: 87. Even drug therapists were convinced that heroin use would inevitably lead into addiction after the third injection: Drogenberatung im Haus der Mitte, *Harte Drogen in West-Berlin*, 12.

795 Conny, "Hey hallo da draußen," *taz Berlin*, 07.01.1982.

796 "Junkies: Von Heroin abhängige Suchtkranke, sollte mensch sich wegen ihrer Gemeinschaftsfeindlichkeit vom Halse halten." Glossary: *Autonomendeutsch als Fremdsprache* [The *Autonomen* German as a foreign language], in A.G. Grauwacke, *Autonome in Bewegung*, 402.

5.1.2. Drugs, squatted houses, and the historical lesson of the AJZ

> *The myth of the fighting Berlin scene surely has some positive aspects: we still know exactly how much Amsterdam, Zurich have turned us on, but we also know how quickly everything bursts, once you look at it when times get worse. The comrades who ended up totally frustrated about the domination of the AJZ in Zurich by junkies and drunkards [*die total frustriert aus dem verjunkten und alkoholisierten AJZ rauskamen*] and had to watch how a small group of left-overs from the movement was trying to save the place or the movement or both. Where is the power of "Züri brännt"? – A Berlin squatter, radikal, August 1981*[797]

Among the historical and international reference points used in Berlin, the case of the AJZ in Zurich was the most prominent one and served as a negative example as a political protest movement that was being destroyed by drugs.[798] Discussions about heroin use in Kreuzberg and in the Berlin squatters' scene coincided with the debate on drug policy within the AJZ and the emergence and implementation of the concept of a junkie room. Not only did the squatters' scene in Berlin observe the events in Zurich with interest, the *Drogengruppe AJZ* and *Drogengruppe Zürich* also decided to actively seek contacts with like-minded groups abroad, especially in West Berlin.[799] Their similar experiences, the simultaneity of the debates and the willingness and possibility to communicate with one another, for instance through autonomous media like *radikal*, thus provided both sides with an opportunity to exchange

797 "Der Mythos der kämpfenden Berliner Szene hat sicher manch positive Seite, wir wissen noch zu genau, wie uns Amsterdam, Zürich angetörnt haben, doch wir wissen auch wie schnell dann alles zerplatzt, nähert man sich dem ganzen mal in schlechteren Zeiten. Die Genoss/inn/en, die total frustriert aus dem verjunkten und alkoholisierten Züricher AJZ rauskamen und zusehen mußten, wie eine kleine Gruppe Bewegungsüberbleibsel versuchen den Laden oder die Bewegung oder beides zu retten. Wo ist die Power von 'Züri brännt'?" "Mythos, Realität und Obelix-Feeling," *radikal* 6, no. 97 (August 1981): 4. "Züri brännt" referred to the title of the most famous film about the AJZ, shot by a group of video activists in 1980/81; Videoladen Zürich, *Züri brännt*, CH 1981/2005.

798 "Berliner Blues oder Alpträume in der Mauerstadt," *radikal* 6, no. 100 (January 1982): 8; smash-H-Gruppe, "@ statt H," *radikal* 6, no. 100 (January 1982): 9-11; Heroin vom Staat in Kreuzberg. [o.J.], ArSozBewB, Soziale Kämpfe. Drogen. 1981-83, p. 2; "wider die innere vermummung,"1; "Wider die innere Vermummung. Diskussion am Sonnabend: Drogen und Bewegung," *taz Berlin*, 04.02.1982; Ben, "Kiez gegen Heroin," *taz Berlin*, 21.12.1981; Scheer and Espert, *Deutschland, Deutschland, alles ist vorbei*, 133.

799 little bird [Drogengruppe AJZ?], "zum jahreskongress".

experiences, to learn from each other and to develop new ways of dealing with the drug problem. Yet the actual exchanges only highlighted the differences between the two scenes (or, more exactly, of the groups working on the topic of drug consumption) without producing any practical results.

The debate started with a series of articles in *radikal* in January 1982 that highlighted the presumed governmental interest in pushing the heroin scene towards Kreuzberg in order to destroy the squatters' movement and pave the way for the wholesale redevelopment of the district.[800] In February, *Drogengruppe AJZ* and *Drogengruppe Zürich* wrote a statement in response to these articles that was published in the March issue of *radikal*, criticizing these assumptions as inadequate.[801] The statement of the Zurich drug groups was therefore written in light of the first experiences with the newly installed *Tschönkie-Room* in the AJZ.

Although the author[802] from Zurich shared the assumption that the state was purposefully trying to infiltrate the Berlin squatters' scene with heroin, the criticism of the original articles was harsh:

> Dear comrades […]. With interest I read your article on "H" in [the January issue] no. 100 and wasn't surprised to discover that you're assuming the same attitude towards *äitsch* like all Left/activists so far, which I consider to be wrong and superficial and that significantly does not lead to a militant practice but, on the contrary, is consolidating the general helplessness and perplexity of the scene against junkies and *äitsch*.[803]

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800 "Berliner Blues oder Alpträume in der Mauerstadt," *radikal* 6, no. 100 (January 1982): 8; smash-H-Gruppe, "@ statt H," *radikal* 6, no. 100 (January 1982): 9-11; the use of drugs was also touched upon in Einige Bewegte, "Stillstand ist das Ende von Bewegung," *radikal* 6, no. 100 (January 1982): 14. Cf. also the previous section 5.1.1.

801 All quotes in the following from Drogengruppe AJZ and Drogengruppe Zürich, "Heroin in Zürich und Berlin," *radikal* 7, no. 102 (March 1982): 11, unless otherwise noted.

802 The article had been written by a single person but signed by both drug groups. The identity of the author is unknown.

803 "Hallo Genossen [...]. Ich las mit Interesse euren Artikel übers 'H' im Nr. 100 und war nicht überrascht festzustellen, daß ihr dem äitsch gegenüber dieselbe Haltung habt, wie bisher alle Linken/Bewegten, die ich für teilweise falsch und oberflächlich halte und die bezeichnenderweise zu keinem kämpferischen Praxisansatz führt, sondern im Gegenteil die allgemeine Hilflosigkeit und Ratlosigkeit in der Szene den Tschönkis und dem äitsch gegenüber zementiert."

All the clamouring about the role of the state could not obscure these facts, the author(s) continued. The squatters themselves were not so different from the state with their demonization of heroin and addicts while ignoring the "criminalization and psychiatrization of misfits in hitherto unknown dimensions". The addicts' lack of resistance to this mechanism was a direct result of this demonization: "As long as the junkies are being pushed away by you, yes, even met with open hostility sometimes, they are staying isolated, believing themselves the story of the kaput fixer that is incapable to offer resistance anyway."[804] This did not mean idealizing the addicts' revolutionary potential or downplaying the negative effects of heroin addiction. Their own experiences would show that for heroin addicts the drugs would always have "absolute priority". To ignore this fact would simply cause even bigger disappointments. "To fix surely is no revolutionary act, not even resistance. Mystification in a positive sense is as wrong as the fomentation that is going on in the scene at the moment." Still one needed to understand the common cause and the necessity to stay together against the state: "My point is that we do not split and that we strike back together when the state is taking action against individuals among us by calling them sick, and is then subjecting them to governmental brainwash methods without any protest."[805] These remarks summarized in a few sentences the approach and the first practical experiences of the two Zurich drug groups. They were committed to including heroin users as fellow victims of governmental repression without

804 "Ihr schaut wie gebannt auf die Teufelsdroge, 'die kaputten Fixer' und scheint darob den Blickwinkel zu verlieren für das, was in Wirklichkeit abläuft: die Kriminalisierung und Psychatrisierung [sic] von Unangepaßten in bisher nie gekannten Maß [sic]. […] Solange die Tschönkis auch von euch abgestossen, ja manchmal voll angefeindet werden, bleiben sie isoliert, glauben selbst an die Mär vom kaputten Fixer, der sowieso unfähig ist, Widerstand zu leisten."

805 "Zudem wissen wir aus eigener Erfahrung [...] und anhand unserer Versuche von Zusammenarbeit mit Fixern, daß die Sicherstellung des nächsten Schusses immer noch absolute Priorität hat. Sich da Illusionen zu machen, bringt nur umso größere Enttäuschungen mit sich. Fixen ist sicher kein revolutionärer Akt, nicht mal Widerstand. Mystifizierung im positiven Sinn ist genau so falsch wie die Verhetzung, die zur Zeit in der Szene am laufen ist. Es geht mir darum, daß wir uns untereinander nicht spalten und uns gemeinsam zur Wehr setzen, wenn der Staat gegen einzelne unter uns vorgeht, indem er sie als krank bezeichnet und sie dann ohne Protest staatlichen Gehirnwaschmethoden unterzieht."

unrealistic hopes of withdrawal and revolutionary action on the part of the heroin addicts.

The author(s) then gave some impressions of the *Tschönkie-Room* and their attempts to disentangle heroin consumers and other clientèle of the AJZ while fostering efforts at self-help and securing first-hand information about heroin addicts' concerns. Here, the author(s) concluded, was a chance for the Berlin squatters' scene to develop similar approaches:

> I can imagine that in Berlin something similar was possible and necessary as well. E.g. the organization of a squatting with fixers or, if there isn't sufficient strength for this, to provide the fixers with an already squatted house where they would be able to build some rudiments of self-help in cooperation with some of you who are interested in this, including left social workers who know their stuff.[806]

Although the article appeared only in March, that is shortly before or after the AJZ was shut down because of the dominance of the heroin scene, this development was not foreseeable. But even if it had been obvious that the experiment of the *Tschönkie-Room* would not save the project of the AJZ, the last quote implicitly referred to the different prerequisites of a heroin-related policy in the Berlin squatters' scene. For while in Zurich the coexistence of youth and heroin scene had to be organized in the small space of a single building, in Berlin there were much better conditions for such a coexistence due to the significantly larger amount of available space. One could but did not have to share the same apartment or even the same house, but was free to (help) organize squattings exclusively for addicts in order to provide spaces in which they could be stabilized without being dependent on disciplinary institutions. Together one could then organize events similar to the "drug week" in Zurich. Yet the necessary precondition required the squatters "to get rid of these self-destructive trips of exclusion and delimitation, even in regard to the junkies".[807]

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806 "Ich kann mir vorstellen, daß ähnliches auch in Berlin möglich wäre. Z.B. die Organisierung einer Hausbesetzung mit Fixern, oder, wenn dazu die Kräfte nicht ausreichen, die Zurverfügungstellung eines schon besetzten Hauses für die Fixer, wo sie in Zusammenarbeit mit ein paar Interessierten von Euch, inklusive Sozialarbeitern, die einen drauf haben, so Ansätze von Selbsthilfe aufbauen könnten."

807 "Aber das bedeutet auch, daß wir mit diesen selbstzertörerischen Ausschließungs- und Abgrenzungstrips aufräumen, auch den Tschönkis gegenüber."

The *smash-H-Gruppe* which had written the longest of the original articles in *radikal* replied to these accusations and suggestions in the same issue.[808] They repudiated the reproach that they were "starting a virulent campaign against 'kaput fixers'"[809]: "It is our intention to address the H-problem […] before the H is spreading over the whole *Kiez*. It is an attempt to defend ourselves against the destruction of our developed structures – if it's an illusion, we will see."[810] The semantics reveal the Berlin group's underlying thinking. While the Zurich drug groups would usually speak of individuals (junkies, fixers) or habits (fixing, drug consumption) as parts of their own scene, the *smash-H-Gruppe* referred to an anonymous "H-problem". In their view, the problem was not born of people or habits but of a substance that was threatening spaces and structures. Defences therefore needed to be erected against this fetishized and anonymous enemy. "This is (still!) a different situation from the *AJZ-Tschönkiraum*, where there are 100-200 junkies daily and 300-500 on the weekends", the group continued.[811] This remark shows that the authors had read Günter Amendt's report on the *Tschönkie-Room* in *Konkret*;[812] and that they were also using this knowledge to emphasize the urgency of defending their spaces. Their situation was "(still!)" different but was under immediate threat of becoming very similar.

The problem of the implicit exclusion of heroin addicts—for the practical defence of what was considered to be their spaces against "H" could mean nothing else—was shrugged off as apolitical and beside the point: "The accusation we would damn the junkies and disassociate ourselves from them is too much a question of morality to us [*ist uns zu*

808 The following according to smash-H-Gruppe, "[ohne Titel]," *radikal* 7, no. 102 (March 1982): 12.

809 "[...] eine Hetzkampagne gegen die 'kaputten Fixern' [sic] zu starten."

810 "Unsere Absicht ist es, das H-Problem zu thematiseren, [...] bevor sich das H hier im Kiez total breitgemacht hat, Es ist ein Versuch, sich gegen eine Zertsörung [sic] unserer aufgebauten Strukturen zu wehren - ob's eine Illusion ist, das wird sich zeigen."

811 "Dies ist (noch!) ne andere Situation wie im AJZ-Tschönkieraum, wo täglich 100-200 Junkies und am Wochenende 300-500 sind [...]."

812 Cf. section 4.2.2.

moralisch]."[813] It was a moral problem rather than a question of political strategies because heroin addicts were not the subject of political protests. They could only be the object of paternalistic care work as long as they were addicted to the needle:

> To us it is no suppression of problems when we say that we don't know what to do with stoned [*zugedrückten*] junkies. There we understand your work as social work, the pretensions of which are unclear to us. We are proceeding from the assumption, partly from our own experiences, that one can build up something once junkies have stopped shooting up. As long as all problems are pushed away, a confrontation is not possible. No more than organizing or politicization […].[814]

The authors of the article were touching upon a raw point here, as the successive decrease of political and cultural activities in the AJZ to the advantage of pure social work had been a problem for the drug groups (and probably for all non-addicted users of the AJZ) and one of the reasons for a slump in activists' motivation in February and March 1982.[815] Yet the authors ignored the long-term goal of the *Tschönkie-Room* to enable addicts to withdraw from heroin within a self-determined framework instead of excluding them until they found a way to withdraw on their own or through the help of disciplinary institutions. Here, the Berlin squatters were reproducing hegemonic assumptions according to which addicts needed to suffer sufficiently before they were willing to endure the (comparably less painful) procedure of a withdrawal.

Based on these assumptions, the *smash-H-Gruppe* refused to adapt the concept of the *Tschönkie-Room* as a possible solution for the Berlin scene:

> While we can understand the *Junk-Problem*, we cannot accept it (make the best of it), by creating a stress-free space in which junkies can be pushing in peace, the idea of such a ghetto is horrifying to us. It's obvious what is the main topic of discussion here [i.e. in

813 "Der Vorwurf, wir würden die Junkies verdammen und uns von ihnen abgrenzen, ist uns zu moralisch."

814 "Für uns ist es kein Wegdrängen von Probleme, wenn wir sagen, daß wir mit vollgedrückten Junkies nichts anfangen können. Da begreifen wir eure Arbeit als Sozialarbeit, deren Anspruch uns nicht klar ist. Wir gehen, teilweise aus eigener Erfahrung, davon aus, daß sich was aufbauen läßt, wenn Junkies aufgehört haben zu drücken. Solange sämtliche Probleme weggedrückt werden, ist eine Auseinandersetzung nicht möglich. Ebensowenig eine Organisierung oder Politisierung [...]."

815 See for instance B. R. (Drogengruppe Zürich, Drogengruppe AJZ), "Wichtige Differenzpunkte innerhalb der Drogengruppen," 2.

> such a room, JHF], surely not how one could spend one's time more "productively" or how to fight against the swinish dealers, prison etc. It is also unclear how a junkie should stop [shooting up, JHF], if there is a space where good and cheap dope is available. That is a constant temptation [*Anmache*]![816]

In a way, the groups in Berlin dealing with the drug problem were in a position similar to that of the *Drogengruppe Zürich* at the opening of the AJZ in 1980, when its members had initially tried to implement a policy of "no dope in the AJZ". The groups in Berlin lacked the experiences of their counterparts in Zurich, so they were not willing, or able, to accept the existence of drug use and drug users in their ranks or to adopt a more pragmatic approach of harm reduction. This was partly due to the disassociation of "the polit- and the junk-scene" as a quasi natural fact, as presented by *smash-H*. In contrast to Zurich, the discussion in Berlin about heroin was one *about* heroin users, it was not a discussion that took place *with* them.[817]

This difference had practical implications for the organization of space in individual squatted houses. "What do we do with our hard-won free spaces?", the *smash-H-Gruppe* asked in its first article.[818] For those who had squatted a whole house and had no heroin users in their group, the situation was comparatively easy. The *Instandbesetzer* around Benny Härlin[819] simply returned to capitalist notions of private property and copied governmental strategies of dislocations, albeit presented as a consensual agreement between equals: "The fixers, who have their scene at the next corner, in the meantime know: no shooting up in our garden."[820] Spatial

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816 "Wir können das Junk-Problem zwar verstehen, jedoch nicht akzeptieren (das beste draus machen), indem wir nen streßfreien Raum schaffen, wo Junkies in Ruhe drücken können, uns graust's bei dem Gedanken an solch ein Getto. Es liegt auf der Hand, was hier Gesprächsthema Nr. 1 ist, sicher nicht, wie jeder seine Zeit 'produktiver' verbracht werden könnte [sic] oder wie der Kampf gegen die schweinischen Dealer, Knast etc. zu führen ist. Unklar ist uns auch, wie ein Junkie aufhören soll, wenn dort ein Raum ist, wo es guten und billigen Stoff gibt. Das ist ne ständige Anmache!"

817 "AJZ Zürich und der Heroin-Dämon," 1.

818 "Was machen wir mit unseren erkämpften Freiräumen?" smash-H-Gruppe, "@ statt H," *radikal* 6, no. 100 (January 1982): 11.

819 Cf. pp. 158ff.

820 "Die Fixer, die an der nächsten Ecke ihre Scene haben, wissen mittlerweile Bescheid: kein Druck in unserem Garten." Härlin, "Von Haus zu Haus": 8.

segregation seemed to be an obvious and easy way to implement a solution—at least from the point of view of the squatters.

On the two panel discussions on heroin use—*Kiez gegen Heroin* ("*Kiez* against heroin") on 19 December 1981 and the follow-up event *Wider die innere Vermummung* ("Against the internal disguise") on 6 February 1982—three currents within the squatters' scene became apparent. The first one wanted to gather more information on the problem before taking any action. Due to the lack of personal and/or political contacts with heroin addicts the core of the problem was not identified as the addicts' miserable situation but their distribution in or near the spaces of the squatters' scene. One squatter wanted to "know exactly where exactly all these junkies are lying around after all and such"[821], formulations that were remarkably similar to those of middle-class citizens who confronted the heroin scene in their neighbourhoods.[822] A second current highlighted the necessity to help the addicts, although it is unclear by which means or how many people supported such an approach. The third and final current supported a strict policy of exclusion against heroin users: "out of the houses and away with it. We have no use for junkies."[823] These positions were not surprising and mirrored the debate in *radikal* (and mainstream discourses). However, during the discussions the specific position of individual squatted houses in regard to drug use also became apparent.

Even if different groups of squatters were living in different apartments within a building, the point of reference and identification was always the whole house. People would introduce themselves as inhabitants of "Leuschi 7" or "Luckauer 3" without specifying which apartment.[824] This usually meant that the individual apartments were not locked and were

821 "[...] genau wissen, wo denn nun die ganzen junkies rumliegen und so." "wider die innere vermummung," 2.

822 Cf. p. 65.

823 "[...] und die dritte Seite sagte halt, raus aus den Häusern und weg damit. Mit junkies können wir nix anfangen." "wider die innere vermummung," 2.

824 Cf. for instance A.G. Grauwacke, *Autonome in Bewegung*, 68, 79.

therefore accessible to all inhabitants of a house, even if these included heroin addicts, alternative *Instandbesetzer*, autonomous "political" squatters and other individuals.[825] For addicts who were dependent on opportunities to sleep and eat for free and to procure material that could be sold on the black market in order to finance their heroin supply, these conditions were preferable to those in any 'ordinary' house. One squatter reported at the "*Kiez* against heroin" event:

> We had two junkies in the house. They were mooching off of us for weeks. Whenever someone found them out, they just went to the next one. To them it's paradise on earth in the squatted house. Then money was missing and on the plenum it was decided 'they have to get out'. But no one really had the courage to throw them out.[826]

The inability to throw two addicts out of a house where they were living off the resources of other inhabitants and even stealing from them, resulted from a variety of possible reasons. One might have been linked to the character of the squats as "free spaces", for who could claim the rights to exclude people from such a space? Also, the plenum might have been the only authority to decide on such a question; who was to execute its decisions was less clear (and it is perhaps safe to assume that no one was very eager to volunteer for such an ungrateful task). But also personal relationships and pity with these people due to the harsh Berlin winter played a role, as another squatter pointed out: "What do you do if a junkie, who you might know from the past, is standing in front of your door and wants to sleep in your house. You cannot simply send him away! For where should he go in this weather?"[827] Once heroin users were living in a squatted house or a personal relationship of any kind existed, the policy of sending them away, of "no shooting up in our garden" was much more difficult to

825 As in the case of a squat in Frobenstraße 10; ibid., 67.

826 "Wir hatten zwei Junkies im Haus. Die haben sich bei uns wochenlang durchgeschnorrt. Wenn einer ihnen auf die Schliche kam, sind sie eben zum nächsten. Das ist für die das Paradies auf Erden im besetzten Haus. Dann hat Geld gefehlt und im Plenum hieß es 'die müssen raus'. Aber keiner hat sich recht getraut, sie rauszuschmeißen', berichtet ein Besetzer aus Moabit." Ben, "Kiez gegen Heroin," *taz Berlin*, 21.12.1981.

827 "Was machst Du denn, wenn ein Junkie, den du vielleicht noch von früher kennst, vor der Tür steht und will bei dir im Haus pennen. Einfach wegschicken, looft nicht! Wo soll er denn hin bei dem Wetter?" Ibid.

implement. This was especially true when (former) addicts understood themselves as a genuine part of the squatters' scene. One such individual emphasized that he wouldn't have been able to get away from using drugs without the support of a group of activists.[828] Another ex-addict demanded in a letter to *taz Berlin* that, despite the necessities of the political struggle, the squatters should "still leave open that much free space to better understand and get to know the people near you. There will always be some among us who don't have as much *power* to live and fight."[829] By including herself and other (former) addicts into the imagined "we" of the squatters' scene, the writer of this letter was asserting an explicit claim on the concept of "free spaces" for heroin addicts and on their participation in the squatters' movement.

The debate on heroin did not produce any results that could have been translated into practical strategies on the level of the squatted houses. The *smash-H-Gruppe* had answered their own question about the proper use of their "free spaces" with a vague demand to improve the interpersonal relationships and the social climate of the squats:

> Of course it is difficult to treat each other more humanely, to find new ways to live together, with all the shit around (and unfortunately also within) us. If we are setting about this more profoundly, the breeding ground for mind-numbing dependencies won't be nourished any more.[830]

This was wishful thinking, though, and it did not help people find a way to deal with the actually existing heroin addicts in the houses. Rather, such statements showed the perplexity of the scene and were evidence of a common reaction to crises that simply demanded that squatters get "even better" and more determined in order to overcome these crises. In the end,

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828 Ibid.

829 "Ihr solltet […] noch soviel Freiraum offenlassen, um die Menschen in eurer Nähe unter euch besser verstehen und kennenzulernen. Es wird immer welche unter uns geben, die nicht soviel Lebens- und Kampfpower besitzen." Conny, "Hey hallo da draußen," *taz Berlin*, 07.01.1982.

830 "Natürlich ist es schwer, menschlicher miteinander umzugehen, andere Formen des Zusammenlebens zu finden bei der ganzen Scheiße um (und leider auch in) uns herum. Wenn wir da tiefgreifender rangehen, ist dem Nährboden für betäubende Abhängigkeiten die Nahrung entzogen." smash-H-Gruppe, "@ statt H," *radikal* 6, no. 100 (January 1982): 11.

"each house has to decide on its own"[831] how the problem of heroin users should be addressed.

In contrast to many contemporary and scholarly portrayals, political and drug scene were not entirely separated at the beginning of the 1980s. This was true of the AJZ in Zurich but also for the Berlin squatters' scene. The interaction between groups of activists in both cities also shows how the youth and squatters' movement were not just developing simultaneously, and facing similar problems, but how they were actively engaged in discussions with one another. Yet their different conceptions of heroin users rendered their exchanges rather fruitless. Although conditions for an alternative drug policy were comparably better in Berlin, with much more space for potential "junkie rooms", the construction of "junkies" as alien to the squatters' movement and even agents of governmental policies, made such plans appear senseless and apolitical.[832]

Since a political concept for the organization of space was missing, that is, since there were no spaces similar to the *Tschönkie-Room* implemented in Berlin, a policy of segregation was one of the few workable solutions that could be organized at the micro-level. The hesitancy of individual squatters to throw addicts out of the houses shows that such a policy affected one of the foundational principles embraced by squatters and *Autonome*. If liberation and resistance were based on "free spaces", spaces without dominance and power structures for all those who opposed hegemonic society and its norms, who were they to restrict the access to these

831 "Das muß jedes Haus selbst entscheiden, ob die Gruppe stark genug ist für sowas." Ben, "Kiez gegen Heroin," *taz Berlin*, 21.12.1981.

832 That is not to say that the concrete houses did not matter to squatters; especially in winter 1981/82 it was apparent that new squats would not be easily obtained. From the squatters' perspective the situation might even have been characterized by an acute scarcity of spaces, whereas it appeared as an abundance for Zurich activists who had to make do with a single building. The direct comparison with the AJZ in Zurich shows, however, that the squatters' unwillingness to even consider something like the "Tschönkie-Room" for Berlin can not be explained by a lack of potential spaces.

spaces? Wouldn't such a practice of exclusion change the very nature of the "free spaces" and undermine the whole project of autonomy? Hans-Georg Behr summarized his fears in this regard when he explored the question of the squatters' scene's future directions: "I think 'junkies out' is a very dangerous recipe. […] I don't believe that we should assume a police-like function. Even if meanwhile this tendency is being portrayed, especially in left-wing establishments for instance, as absolutely essential."[833] That these fears were not completely unfounded is evidenced by the squatters' venues. Here, at the interface between the squatters' scene and the surrounding territory, the squatters' own focus on space defined their perception of, and politics on, heroin use almost exclusively. Until the 1990s, a poster against heroin dealers (fig. 5.1) would find its way into virtually every left-wing bar and venue (often in the form of stickers displayed on walls and tables). It was these potential entry points into the squatters' and autonomous scene that continued to shape concerns about a possible "invasion" of heroin into the scene for many years to come.

5.1.3. "Their strategy: heroin into the ghettos!" Spatial conceptions of heroin use in the Berlin squatters' scene

A spectre is looming... – HEROIN IN K36! Junks in the Kiez!
– "Berliner Blues oder Alpträume in der Mauerstadt", radikal, January 1982[834]

So far, I have discussed two aspects of the Berlin squatters' debate on drug use and drug policy. One concerned the increased consumption of drugs—from alcohol to cannabis to heroin—by squatters during the winter of 1981/82, the possible reasons of which were addressed only hesitantly. The second aspect, on the other hand,—the state's presumed

833 "'Junkies raus' halte ich für ein sehr gefährliches Rezept. [...] Ich glaube nicht, daß wir eine polizeiähnliche Funktion einnehmen sollten. Auch wenn diese Tendenz zum Beispiel gerade auch in linken Lokalen mittlerweile als unumgänglich erscheinend dargestellt wird." "wider die innere vermummung," 2.

834 "Ein Gespenst geht um – HEROIN IN K 36! Junks im Kiez!" "Berliner Blues oder Alpträume in der Mauerstadt," *radikal* 6, no. 100 (January 1982): 8.

interest in squatters' drug consumption—was seemingly clear to activists: to infiltrate, weaken and criminalize a revolutionary movement. Individual heroin users who ceased to be capable of participating actively in the movement, were thus put in a precarious position as potential "tools" of this governmental policy. The debate was therefore focussed on the question of how to deal with heroin addicts in, or near, the squatted houses. While youth activists in Zurich had conceived of young heroin users as part of their movement and had tried to find ways of including them within their spaces, the idea of the *Tschönkie-Room* did not meet with a lot of understanding amongst the Berlin squatters, despite better spatial and infrastructural preconditions. The Berlin squatters' scene did not develop a drug-policy of its own at any point, so that the treatment (in the widest sense of the term) of heroin users was left to individual houses. Within these units, spatial segregation seemed to be an adequate policy. One's belongings were to be protected against theft and one's political structures were to be sheltered from destruction by heroin and, ultimately, by the state.

These differentiations between a politically active squatters' scene whose drug consumption was restricted to legal and soft drugs on the one hand and a politically useless and possibly dangerous heroin scene on the other, always had spatial implications. Since these were two entirely distinctive groups of people, whose disassociation was understood as a starting point rather than a result of (discursive) politics, the spatial segregation of the two groups became not only thinkable but also reasonable. The "free spaces" of the squatted houses had to be defended not only against the police but also against heroin—embodied in the "junkie" as a distinct Other.

Yet as much as the "free spaces" of the houses were conceived in the context of larger rebellious neighbourhoods, the threat of heroin had to be fought against on the larger scale of the district as well. Heroin appeared as something that was not just alien to the squatters'

movement and that was being used to destroy this movement; it also appeared as being aimed at destroying the squatters' rebellious neighbourhoods and as such was understood as alien in a geographical sense as well.

The general (anti-)drug policy of the city of West Berlin was very similar to the one described for Zurich and Frankfurt in section 2.3. While funding for therapeutical programs remained scarce and all the while police intensified their presence at known hot spots of the heroin scene during the 1970s in order to disperse these scenes, the results were familiar. From the mid-1970s regional meeting places of the heroin scene were established in various districts in West Berlin, most notably in Neukölln (including the infamous Gropiusstadt), Wilmersdorf (including the Kurfürstendamm), Tempelhof, Zehlendorf and possibly Wedding.[835] In Kreuzberg, there were also local scenes, most intensely in Hasenheide park and near certain bars.[836] The central black market supplying these regional scenes existed in the area around the subway station Kurfürstenstraße in Berlin-Schöneberg, close to the economic and consumer centre of West Berlin.[837] Until the early 1980s, this market relocated under constant pressure from the police from Kurfürstenstraße to the train station Bahnhof Zoo and to Kurfürstendamm.[838] Similar movements could be observed at the local level so that, for instance, in 1981 a large scene of heroin users established a meeting point in front of a drug store on the corner of Potsdamer Straße and Bülowstraße in Berlin-Schöneberg that was

835 Drogenberatung im Haus der Mitte, *Harte Drogen in West-Berlin*, 29ff. At the time of the survey no reliable data for the district of Wedding existed.

836 Ibid., 33. Although the *Volkspark Hasenheide* belongs to the district of Neukölln, its Northern end borders on the district of Kreuzberg. The report also listed a "Café Heinrich" and a "Lokal Wiener Eck" as popular meeting points.

837 Ibid., 30.

838 M. S., "'Der Zug geht nach Westen'. Verlagert sich die Heroin-Szene nach Kreuzberg?," *taz Berlin*, 22.12.1981.

frequented regularly by at least two to three hundred people.[839]

In late 1981, squatters noticed two parallel developments that they placed in relation to each other. At Potsdamer Straße the police had intensified their presence, thus dispelling the local scene from its usual meeting point.[840] At the same time, activists noticed the increased visibility of "junkies" in Kreuzberg 36, especially around the subway station Kottbusser Tor, and the appearance of used syringes in the toilets of squatters' bars. Rumours circulated that the drug department had withdrawn entirely from Kreuzberg while potential meeting places in other districts were being occupied by police forces.[841] "Is the suspicion that the police in Berlin want to drive, at a minimum, the market [for heroin] to Kreuzberg pure 'paranoia'?", *taz Berlin* asked in December 1981.[842]

The idea that the police were deliberately driving the city's heroin scene to Kreuzberg seemed plausible due to officials' ongoing strategy of dispersion and the squatters' conviction that heroin was being used to destroy social movements. A flyer from the squatters' scene summarized these perceptions under the title "heroin from the state in Kreuzberg" as follows: "As the past has shown, the heroin problem – the H-scene – is being pushed from one borough to the other once it becomes conspicuous and is perceived as a public nuisance."[843] This correct observation of police tactics was then combined with the dispersion of the scene at Potsdamer Straße and the assumed retreat of the drug department from Kreuzberg. "This is passive encouragement [*passive Begünstigung*]!", the author(s) of the flyer continued. Squatters

839 Ibid.

840 "Heroin vom Staat in Kreuzberg," n.d., ArSozBewB, Soziale Kämpfe. Drogen. 1981-83, p. 1; Ben, "Kiez gegen Heroin," *taz Berlin*, 21.12.1981.

841 "Heroin vom Staat in Kreuzberg," 1; smash-H-Gruppe, "@ statt H," *radikal* 6, no. 100 (January 1982): 9; Ben, "Kiez gegen Heroin," *taz Berlin*, 21.12.1981.

842 "Ist der Verdacht, daß in Berlin die Polizei zumindest den Markt nach Kreuzberg treiben will, reine 'Paranoia'?" Ben, "Kiez gegen Heroin," *taz Berlin*, 21.12.1981.

843 "Wie die Vergangenheit gezeigt hat wird das Heroinproblem - die H-Szene, sobald sie auffällig und als öffentlich störend empfunden wird, von einem Bezirk in den Anderen gedrängt." The following according to "Heroin vom Staat in Kreuzberg", unless otherwise noted.

believed officials were encouraging the heroin scene to move to Kreuzberg in an effort to destroy the squatters' resistance to wholesale redevelopment of the area:

> But why Kreuzberg? As the economic-political interests of the bigwigs who wanted to build a second *Märkisches Viertel*[844] here are thwarted due to the resistance of *Mieterläden* [tenants' associations], squatters and block structures and because it was not possible to crush the movement with batons and prisons, they are now resorting to the well-tried weapon of the drug. Just like they did it in Harlem, Padua and lastly in Zurich.[845]

The idea of heroin as a well-tried weapon against revolutionary movements was evoked again through keywords, geographical names that signified the historic experiences of defeated social movements such as those of the Black Panther Party ("Harlem"), the Italian *Autonomia* ("Padua"), and the Swiss youth movement ("Zurich").[846] "Kreuzberg" was about, according to the flyer, to become just another coordinate in this imagined geography of social unrest and its defeat through drugs. In the case of Kreuzberg the geographic territory was not simply a container for a social movement, though. "Squatters and block structures", bodies and architecture formed a symbiosis that resisted the plans of anonymous "economic-political interests" and both were threatened by the arrival of other(ed) bodies that were establishing the heroin scene: "A stable drug scene in front of our street door would very quickly attack and devour our established life structures."[847] The visible presence of a heroin scene in the neighbourhood—not in the squatted houses!—seemed to be enough to endanger the whole squatters' movement and what its activists considered to be "their" territory and "life structures" by police and "bigwigs". Or, as *taz Berlin* put it: "If they succeed in bringing the H

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844 Märkisches Viertel and Gropiusstadt were the two largest dormitory towns in Berlin that had been built in the 1960s according to modernist principles. Cf. p. 139.

845 "WARUM GERADE KREUZBERG? Da die wirtschaftlichen-politischen Interessen der Bonzen, die hier ein zweites Märkisches Viertel aufbauen wollten am Widerstand der Mieterläden, Häuserkämpfer und Blockstrukturen gescheitert ist und eine Zerschlagung der Bewegung durch Knüppel und Knast nicht möglich war, greifen sie jetzt zur altbewährten Waffe Droge. So wie Sie es auch in Harlem, Padua und zuletzt in Zürich gemacht haben."

846 Cf. footnote 787.

847 "Eine gefestigte Rauschgiftszene vor unserer Haustür würde unsere aufgebauten Lebensstrukturen sehr schnell angreifen und auffressen."

scene here into the *Kiez*, it will be destroyed."[848] It remained unclear who "they" were and how exactly the *Kiez* would be destroyed. The identity of "the H scene" remained similarly obscured. But in the squatters' perception this "H scene" appeared to consist only of addicts from other districts; the possibility that the local heroin scene might also include people from the squatted houses in Kreuzberg itself, people who might have become part of the growing drug scene due to the *Psycho-Winter* of 1981, was conspicuously absent from all these reports.

The lack of primary sources does not allow for a determination of whether the heroin scene at Kottbusser Tor was growing in numbers or if it simply received more attention due to the squatters' heightened awareness of its presence. Neither is it currently possible to decide if the police entertained hopes to push the heroin scene to Kreuzberg. The head of the drug department at *Landeskriminalamt*, Gerd Ulber, denounced such imputations as "complete nonsense".[849] According to Ulber, the drug department had not withdrawn any forces from Kreuzberg to harm the squatters' scene simply because there had not been many forces in the first place, due to the absence of public meeting places in the district.[850] Yet even if a growth in numbers had taken place and the police had had hopes of driving the Schöneberg heroin scene to Kreuzberg, it would still be impossible to say whether the new members of the visible heroin scene at Kottbusser Tor had come there from the former meeting place at Potsdamer Straße or if they were a "home-grown" phenomenon.

Be that as it may, what is crucial for the analysis of squatters' spatial and drug policies is

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848 "Wenn es denen gelingt, die H-Szene hier in den Kiez zu bringen, geht er kaputt." Ben, "Kiez gegen Heroin," *taz Berlin*, 21.12.1981.

849 M. S., "'Der Zug geht nach Westen'. Verlagert sich die Heroin-Szene nach Kreuzberg?," *taz Berlin*, 22.12.1981. Another rumour alleged that the prices for heroin had risen to DM 500 per gram after the raids at Potsdamer Straße while in Kreuzberg it was available for as little as DM 150 per gram and was of extraordinary quality. These rumours were quickly proven to be false.

850 This was not according to the facts as several public meeting places did exist in Kreuzberg before and besides the scene at Kottbusser Tor (cf. section 2.2.1 and smash-H-Gruppe, "@ statt H," *radikal* 6, no. 100 (January 1982): 9).

the fact that these were almost identical with hegemonic perceptions and strategies when it came to the visible presence of drug scenes in public places. Despite the squatters' hostility towards "the pigs", "the state" and the "bigwigs" whom they suspected of being behind the emergence of these scenes, squatters wished for the heroin addicts in front of their doorsteps to disappear from their sights. The congruency of squatters' and hegemonic anti-drug policies became most apparent in the complaints about the drug department's alleged withdrawal from Kreuzberg. Usually, the *presence* of police was lamented and denounced as an invasion of the "freed territory" of Kreuzberg 36, while their absence was envisioned as a desired state of affairs. That the squatters would notice a lack of police presence with unease was therefore not without a certain irony. An information board at the *Kiez gegen Heroin* event addressed this paradox without being able to resolve it: "We do not want the drug department cops increasingly showing up here in the *Kiez* and then pestering the low-level potheads. Nevertheless one has to be talking about passive encouragement in this case."[851] Similar concerns had been raised by youth activists in Zurich who had also—and rightly—feared that the police were driving the city's heroin scene into the AJZ. The difference was, however, that the squatters of Kreuzberg felt already threatened by the presence of heroin users at any public place in the neighbourhood and not just in the squatted houses themselves. Their attitudes towards heroin users in public space were therefore much closer to that of the 'ordinary' *Bürger* than to their fellow activists of the AJZ.

A poster captured these notions graphically. Figure 5.2 shows a pig in a suit whose shadow forms a huge "H" on the walls of a squatted house and who is penetrating this house with a giant needle. A hand with a club from inside the house is about to strike the pig and

851 "Wir wollen nicht, daß die RD-Bullen hier verstärkt im Kiez auftauchen und dann womöglich die kleinen Kiffer drangsalieren. Aber trotzdem muß man in diesem Zusammenhang von passiver Begünstigung sprechen." Quoted in Ben, "Kiez gegen Heroin," *taz Berlin*, 21.12.1981.

Fig. 5.2: "Kiez against Heroin," poster, [Berlin?], 1981 or 1982. – Source: *Linkes Plakatarchiv*, http://plakat.nadir.org, fig. 142_12 (accessed 29 September 2011).

fend off its attack. Under the title "*Kiez gegen Heroin*" a small text informs the reader that "the destruction of the movement" is about to be be accomplished through its infiltration with heroin, since "evictions and other infringements" had failed in this regard. While this text elaborated officials' wished-for destruction of the squatters' movement through heroin, the image of the pig symbolized the forces that supposedly stood behind this attack. "Pigs", or *Schweine*, was used synonymously for "cops" by the radical Left of the 1980s. The suit, on the other hand, could be read as a symbol of various forces: from secret service agents to capitalist "bigwigs" (either in the construction or the drug trade), to politicians—the symbolical imagery was vague yet powerful as it allowed for a seemingly clear identification of hostile forces without the need to substantiate the charges. In other words, it provided squatters, quite

literally, with an image of the enemy. The threatened "we" was symbolized in the squatted house that appeared ready to defend itself against this enemy—although batons would not serve the squatters well in their struggle against heroin. But it was not just about the squatted houses. The poster aimed at constructing a larger "we" by relating the image of a squatted house to the slogan *Kiez gegen Heroin*: not just the few squats but the whole *Kiez* was under attack and called to resistance.

Fig. 5.3: "Their strategy: Heroin into the ghettos", poster, c. 1980. – Source: St. Pauli Archiv, Neue Soziale Bewegungen, Plakate.

The link between the idea of heroin as a weapon and the defence of "free spaces" and liberated territories was most explicit in the imagery of another contemporary poster (fig. 5.3). This poster shows a mass of demonstrators in front of a façade of inner-city tenements. The group is facing a tank, one man is throwing something at it, while others are showing their fists or banners. On the opposite side of the poster a group of men is sitting around a table—a scene from Stanley Kubrick's *Dr. Strangelove or: How I Learned to Stop Worrying and Love the Bomb*.

This scene depicts the "war room", the imaginary centre of US military and political power. Both sides are separated by a bat—symbol of horror, blood, but also of greed—and a hand holding a syringe and several phials. The text reads: "Annihilating resistance without risking the People's War. Their strategy: Heroin into the ghettos."[852] While the text could be understood as a reference to the situation in Berlin-Kreuzberg alone, the images convey an additional meaning. The image of the protesters (linked to the terms "resistance" and "People's War") does not depict a scene from Berlin, although the tenements look similar to a typical Kreuzberg block. Yet at no point had the squatters' movement ever had to face tanks in the streets. And although the crowd is carrying several banners, it is impossible to read the slogans. The scene could therefore have taken place almost anywhere—in Prague in 1968? somewhere in Latin America? The ambiguity meant that the poster translated the squatters' struggle to other "revolutionary" movements around the world. While on a textual level it is impossible to determine whose strategy exactly "their strategy" might be, the image of the "war room" implies that the United States was driving "heroin into the ghettos" in order to "annihilate" local forms of resistance.[853] The squatters' own war on drugs was thus framed within the concept of anti-imperialism, good and evil were clearly distinguishable on multiple scales (or so it seemed): from the squatted apartment to city districts and even on a global scale. Heroin was thus again used to weld together the imagined community of the *Kiez* against a supposedly outside threat.

The fragility of such notions and their congruence with hegemonic imaginations became apparent in the perception of heroin dealers as "foreigners". The hegemonic drug discourse

852 "Widerstand vernichten ohne den Volkskrieg zu riskieren. Ihre Strategie: Heroin in die Ghettos." "Heroin in die Ghettos," poster, [c. 1980?], St. Pauli Archiv, Neue Soziale Bewegungen, Plakate.

853 This poster also found its way into the *Tschönkie-Room* in the AJZ as can be seen in Amendt, *Ein Schuß im Zentrum*, 90.

was inseparably connected to discourses on migration, often with strong racist undertones.[854] Although drug use was a widespread phenomenon among German youth, non-Germans were made responsible for the import of these drugs and, ultimately, blamed to seduce Germans to their consumption.[855] In the Berlin squatters' scene these thought patterns met a receptive audience: if drugs were understood as something that was "foreign" to one's (sub)culture and one's neighbourhood, it made sense to oppose not only the police who were driving the heroin scene into Kreuzberg but also those people who supposedly were supplying this scene with heroin in the first place. The spatialization of the social by squatters meant that no collective efforts were undertaken to support individuals (either to prevent them from becoming addicted or to reduce the harmful consequences of drug use). Instead, squatters tried to defend the space of the *Kiez* against seemingly foreign threats.

These were not merely discursive efforts to project squatters' inclinations to drug use onto an undefined "outside". In the night of 17 to 18 December 1981, a group that called itself *more future* committed attacks on three Turkish travel agencies, two of them in Oranienstraße and Kottbusser Damm in Kreuzberg 36. Shop windows were smashed and paint bombs, stink bombs, and in at least one case Molotov cocktails were thrown into the shops. In all three cases posters were affixed to the walls, which proclaimed: "This business is deeply involved in the heroin trade under the patronage of police and *Verfassungsschutz*."[856] In a declaration *more*

854 Cf. sections 2.1.2. and 2.2.3. A comprehensive analysis of this connection is still outstanding. For an impression of the contemporary discourse see for example "Drogen-Szene: Alles wie im Dschungel," *Der Spiegel*, 12.03.1979: 104-111; "Die erste Spritze in der großen Pause," *Der Spiegel*, 09.06.1980: 55-69. For Berlin: "Tote abgerechnet," *Der Spiegel*, 25.07.1983: 55-60. Cf. also Weinhauer, "The End of Certainties," 382; Stephens, *Germans on Drugs*, 119f.

855 This notion was strongest in reports about German girls being seduced by non-German men into drug use, smuggling and sexual intercourse. Friedrichs, "'Hamburg voll bedröhnt'," 305; "Erst der Stoff und dann der Strich," *Der Spiegel*, 27.10.1975: 73-78; "Frankfurt: Karate, Seven-eleven und Heroin," *Der Spiegel*, 19.01.1976: 52-63.

856 "Dieses Geschäft steht tief im Heroinhandel unter der Schirmherrschaft von Polizei und Verfassungsschutz." "Scherben gegen Heroin," *taz Berlin*, 21.12.1981.

future related the attacks to the alleged retreat of the drug department from Kreuzberg as an attempt to enable the destruction of the squatters' movement through heroin. "Turkish shops and bars, too, are serving as a disguise for this dirty business" and had been "warned by example".[857]

It is impossible to determine whether the owners of these travel agencies were really involved in the drug trade; the owners themselves suspected competitors of having spread these rumours. The police, however, had no evidence of such a connection.[858] Yet the attacks showed that parts of the squatters' scene were now practically (and violently) attempting to keep heroin out of "their" neighbourhoods and not just the squatted houses. It also showed the ambiguity of concepts like "free spaces" and "freed territories". Far from being just "free"—of hegemonic norms and values and of the police—the heterotopic sites of "resistance" had to be filled again—with meaning and different norms and values. That militant attempts to establish these norms were directed not only against police and members of different subcultures[859] but manifested themselves in attacks on spaces of the Turkish community was at the very least insensitive, given the racist climate of that time and space.[860] Despite the squatters' discursive construction of Kreuzberg as a place in which migrants, rebellious youth, the urban poor and other outcasts were living peacefully in a concrete utopia,

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857 "Auch türkische Geschäfte und Kneipen dienen diesem schmutzigen Geschäft als Tarnung. Die REISEBÜROS von ÖNCÜ IN DER Adalbertstr., Kottbusserdamm und Fasanenstr. haben wir heute exemplarisch gewarnt." Gruppe "more future", "p@ß bloß @uf," *radikal* 6, no. 100 (January 1982): 8; "'Paßt bloß auf','' *taz Berlin*, 22.12.1981.

858 M. S., "'Der Zug geht nach Westen'. Verlagert sich die Heroin-Szene nach Kreuzberg?," *taz Berlin*, 22.12.1981.

859 Cf. section 3.3.3.

860 The common knowledge about the activities of Turkish fascist organizations in West Germany and Berlin and their involvement in the heroin trade might have facilitated these attacks. They can therefore also be read as a sign of how migrant communities were perceived along political instead of ethnic lines. Cf. for example "Türkische Faschisten und Heroin-Handel," in Arbeitsgruppe WestBerliner Stattbuch, *Stattbuch 2*, 235-236.

the attacks also revealed the divisions within the district of Kreuzberg 36.[861]

5.1.4. Conclusion

From August and September 1981 the Berlin squatters' scene entered what would later be called the *Psycho-Winter*.[862] Without the constant pressure from the outside that had galvanized people around political activities of resistance, latent conflicts broke out or intensified within the extremely heterogeneous scene. One consequence of this changed atmosphere was the increased consumption of drugs amongst squatters. At the same time, activists noticed the growing presence of heroin users in public places in Kreuzberg, especially around Kottbusser Tor. Squatters linked these two phenomena in their efforts to socially and spatially exclude heroin use and heroin users from their scene, its houses and what activists considered to be "their" neighbourhood. In contrast to the Zurich youth movement, the Berlin squatters' (anti-)drug policy thus showed a significant conformity with hegemonic policies regarding heroin.

One of these aspects was the discursive differentiation between legitimate substances—including nicotine, alcohol and also, differing from hegemonic conceptions, "soft drugs" like cannabis—from supposedly distinct "hard drugs", especially heroin. The squatters' apparent desire to intoxicate and stupefy themselves could thus be projected onto a seemingly distinct Other, serving as a scapegoat: the "junkies". The discursive shift from a problematic *drug use* within the scene to the problem of very specific *drug users* enabled squatters to ignore possible reasons for their own drug consumption. The only difference to *bürgerliche* conceptions of proper and improper drug consumption thus lay in the inclusion of cannabis in the group of

861 On the often problematic relations between squatters and members of the migrant, especially Turkish, communities, see MacDougall, *Cold War Capital*, chapter "Considering National Culture in the Political Margins," 188-209.

862 Cf. footnote 762.

legitimate drugs.

This notion of good drugs and bad drugs was strengthened by conceptions that turned heroin into the embodiment of evil not only because of its harmful effects on consumers' health but because of its alleged use as a weapon of the state to destroy the squatters' movement by criminalizing and depoliticizing its members. Frequent references to historical and international examples of movements that had supposedly been defeated through the government supplying drugs were used to add credibility to this claim. The discursive differentiation between drug addicts as victims and drug dealers as perpetrators was also evident in this context. In Zurich, activists quickly realized that such a distinction was impossible to make, with almost every addict engaged in the drug trade at least sporadically. The *Drogengruppe AJZ* therefore tried to distinguish fraudulent from fair dealers. In Berlin, there was no such shift. Drug addicts and drug dealers remained indistinguishable to the members of the squatters' scene.

As a consequence, while heroin addicts appeared as victims, they were also understood as agents of the state and as depoliticized and unproductive, if not harmful, individuals. Just as mainstream policy and media had situated them outside of society, the squatters now excluded them discursively and spatially. Especially in comparison with the drug policies in Zurich's AJZ, the consequences of a spatially oriented politics of "autonomy" become apparent. In Zurich, the self-definition as a youth movement led to various attempts to keep heroin-consuming youth socially and spatially included. In Berlin, supposedly unproductive and apolitical youth were excluded and segregated from what was understood to be an urban social movement.

This was also the reason why the Berlin squatters dismissed the interventions of AJZ activists and their ideas for creating spaces for heroin addicted youth. For members of the

Zurich drug groups such attempts fit into a general policy of creating free spaces for all youth who had dropped out of, or had been victimized by, mainstream, adult society. Yet for the Berlin squatters, such attempts appeared as pure social work for individuals who were not, or had ceased to be, part of the squatters' scene. Rather than providing "free spaces" for heroin-addicted youth, the "free spaces" of the squatters had to be defended against dangerous "junkies".

Although such an approach was far from being consensual, as squatters hesitated from actually throwing addicts out of the squatted houses, similar notions dominated the perception of heroin (users) at the district level. As much as "junkies" were discursively excluded from the squatters' movement and practically from its spaces (houses, gardens, bars), they were perceived as alien to one's "own" neighbourhoods. When heroin users established a visible presence in the district, they confronted the squatters' desire to keep their *Kiez* clean of the heroin scene—again in concordance with hegemonic strategies. Squatters and police might have clashed violently in public urban spaces, but the case of visible heroin scenes shows that they both contributed to establishing this space as the prime field of social and political conflict.

The definition of heroin use as a problem of public urban space and the ensuing politics of governmental institutions thus provided the matrix for squatters' own (anti-)drug policies. The observation of police tactics to "dissolve" local heroin scenes, especially in the city centre, together with the idea of heroin as a weapon against social movements meant that the visible presence of a heroin scene in Kreuzberg appeared as the result of governmental strategies to destroy a rebellious neighbourhood. In this sense, the manifestation of a heroin scene in Kreuzberg appeared as a continuation of the policies of wholesale redevelopment by other means—and not as part of a larger development or even as a possible result of the *Psycho-*

Winter, that is, of the internal condition of the squatters' scene itself.

The example of the squatters' reaction to heroin use(rs) shows how, in contrast to their own perceptions, they had not just created "free spaces", heterotopias that were completely different from their surroundings. Instead, they had established a normalizing spatial regime that showed striking similarities and connections with hegemonic anti-drug policies. And while notions of neighbourhoods like Kreuzberg as a heterotopic space of deviance or resistance (depending on one's point of view) were strong, a closer look at this heterotopic space reveals the mechanisms of marking out boundaries and of establishing a different set of norms and deviances within this space.

Events like *Kiez gegen Heroin* were thus more than mere campaigns to inform squatters and inhabitants of certain areas about current developments. Such campaigns were themselves an important part of the conflicts about urban space and have to be understood as attempts to create an imaginary We—the *Kiez*, encompassing different groups of inhabitants and the geography and architecture of the neighbourhood and imbuing these with meaning—and a deviant, hostile Other—the heroin, emerging not so much in opposition to hegemonic social norms but from the core of an oppressive system. *Kiez gegen Heroin*, this called for the defence of the squatters' heterotopia, their scene, their "islands", their territory.

5.2. Gender and the limits of free spaces

The problem of drug use was far from being the only source of conflict that the squatters had to contend with. Especially for those squatters whose conception of their houses matched that of a heterotopia—a place where utopian ideals could be realized in the here and now and that was separated from (the structures of) the surrounding society—the emergence of severe interpersonal problems posed a serious problem. For alternative *Instandbesetzer* and the more radical *Autonome* the houses had been perceived as free spaces: free of hegemonic power structures and therefore free of the destructive practices associated with these structures. When it became clear that "social coldness", power struggles and other aspects of capitalist society and modern urbanity that squatters had hoped to leave behind were in fact defining life in the houses as well, the concept of a heterotopic free space became more and more fragile. While problems with drug use could be mitigated by excluding heroin users discursively and practically from the squatters' scene, this was not so easy in the case of conflicts regarding gender roles among squatters.

The squatters' movement had formulated a critique of, and a practical alternative to, the nuclear family and traditional gender roles. The fusion of kitchens and living rooms in many houses abolished the traditional separation between male and female spaces and aimed at an equal distribution of household chores between the sexes. The idea was that with large common areas, groups of adults should, together with alternative *Kinderläden* (self-organized kindergartens) relieve mothers, at least in part, from their obligations towards their children. This same philosophy informed the collectivization of income, intended to level out disparities in the labour market. The idea of a "free space" sounded promising to young women searching for a space without male dominance, a space in which patriarchy could be overcome in the here and now and not "after the revolution".

Yet these hopes were quickly undermined. Gender-specific behaviour continued in the squatted houses. While men were responsible for manual labour, women were confronted with expectations that they cook, clean and provide a cosy atmosphere in the houses. Complaints regarding this situation were often shrugged off with reference to the more important necessities of the "political struggle", i.e. the defence of the houses.

The squatters' focus on heterotopic spaces of rebellion fostered an ideal of the militant street-fighter that was at its core an ideal of masculinity, regardless of women's active participation in the militant clashes. The (male) body of the squatter was constructed as a counter-site of natural desires, immediacy, and resistance against the alienating urban regime. The squatter as warrior—this conception not only affected squatters' tactics in their clashes with the police; it also dominated the atmosphere in plenary meetings and in the everyday life of the squatted houses. The concept of the "free space" left no room for conflicts within this space; the prevalence of male dominance among squatters thus put women in a situation in which they had to fight *for* a "free space" and *in* this "free space" at the same time.

One proposed solution was the creation of spaces exclusively for women, from women's cafés to entire houses where men were not allowed. Here, tasks like technical repairs and household chores could not be distributed along gender lines. Many women reported sensations of empowerment and greater self-confidence once they had moved into such spaces. But although the creation of women's spaces took place in conjunction with the idea of the heterotopia—it was a "free space" within the larger "free space" of the squatters' scene—the existence of women's cafés and squatted houses were also visible reminders of the existence of sexism and patriarchy within the squatters' scene.

Drug use had been (seemingly) excluded from the squatters' scene by excluding the drug

users themselves.[863] In the case of traditional gender roles and sexism, the creation of women's spaces can be seen in a similar vein. Women excluded these power structures from their spaces either by asking male squatters to leave previously "mixed" houses or by squatting apartments and houses with, and for, women only. That is not to say that the subject positions were equal or even similar. It made a big difference whether women squatters chose to exclude men from certain apartments or if "junkies" were forced out of all spaces of the squatters' scene. The underlying idea of liberation through spatial segregation, though, was the same.

Yet not all women wanted to separate themselves from male squatters in these ways and squats for women only remained the exception. In all other houses, apartments, bars etc. gender issues remained the source of debate and confrontation. Here, like with drug users, squatters' worked primarily to exclude those who embodied sexism and patriarchy in order to mark these problems as alien to the squatters' scene. Taking the example of a rape in one of the squatted houses in Hamburg and the ensuing debate about sexualized violence, I will show how the reasons for this violence in the squatters' own conceptions of masculinity were largely suppressed in favour of attempts to extra-territorialize such violence. Only by excluding sexualized violence and the perpetrators discursively from the squatters' scene, could the idea of the "free space", of a heterotopia of resistance and liberation, be maintained—but at the expense of conditions remaining unchanged within these spaces.

863 From the available sources it is uncertain to what degree heroin users were excluded from the squatted houses. The end of the debate on drug use in early 1982 indicates that the conflict had been solved sufficiently, probably through the expulsion of heroin users from hitherto shared spaces. Interviews with former activists and/or heroin users might further clarify this aspect; especially in Kreuzberg where there seemed to have been a consensus that all persons who could be connected to heroin—dealers and consumers alike—ran the risk of being beaten up by *Autonome* without further ado.

5.2.1. Gender and squatting

> *We wanted a women's café, actually more of a women's centre, where incredibly much should be going on. We had many ideas but it was hard to believe that we would ever be able to realize even one of them in view of our initial situation. We had nothing, no money, no experiences, no spaces. […] The opportunity came when the [house at] Jagowstraße 12 was about to be squatted.*
> *– Squatters from Berlin, 1982*[864]

The struggle for women's emancipation and the practice of squatting seemed to be natural allies. As feminist scholars have shown, gender relations vary not only over time but also over space. Physical spaces therefore have a profound impact on gender identities.[865] In this regard, modernist city planning was far from creating spaces that would allow women to experience a greater freedom than they had before—on the contrary. Despite its promise to cut all ties with the past,[866] modernism relied on, and even fostered, traditional gender models and relations, both on an urban scale and at the level of individual apartments. The functionalist division of city space into living, industrial and commercial areas was related to the Fordist division of labour between male industrial work and female reproductive activities such as running the household and raising children. Women's lives were thus centred around the nuclear family's apartment. At the same time, in the modern city, women were forced to become more mobile. The possibility of shopping right around the corner did not exist. This also meant that traditional ways of building relationships with other women in the neighbourhood were much harder to sustain. The focus on auto-mobility created new spaces

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864 "Wir wollten ein Frauencafe, eigentlich eher ein Frauenzentrum, in dem unwahrscheinlich viel laufen sollte. Ideen hatten wir massig, es war allerdings schwer daran zu glauben, daß wir es jemals schaffen würden auch nur eine davon zu verwirklichen angesichts unserer Ausgangsvoraussetzungen. Wir hatten nichts, kein Geld, keine Erfahrungen, keine Räume. [...] Die Gelegenheit bot sich, als die Jagowstraße 12 besetzt werden sollte." Frauencafé Moabit, ed., *Frauenbewegung und Häuserkampf - unversöhnlich?* (Berlin, 1982), 4.

865 Massey, *Space, Place and Gender*, 178, 185-186; with a focus on spaces of male homosexuality: James N. Green, *Beyond Carnival. Male Homosexuality in Twentieth-Century Brazil* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), esp. chapters 1 and 4.

866 Cf. Christine M. Boyer, *The City of Collective Memory. Its Historical Imagery and Architectural Entertainments* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1994), 40-46.

that potentially fostered violence against women, e.g. parking decks and pedestrian underpasses. Modernist city planning thus resulted in the increased isolation of women and their restriction to the private space of the apartment. Yet the apartments themselves were built with a focus on male desires. The living room, the largest room of the apartment, served the recreational needs of the husband and the TV set would often form the epicentre of such rooms. The functionalist division of the city was mirrored in the apartment. The living room was complemented by a sleeping room for both husband and wife and one or more rooms for the children. Usually, women did not have a room of their own—the kitchen was conceived as their realm. The organization of space thus showed women their supposed place in society.[867]

From the late 1960s, the new women's movement formulated a radical critique of the nuclear family, repressive childhood education, and discrimination as a result of the gender-specific division of labour.[868] Through collective action, discourses and especially through journals such as *Courage* or *Emma*, the women in this movement had formed what Ilse Lenz describes as a "semi-public space" within the larger alternative milieu.[869] Yet the organization of (urban) space had been neither the object, or a means, of feminist critique. Only in the 1970s was a more radical faction established, the autonomous women's movement. Their work resulted in the creation of autonomous spaces such as cafés, book stores, or health centres, all of which were for the exclusive use of women. This autonomous women's movement also served as a link between the new women's movement and the larger autonomous scene

867 Thomas Stahel, *Wo-Wo-Wonige! Stadt- und wohnpolitische Bewegungen in Zürich nach 1968* (PhD diss., Universität Zürich, 2006), 200; Massey, *Space, Place and Gender*, 186.

868 Gisela Notz, "Die autonomen Frauenbewegungen der Siebzigerjahre. Entstehungsgeschichte - Organisationsformen - politische Konzepte," *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte*, no. 44 (2004): 136.

869 Ilse Lenz, "Das Private ist politisch!? Zum Verhältnis von Frauenbewegung und alternativem Milieu," in Reichardt and Siegfried, *Das Alternative Milieu*, 375-404. Cf. also Gisela Notz, ed., *Als die Frauenbewegung noch "Courage" hatte. Die "Berliner Frauenzeitung Courage" und die autonomen Frauenbewegungen der 1970er und 1980er Jahre* (Bonn: Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, 2007).

throughout the 1970s and 1980s.[870]

The new women's movement had insisted time and again that "the personal is political" and the autonomous movement adopted this approach with their concept of "first person politics".[871] The organization of private space soon became a prime locus for political debates and social experiments. As the feminist and sociologist Gisela Notz has observed, "the question of how women can make a living was impossible to separate from the question of how people wanted to live together. Women were living together with men in nuclear families, relationships, *Wohngemeinschaften* or communes, or were establishing women's *Wohngemeinschaften*."[872] "Dropping out" into alternative projects like communes was often a prerequisite for trying to abolish women's isolation and to realize gender equality.

Right from the beginning, women played a substantial role in the squatters' movement because they could rely on these earlier experiences.[873] When journalists asked almost sixty squatters from Berlin, twenty-eight of them women, about their motivations in 1981, about half of them claimed what the interviewers categorized as "political reasons", citing a desire to change urban development policies or to create a socialist society.[874] The other half were

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870 Patricia Melzer, "'Frauen gegen Imperialismus und Patriarchat zerschlagen den Herrschaftsapparat': autonome Frauen, linksradikaler feministischer Protest und Gewalt in Westdeutschland," in Balz and Friedrichs, *"All We Ever Wanted..."* 157-177. Notz, "Die autonomen Frauenbewegungen der Siebzigerjahre": 123ff.

871 Cf. pp. 15ff. of this dissertation.

872 "Die Frage, wie Frauen ihre eigene Existenz sichern können, war nicht zu trennen von der Frage, wie Menschen zusammen leben wollten. Frauen lebten mit Männern in Kleinfamilien, Partnerschaften, Wohngemeinschaften oder Kommunen zusammen oder bildeten Frauenwohngemeinschaften." Notz, "Die autonomen Frauenbewegungen der Siebzigerjahre": 141.

873 It is impossible to ascertain their exact number. Among those who were arrested by the police during street battles related to the Berlin *Häuserkampf* in 1980 and 1981, some twenty-eight percent were women. As more men than women typically participated in these riots, the actual numbers of female members and sympathizers of the squatters' scene were likely to be much higher. Landesamt für Verfassungsschutz Berlin, "Der 'Häuserkampf' in Berlin (West)," 36. According to the Berlin Senator for Interior Affairs, 35.1% of all squatters were women. Lindner, *Jugendprotest*, 347.

874 Dorothea Hilgenberg and Uwe Schlicht, "Was Hausbesetzer denken. Über das Leben in den Häusern, über die Gesellschaft, den Staat, die Gewalt," *Der Tagesspiegel*, 10.10.1981: 12ff.

searching for "new ways of living in the *Wohngemeinschaft*". They wanted to "change their living situation" instead of society.[875] Yet the dichotomy between political and personal goals was a false one. Squatting provided a counter-model to Fordist concepts of city-planning and standardized apartments and their implications for the social role of men and women. By preserving the traditional structure of neighbourhoods such as Kreuzberg, everyday life could be organized without resorting to the lifestyle of the automobile. All adults in a squat could take care of reproductive activities, including the raising of children. *Kinderläden* set mothers free to pursue a professional career, engage in political activities or simply enjoy more free-time.[876] The tendency to erase the distinction between work and living places, especially among alternative squatters, held the potential to challenge not just the modernist organization of space but also the related Fordist models of labour and gender roles. In the combined kitchen and living room that usually formed the centre of life in the squatted houses and apartments, the dichotomy between male and female spaces had been abolished.

The concept of autonomy enabled women to fight for their rights in the here and now, while the practice of squatting provided the necessary inner-city spaces required to put this concept into practice. Squatting was appealing to the autonomous women's movement because it allowed for the creation of heterotopias that carried the seeds for a better future already in the present.

More often then not, however, they didn't. "Politically they may know their stuff, but personally that's a different thing", was a common complaint by female squatters about their male comrades.[877] Despite the spatial difference between an apartment in a suburb and a

875 "Suche nach neuen Lebensformen in der Wohngemeinschaft […] die Lebenssituation ändern." Ibid.

876 Meike S. Baader, "Childhood and happiness in German romanticism, progressive education and in the West German anti-authoritarian Kinderläden movement in the context of 1968," *Paedagogica Historica: International Journal of the History of Education* 48, no. 3 (2012): 485-499; Hille Jan Breiteneicher, ed., *Kinderläden: Revolution der Erziehung oder Erziehung zur Revolution?* (Reinbek: Rowohlt, 1971); Stahel, *Wo-Wo-Wonige!*, 197f.

877 "Politisch können die etwas drauf haben, persönlich ist das ganz anders." Quote taken from Dorothea

squatted house in a mixed-use neighbourhood, care work was still delegated to women, including cooking, cleaning and emotional support.[878] "In a number of squatted houses it is quite common that the men are installing the electricity and the women are predominantly doing the dishes, although they are doing craftsman's work as well."[879] The whole range of the manual labour required in a squat seems to have been a prime locus of left-wing masculinity, as women's accounts of men giving them unasked for advice or even taking away their tools to continue the women's work themselves are comparatively frequent. One woman described such a situation in an interview in 1981:

> I recall a situation on the day of the squatting. We were nailing up the doors. The men were crazy about the nailing. I can also nail, even though I am a woman, and carpenter's nails as well. Immediately there came a guy running, saying: let me handle this. Which made me incredible angry: how can he dare to take away the hammer right out of my hands. He simply took it away from me and began hammering. I then said to him, how dare you, I can hammer as well![880]

Situations like this (re)produced male dominance and kept women from acquiring new skills, thereby denying them independence from male knowledge and abilities. As this labour was also crucial for appropriating the squatted space emotionally, keeping women from repair and construction activities also meant denying them the ability to shape the squat actively and visibly and, relatedly, from establishing an emotional connection to that space.[881]

Hilgenberg and Uwe Schlicht, "Was Hausbesetzer denken. Über das Leben in den Häusern, über die Gesellschaft, den Staat, die Gewalt," *Der Tagesspiegel*, 10.10.1981: 12ff.

878 Schultze and Gross, *Die Autonomen*, 205; Reimitz, Thiel, and Wirth, "Muß denn Leben Sünde sein?" 19f.

879 "Gang und gäbe ist es in einer Reihe von besetzten Häusern, daß die Männer die Elektrik montieren und die Frauen vorwiegend den Abwasch machen, wenngleich sie sich ebenfalls handwerklich betätigen." Dorothea Hilgenberg and Uwe Schlicht, "Was Hausbesetzer denken. Über das Leben in den Häusern, über die Gesellschaft, den Staat, die Gewalt," *Der Tagesspiegel*, 10.10.1981: 12ff.

880 "Ich kann mich an eine Situation am Besetzungstag erinnern. Wir haben die Türen zugenagelt. Die Typen waren im Nageln wie wild. Ich kann auch nageln, auch als Frau, auch Zimmermannsnägel. Da kam gleich ein Typ angeschossen und meinte: laß mich das mal machen. Wo ich unheimlich sauer wurde: was der sich rausnimmt, mir den Hammer aus der Hand zu nehmen! Er hat ihn mir wirklich weggenommen und fing dann an zu klopfen. Ich habe ihm gesagt, was ihm einfällt, ich kann auch hämmern!" "Mehr als nur der Raum zum Wohnen," *alternative* 24, no. 139 (October 1981): 185f. Beside the examples cited see also Härlin, "Von Haus zu Haus": 18; Amantine, *Gender und Häuserkampf* (Münster: Unrast, 2011), 108f.

881 Cf. section 3.2.1.

Flash: Self-representation

Fig. 5.4: Assuring harmlessness through gender-stereotypical imagery. While the male, masked squatter on top or in front of a squat represented determination, a smiling young mother caring for her child inside the house served to assure a general public of the harmlessness and normalcy of the squatters. The caption simply reads "inside". – Source: "Zehn Meter Ohne Kopf," 1991, ArSozBew HH, 09.400, HH, Häuserkampf, Wohnprojekte - Hafenstraße I, 13.

The reproduction of hegemonic gender norms was complemented by a harsh tone amongst the squatters that produced a social climate characterized by tensions and aggressiveness. This was especially the case in large plenary meetings, where different positions, for example on the question of negotiations with governmental institutions, collided. Benny Härlin described the atmosphere at the Kreuzberg squatters council as follows:

> By lifting your hand you won't be able to get a word in. It all depends on waiting for the right moment and then shouting out loud enough. […] Theoreticians don't stand a chance here, it depends primarily on the *power* with which the arguments are being carried forward. […] The worst harassment and strongest political and social prejudices can collide without shaking the—pretty much undefined—basic consensus. The question if

> and how to negotiate with the senate about a legalization of the squatted houses did lead to downright brawls in the squatters council […].[882]

This atmosphere affected everyone at the meetings, although a gender-specific upbringing that established restraint and consensual communication as proper "feminine" behaviour and that valued self-assertion as an important aspect of masculinity, put women at a structural disadvantage. Sometimes this gender gap became more explicit, for instance when a female squatter was insulted as a "negotiations cunt" (*Verhandlungs-Votze*) by a male non-negotiator.[883] An author of the alternative *Tageszeitung* bemoaned this as a sign that "the discussion about a new sensibility that had been enforced by the women's movement in the 1970s seems to become buried underneath the rocks of the squatters' movement", while autonomous women critiqued the fact that meetings were consistently characterized by male dominance and competition.[884]

These conflicts were not restricted to large plenary meetings but also structured communication within individual houses. No generalizing statements can be made on all squatted houses, of course. But the slogan "the personal is political" shaped the form of communication in an unintended way: squatters understood everyday life as a site of political struggles. Questions about the organization of the everyday were therefore always questions of political convictions, tactics and strategies. The suspension of the distinction between a

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882 "Mit Handheben kommt man hier nicht zu Wort. Es kommt darauf an, den richtigen Moment abzupassen und dann laut genug zu brüllen. [...] Theoretiker haben keine Chance hier, es kommt vor allem auf die Power an, mit der die Argumente vorgetragen werden. […] Übelste Anmache und heftigste politische und soziale Vorurteile können aufeinanderprallen, ohne daß deshalb der - eigentlich nicht näher definierte - Grundkonsens ins Wanken geriete. Die Frage, ob und wie mit dem Senat über eine Legalisierung der besetzten Häuser verhandelt werden solle, führte im Besetzerrat zu regelrechten Schlägereien - zu einer Spaltung kam es nicht." Härlin, "Von Haus zu Haus": 21-24. For Hamburg cf. Amantine, *Gender und Häuserkampf*, 110f.

883 Härlin, "Von Haus zu Haus": 22.

884 "Die von der Frauenbewegung in den 70er Jahren erzwungene Diskussion über neue Sensibilität scheint unter den Steinen der Hausbesetzerbewegung verschüttet zu gehen." Amantine, *Gender und Häuserkampf*, 119; Schultze and Gross, *Die Autonomen*, 204f.

political and a private sphere in the squatted houses fostered the congruency of behavioural patterns in public meetings and personal debates. Yelling and violent arguments were common and turned life in the squatters' scene into a "nightmare"[885] for those who were not "tough" enough.

The spatial and social conditions of the squatters' scene offered three possible solutions. *First*, a squatter could embrace these forms of conflict regulation. One female squatter described them as a positive learning experience: "In the house I have learned, for instance, to yell (*herumzubrüllen*) or not to permanently avoid a confrontation."[886] The problem was that, inherent in this strategy, contradictory political ideals and personal demands were not discussed so as to ensure a consensual solution. The arguments themselves didn't matter therefore, but rather the "power" with which they were brought forward. The *second* strategy made use of the spatial characteristics of the houses. The spaciousness of a squatted house in comparison to a single apartment allowed its residents to avoid confrontations between individual squatters by simply avoiding certain people altogether. "Here we have time to wait and see and we can also keep out of each other's way; after four weeks the situation is different. Because of that we do not have murderous discussions."[887] This practice was compatible with the first one and shared its weaknesses. Instead of trying to solve their differences, squatters tried to make use of their spaces and hoped that their problems would resolve themselves over time. If both strategies did not work one could, *third*, easily move into another squatted house. The conflicts in the houses caused indeed a high fluctuation amongst their inhabitants. If one could not bear the constant struggles any more, one "simply moves

885 Härlin, "Von Haus zu Haus": 22.

886 "Ich habe z.B. auch hier im Haus gelernt herumzubrüllen oder einer Auseinandersetzung nicht permanent aus dem Weg zu gehen." "Mehr als nur der Raum zum Wohnen," *alternative* 24, no. 139 (October 1981): 185.

887 "Im Unterschied zur Wohngemeinschaft: wir haben hier Zeit, das abzuwarten, und können uns auch aus dem Weg gehen, nach vier Wochen ist die Situation eine andere. Wir führen deshalb keine mörderischen Diskussionen." Ibid.

out, and that is happening quite frequently".[888] It could happen this frequently, at least in Berlin, because there were dozens of (potentially) squatted houses from which to choose; as these houses had often been squatted by ad hoc groups whose members were easily interchangeable;[889] and because the lack of rental agreements made it possible for squatters to leave their home at any time without needing to observe the statutory period of notice. Moreover, the scene itself provided a home even after one left a particular house or apartment. All these factors contributed to a climate that was not so different from the social coldness so often bemoaned in regard to the modern city.

5.2.2. Masculinity and the construction of the squatter's body

> *"Besetzer sind auch nur geile Tiere!" – (Male) squatters, too, are just horny beasts.*
> *– Graffito, Berlin, early 1980s*[890]

The reasons for such a destructive tone among squatters were manifold. The squatters' scene faced the constant threat of eviction with the resulting insecurity. Moreover, confrontations with police and the experience of violence along with the heterogeneity within the groups fostered conflicts and added to a level of psychological stress that affected interpersonal relationships. Yet one of the main reasons that clamour, insults and even physical confrontations were not banned by the squatters but instead accepted as a proper form of behaviour, I argue, was the underlying masculine ideal of the tough street-fighter. This image was produced and reproduced on many levels, most notably in violent clashes with the police, but also in self-representations and media reports.

While other aspects of masculinity could be performed in everyday life, for example

888 "Dann zieht man eben aus, und das geschieht häufig. Die Fluktuation innerhalb der einzelnen Gruppen und zwischen verschiedenen Häusern ist groß." Härlin, "Von Haus zu Haus": 22.

889 Cf. section 3.2.1.

890 Graffito, Berlin, early 1980s, quoted in Reimitz, Thiel, and Wirth, "Muß denn Leben Sünde sein?" 19; Härlin, "Von Haus zu Haus": 16.

through craftsman's works in the squatted houses, the street-fighter depended on confrontations with police as representatives of the state. The frequent clashes with police during, or after, demonstrations were thus not only a means of political protest or a way to create (temporary) liberated spaces. They were also a performance of masculinity in public space, a performance in which both squatters and police could represent themselves as warriors.

Women participated actively in these clashes as well. But even those who angrily dismissed representations of women participants as peaceful and militant activism as masculine reported that they were treated worse by police when they were arrested, "simply because we are weaker, because the 'code of honour among warriors' does not apply to us".[891] Another reason for this excessive violence was the possibility of affirming one's own masculinity precisely by degrading women and thus confirming their supposed weakness. As a result, some women went to demonstrations disguised as men in order to avoid such gender-specific treatment, apparently with success at least in some cases.[892]

The street-fighter presented himself first and foremost through his style of clothing. The squatters' uniform consisted of a black leather jacket and military boots or sneakers. At demonstrations, and in photographs, it was complemented by a balaclava and sometimes a helmet. On a symbolic level, leather jacket and boots represented the autonomous squatters' toughness, the balaclava their militant determination. This symbol was confirmed in clashes with police and in how the media, both the squatters' and mainstream, depicted these confrontations.

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891 "[...] daß wir einer brutaleren Behandlung durch die Ps [Polizisten] ausgesetzt sind, einfach weil wir schwächer sind, weil uns gegenüber der 'Ehrenkodex unter Kriegern' keine Gültigkeit besitzt." Claudia, "Wir haben nie gelernt, uns zu wehren," in Frauencafé Moabit, ed., *Frauenbewegung und Häuserkampf - unversöhnlich?*, 19.

892 "Hausbesetzerinnentreffen in Berlin," in Frauencafé Moabit, ed., *Frauenbewegung und Häuserkampf - unversöhnlich?*, 38.

During violent confrontations, the squatters' clothing also served a very practical aspect. It shielded the squatters' bodies against police batons (leather jacket, helmet), prevented his or her identification (balaclava, uniformity) and allowed one to physically remove oneself from police batons and possible legal prosecution (sneakers). But clothing was not just a matter of practicality, of style, or a means of belonging to a subcultural scene; it became part of the squatters' bodies and had a direct impact on their feelings and their concepts of identity. Again Benny Härlin:

> One can feel our *power* when there are rumpuses on the streets: until the tip of your toes in the fast sneakers, as a trembling of lust and angst in the stomach […]. Half a proud warrior, half a lithesome animal. They won't get you, as long as you have no fear. And even if. […] It is the certainty of the attacker, the certitude to make an impact, to mix up things. It is being affirmed by the front-page headlines of *Bild* and *BZ*, by the sallow faces of the politicians, even by the massive police presence.[893]

The squatter's body was experienced through the action but it was also constituted by the clothes—in this case the "fast sneakers"—into which it was inserted. The body could be felt as "lust and angst in the stomach" made it tremble. Squatters' bodies were thus transformed (and differentiated from the bodies of ordinary people) into that of a warrior or an animal. That is, into a more archaic and less estranged body. Bodies and spaces produced and changed one another: with the squatter's body turned into that of a warrior, the streets turned into prairies[894] and the roofs of the squatted houses into "the *montaña* of the guerilla"—spaces in which the street-fighter's identity was confirmed and reassured.[895]

Finally, this street-fighter identity was affirmed by its reproduction in various media: the

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893 "Unsere Power kann man spüren, wenn es Putz gibt auf der Straße: bis in die Zehenspitzen in den schnellen Turnschuhen, als Zittern aus Lust und Angst in der Magengrube [...]. Halb ein stolzer [Ende S. 24] Krieger, halb ein geschmeidiges Tier. Sie kriegen dich nicht, solange du keine Angst hast. Und wenn schon. […] Es ist die Sicherheit des Angreifers, die Gewißheit, etwas zu bewirken, durcheinanderzubringen. Sie wird bestätigt durch die Schlagzeilen auf der ersten Seite von Bild und BZ, von den fahlen Gesichtern der Politiker, selbst von dem Riesenaufgebot der Polizei." Härlin, "Von Haus zu Haus": 24f.

894 Cf. section 3.2.3.

895 A.G. Grauwacke, *Autonome in Bewegung*, 53.

squatters' own, mainstream outlets and "by the front-page headlines" of the yellow press. Mass media outlets, especially the conservative yellow press, stigmatized the squatters' protest using suggestions of exotic difference and violence. This sensational reporting had the effect of boosting the news value of these outlets and sales figures as well. And although alternative media like *taz* generally reported on the squatters' scene favourably, both the alternative and yellow press worked together in constructing a stereotyped version of "youth protest".[896] These representational strategies intersected with the self-stigmatization of the (autonomous) squatters' movement. "[With militant street fights] we were complying exactly with the media image constructed", one of them reflected in hindsight. "But we didn't care, this was our identity card as *Autonome*, so to speak."[897] As Schwarzmeier has pointed out in regard to *Autonome*, these differed from New Social Movements in that they did not try to have their political analysis covered and discussed by mainstream media. On the contrary, their being stigmatized as *Chaoten* and "terrorists" served to confirm their members' status as drop-outs and outlaws.[898] The interests of the most radical parts of the squatters' movement and of the media complemented one another.

By looking more closely at the underlying concepts of masculinity, the youth revolt of the early 1980s can thus also be understood as a "revolt of the bodies".[899] Against the rationality and functionality of their normed surroundings, incisively expressed through the "concrete" metaphor, the squatters defined their own corporeality. The body came to represent a counter-site to the hegemonic order, an expression of immediacy, direct concern, supposedly natural desires, that which was "close, one's own, emotional-expressive, personal"[900] and therefore

896 Lindner, *Jugendprotest*, 408-413.

897 "Damit ensprachen wir haarklein dem konstruierten Medienbild. Das war uns aber egal, das war sozusagen unsere Ausweiskarte als Autonome." A.G. Grauwacke, *Autonome in Bewegung*, 148.

898 Schwarzmeier, *Die Autonomen*, 29.

899 Lindner, *Jugendprotest*, 356.

900 "Da jegliche Theorie als Bestandteil einer rationalen, d.h.: feindlichen Außenwelt galt, geriet das Nahe,

Fig. 5.5: Nude protesters on Kurfürstendamm during the TUWAT demonstration. Berlin, 5 September 1981. – Source: Michael Kipp/ Umbruch Bildarchiv.

resistant. It did make sense for squatters to express their protest against spatial urban policy through their naked bodies—nothing captures the idea of the squatters' militant corporeality better than the images of their own naked bodies, dressed with nothing but black balaclavas (figures 5.5 and 3.17).

Stating that the style and ideals of the squatters' movement, at least of their "autonomous" parts, were based on concepts of masculinity does not mean denying the active role that women played in this movement. The style of the autonomous squatters could be, and was, adopted by women as well. Its overlap with punk aesthetics, which had called into question traditional gender ideals and had therefore been attractive to (some) autonomous feminists,[901] was obvious. But the ideal of the street-fighter and the emphasis on militant

Eigene, Emotional-Expressive, Persönliche zur letztlich steuernden Bewertungsinstanz." Ibid., 297.

901 Uta G. Poiger, "Das Schöne und das Hässliche. Kosmetik, Feminismus und Punk in den siebziger und achtziger Jahren," in Reichardt and Siegfried, *Das Alternative Milieu*, esp. 238.

resistance directly affected the interpersonal relationships among squatters. Aggressiveness appeared as a sign of direct, personal concern and of the determination to push through what was considered to be right. Whether the enemy appeared in the shape of glass and concrete, in a police uniform or as a (rationalizing, compromising) "negotiations cunt" played a secondary part. Without perpetuating the idea that women were naturally inclined towards non-violent forms of activism,[902] it is nonetheless necessary to complicate notions of a "revolt of the bodies" or the formation of an *Autonomen* identity through violence.[903] Although both men and women were actively participating in the squatters' scene, including in violent confrontations with the police, the ideal of the tough street-fighter that underlay autonomous squatters' behaviour in public and private was encoded as masculine. Bodies, spaces, and "the movement" were all far from being gender neutral but, rather, were structured by very specific notions of masculinity.

Flash: The personal and the political

"At age 14 [I was] heavily in love. My girlfriend was *autonom*, feminist, squatter, radical and simply amazing. It was cool what she and her girlfriends were doing. I felt as if we were all united in a big WE. This WE was huge. It was encompassing punks, squatters, those from the Zurich *Bewegig*, Dutch *Kraakers*, the ready-mixed concrete Indians and all the other beautiful, young and wild people. But with feminism, patriarchy, I didn't bother too much, as with all the other theoretical crap."[904]

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902 Cf. Claudia, "Wir haben nie gelernt, uns zu wehren," 19-20.

903 As has been argued by Lindner, *Jugendprotest*, 356 and Schwarzmeier, *Die Autonomen*, 27.

904 "Mit 14 schwer verliebt. Meine Freundin war autonom, frauenbewegt, Besetzerin, radikal und einfach toll. Es war cool, was sie und ihre Freundinnen taten. Ich fühlte mich mit ihnen in einem großen WIR vereinigt. Dieses WIR war groß. Es umfasste die Punks, die Besetzer, die aus der Züricher Bewegig, die holländischen Kraaker, die Fertigbetonindianer und all die anderen schönen, jungen Wilden. Aber mit Feminismus, Patriarchat habe ich mich so wenig beschäftigt wie mit dem anderen Theoriescheiß." From the recollections of a Berlin *Autonomer*, in: A.G. Grauwacke, *Autonome in Bewegung*, 176.

5.2.3. Women's spaces

> *I believe that without the women's movement such a thing as men and women together in a squatted house would simply not be possible. Such an open form of living together, with all these emotions! It's an incredible step for a woman to take her goodbye from Prince Charming, not to believe any more: one day I'll marry, have children, live in a three-room apartment and feel just fabulous.*
> *– A squatter from Berlin, 1981*[905]

The "free spaces" proved to be quite similar to their surroundings, at least in terms of interpersonal relations and especially when it came to gender-stereotypical behaviour. Women were thus confronted with two different options regarding these "free spaces". They could either try to "free" them even more, that is to criticize patriarchal and sexist behaviour in order to install a new gender regime in the squatted houses, or they could establish their own, proper "free spaces" by spatially segregating themselves from the mixed-gender (*gemischtgeschlechtlich* or simply *gemischt*) squatters' scene.

The masculinity of the street-fighter was established primarily in clashes with the police, and although many women supported the militant defence of houses and political interests, the associated "masculine" behaviour became an object of critique. In regard to the spatiality of this conflict, one article in *radikal* deserves mentioning. Under the title "Baboons in K36 and the craving for leopards", male squatters were compared to a horde of monkeys that were either fighting for in-group dominance or against the "leopards" (i.e. the police) to protect females and territory. "In behaviourism this is called the formation of male bonds based on aggression. […] Go on then, you soldiers from West Germany who have evaded the draft", the author(s) concluded sarcastically, "beat each other up each weekend at *H[einrich]-Platz*[906] or

905 "Ich glaube, ohne Frauenbewegung wäre so was wie Männer und Frauen im besetzten Haus überhaupt nicht möglich. Eine so offene Form des Zusammenlebens, mit all den Emotionen! Es ist ein wahnsinniger Schritt für eine Frau, den Abschied vom Märchenprinzen zu nehmen, nicht mehr zu glauben, ich heirate mal, habe Kinder, wohne in einer Dreizimmerwohnung und fühle mich ganz toll." "Mehr als nur der Raum zum Wohnen," *alternative* 24, no. 139 (October 1981): 187.

906 A central place in Kreuzberg 36, home of the *Besetzereck* and imaginary centre of the Berlin squatters' scene.

in the *Kiezdisko*, smash in each other's heads, prove to yourself who's got the biggest muscles and the reddest arse."[907] From a feminist perspective, the conception of liberated territories that had to be defended against outside threats fit in with archaic performances of masculinity within these territories.[908]

But the critique that autonomous women voiced regarding their male comrades went beyond exceptional instances as street-fights.[909] Besides the gender-specific organization of everyday life mentioned previously, where men felt responsible for manual and technical labour and women took care of the dishes, women were also faced with expectations to complement the toughness of the male street-fighters with social competences. "Especially outside, in front of other men, as soon as the circle is getting bigger, they are exhibiting a coolness, a non-commitment, which is hurtful", one female squatter reported.[910] Women were expected to compensate for this coolness through emotional work: "Almost always it's women who are being occupied with the men's emotional problems, i.e. men are expecting help with their problems from women rather than from men."[911] Female squatters were thus confronted with expectations to level out the aggressive atmosphere in the houses. *Gefühl und Härte*, or "feelings and toughness", this slogan of the squatters' movement that demanded a unity of

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907 "Die Verhaltensforschung nennt das Bildung von Männerbünden auf der Basis von Aggression. [...] Also ihr vorm Bund aus Westdeutschland geflüchteten Soldaten, schlagt euch jedes Wochenende am H-Platz oder in der Kiezdisko die Köpfe ein, beweist euch, wer die größten Muckis hat und den rotesten Arsch." Anna Bolika, "Paviane in K36 und das ständige Gieren nach Leoparden," *radikal*, no. 112 (January 1983): 3.

908 Cf. also pp. 196ff. of this dissertation.

909 Cf. Amantine, *Gender und Häuserkampf*, esp. 116-124; Schultze and Gross, *Die Autonomen*, 204-206; Notz, "Die autonomen Frauenbewegungen der Siebzigerjahre". From a contemporary perspective: Frauencafé Moabit, ed., *Frauenbewegung und Häuserkampf - unversöhnlich?*. For male perspectives on the topic see the recollections in A.G. Grauwacke, *Autonome in Bewegung*, 167-184.

910 "Vor allem draußen, vor andern Männern, sobald der Kreis größer wird, tragen sie eine Coolness, eine Unverbindlichkeit zur Schau, die verletzend ist." "Mehr als nur der Raum zum Wohnen," *alternative* 24, no. 139 (October 1981): 188.

911 "Meistens werden auch Frauen mit den Gefühlsproblemen der Männer beansprucht, d.h. Männer erwarten eher von Frauen eine Hilfe bei ihren Problemen als bei Männern." "Hausbesetzerinnentreffen in Berlin," 38.

emotions and determinedness, now seemed to indicate a gender-specific division of labour: the men were responsible for the "toughness" of the movement and the women were expected to contribute the "feelings".

Such expectations did not go uncriticized. In an article in *taz*, women squatters proclaimed their refusal to do such "psychological reproductive work" in the future. Instead of "distributing *Streicheleinheiten* [pats on the back] to send the 'tough men' back into the '*street-fight*'" for free, they sarcastically demanded compensations from the squatters' scene. These included the installation of a bank account into which each house would have to pay a fee that would be used to compensate female squatters who had been beaten by their male comrades ("the less women in a house, the higher the fee"); the payment of a fixed salary to each female squatter "for the social work done" by her; and the organisation of seminars for women such as "How do I organize a 30-person-household?" or "First-aid measures after group dynamic conflicts in the house community".[912] The article ended with a call for women to squat houses without men or to install floor levels for women only inside of the already squatted houses.

Creating spaces (in a wider sense) exclusively for women had long been a central aspect of autonomous women's self-conception. Women's groups, women's journals, women's blocks on demonstrations were all seen as means for women's self-empowerment. Creating such spaces (in a narrower sense) by squatting houses without men or by asking men to leave

912 "Es ist nicht nur die psychische Reproduktionsarbeit – Streicheleinheiten verteilen, um die 'harten Männer' wieder in den 'street-fight' zu schicken –, sondern mindestens die Verantwortung für die Organisation des Haushaltes und der Hygiene, die an den Frauen hängen bleibt. […] Wie wär's mit Folgendem: 1. Einrichtung eines Spendenkontos, in das jedes gemischt besetzte Haus einen Beitrag einzahlt, aus dem dann Schmerzensgelder für geschlagene Instandbesetzerinnen gezahlt werden (je weniger Frauen in einem Haus, desto höher der Anteil). 2. Antrag an das Netzwerk Selbsthilfe e.V.: jeder Instandbesetzerin wird ein fester Betrag pro Monat für die geleistete Sozialarbeit ausbezahlt. 3. Die Einrichtung von Seminaren für Besetzerinnen: 'Wie organisiere ich einen 30-Personen-Haushalt?', 'Erste-Hilfe-Maßnahmen nach gruppendynamischen Auseinandersetzungen in der Hausgemeinschaft' oder 'wie fühle ich mich trotzdem wohl dabei?'." "Ein neuer Chauvinismus," *taz*, 27.07.1981.

already squatted apartments was a logical, spatialized continuation of these politics.[913] On 5 January 1981, a group of women squatted a house in Liegnitzer Straße in Kreuzberg, the so-called *Hexenhaus* (witch house). By April 1981 at least nine houses had been squatted by women, thus creating spaces that were imagined as "free" not just from hegemonic norms like all other squats, but also free of men and therefore supposedly from what was considered to be typically male behaviour.[914]

Such exclusive spaces were often viewed with mistrust by non-residents as they seemed to oppose the supposed openness of the squatted houses. These accusations had been brought forward previously against spaces of the autonomous women's movement such as women's communication centres. They were therefore nothing new. In regard to squatted houses, it is nonetheless remarkable how activities that were a matter of course in "mixed" houses took up a different meaning when they were carried out by women, especially when it came to shaping the space of the squat through craftsman's work. A member of a collective that ran a café for women in a "mixed" squatted house in Jagowstraße reported such an incident:

> The conflicts sometimes took on a grotesque form. For example when we discovered dry rot in the back of our shop. This dry rot forced us to tear down a wall that belonged to a toilet in the side wing. Because the inhabitants were suspiciously insinuating that we had sinister intentions, immediately the suspicion came up in the house that we of the women's café were putting out our greedy hands towards their territory! […] This conflict was really telling regarding the attitudes not just in our squatted house.[915]

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913 Predecessors had been women's centres or women's health centres in various cities, like the *Feministisches Frauengesundheits-Zentrum* in Berlin.

914 Amantine, *Gender und Häuserkampf*, 89-92, 99f.; contemporary sources were only referring to five houses squatted exclusively by women: Renate, "Frauenpower macht Männer sauer. Ein Frauenprojekt in einem 'gemischt' besetzten Haus - geht das überhaupt?," in Frauencafé Moabit, ed., *Frauenbewegung und Häuserkampf - unversöhnlich?*, 10-11.

915 "Die Auseinandersetzungen nahmen teilweise groteske Formen an. Etwa als wir Hausschwamm im hinteren Teil des Ladens entdeckten. Dieser Hausschwamm zwang uns, eine Mauer einzureißen, die zu einer Toilette des Seitenflügels gehört. Da uns die Hausbewohner argwöhnisch böse Absichten unterstellen, tauchte sofort der Verdacht im Haus auf, wir vom Frauencafe streckten unsere gierigen Greifer nach ihrem Gebiet aus! [...] Diese Auseinandersetzung darüber war sehr bezeichnend für die Umgangsformen nicht nur in unserem besetzten Haus." Frauencafé Moabit, ed., *Frauenbewegung und Häuserkampf - unversöhnlich?*, 8.

While the possibility of physically altering the architecture of the houses and shaping the space according to the needs of the inhabitants was praised by squatters as a fundamental difference to the standardized apartments of Fordist city planning,[916] it was understood quite differently when women pursued this possibility. Male observers did not see women's spaces as enriching the squatters' pluralistic scene, rather they were seen as a threat. They appeared as privatized space that was threatening to encroach on the seemingly public, neutral territory of the "actual" squatted houses.

Especially this case, in which a women's café was situated in a squatted house that was inhabited by men and women alike, the connection between space and gender identity became most obvious. The heterotopic conception of the squatted houses implied the existence of two different and in itself unambiguous spaces, "inside" and "outside", "us" and "them". This conception was much harder to sustain when seemingly different spaces were present inside a single squat. The women who were running the women's café were thus met with distrust not just from the squatters who were living in the rest of the house, but also from other women as well. "The 'women's movement' isn't well disposed towards us either", the women complained and presumed that they were "suspected to collaborate with the enemy because there are also men living in our house."[917] Both sides, the squatters and the women's movement, were looking for a non-ambiguous identification with, and through, space. Yet such an unambiguous identification could only be accomplished if one subjected oneself to the different norms that were characterizing each scene:

> We are sitting between two chairs, we are not wanted anywhere – what remains is the possibility to ingratiate ourselves to one of the two sides, but it had to be in such a resolute manner that we would deny ourselves, hair off and slogans on or purring about

916 Cf. section 3.2.1.

917 "Auch die 'Frauenbewegung' ist uns nicht wohlgesonnen. [...] Wir können nur vermuten, daß wir seitens der Frauenbewegung der Kollaboration mit dem Feind verdächtigt werden, da in unserem Haus auch Männer leben." Frauencafé Moabit, ed., *Frauenbewegung und Häuserkampf - unversöhnlich?*, 13.

> the moon. We don't need the boredom, the over-attentiveness, the taboos of the 'women's movement', we don't need to commit ourselves to the dubious attitudes, including the new mania of masculinity, in the squatters' movement.[918]

Women who understood themselves as feminists and militant squatters but did not want to separate themselves entirely from the squatters' scene were thus under pressure from two sides. They could either accept the aggressive atmosphere of the squatters' scene and abandon gender-related demands; or they could renounce their identity as militant squatters in exchange for an identity that was based either on lesbianism ("hair off and slogans on") or on an essentialist, peaceful, and sometimes esoteric 'femininity' ("purring about the moon").[919]

So while women were reporting that their self-confidence and their craftsmanship had significantly improved since they had joined the squatters' movement,[920] the question of whether social power-relations could be challenged through the creation of heterotopic counter-sites and "free spaces" was as present as ever. This affected not just women who continued to live with men. It also affected those whose political and social projects were situated within squats that were open to all genders. As Gisela Notz has observed, the "idea of the autonomous project as a space free from dominance, being virtually situated in an extraterritorial relation to patriarchy, already proved to be problematic over the medium term."[921] Conflicts and power struggles took place in women's spaces as well, regardless of

918 "Wir sitzen zwischen zwei Stühlen, nirgendwo will uns wer - es bliebe die Möglichkeit der Anbiederung nach einer der beiden Seiten, sie müßte allerdings so entschieden verlaufen, daß wir uns dabei verleugnen würden, Haare ab und Sprüche drauf oder im Säuselton über den Mond reden. Wir brauchen uns nicht die Langeweile, die Betulichkeit, die Tabubeladenheit der 'Frauenbewegung' anzutun, wir brauchen uns nicht auf die zweifelhaften Umgangsformen, den neuen Männlichkeitswahn in der Besetzerbewegung einzulassen." Ibid.

919 Cf. also "Hexenhaus: Auf die Dauer – Lesbenpower," *taz Berlin*, 26.02.1981; Frauencafé Moabit, ed., *Frauenbewegung und Häuserkampf - unversöhnlich?*, 20.

920 Dorothea Hilgenberg and Uwe Schlicht, "Was Hausbesetzer denken. Über das Leben in den Häusern, über die Gesellschaft, den Staat, die Gewalt," *Der Tagesspiegel*, 10.10.1981: 12ff.; "Mehr als nur der Raum zum Wohnen," *alternative* 24, no. 139 (October 1981): 188.

921 "Die Idee vom autonomen Projekt als herrschaftsfreiem Raum, quasi im exterritorialen Verhältnis zum Patriarchat stehend, erwies sich bereits mittelfristig als problematisch." Notz, "Die autonomen Frauenbewegungen der Siebzigerjahre": 144. On the significance of women's spaces for the autonomous

whether these women adhered to a militant or a mystical feminine identity. A spatial retreat from these conflicts thus proved (once again) to be impossible.

But the above mentioned cases also show that the existence of exclusive spaces for women did not signify a clear separation from the rest of the squatters' scene. Houses like the *Hexenhaus* were conceived as parts of the squatters' scene and their inhabitants shared the demands of this movement (including, for example, the release of all those who had been imprisoned in the context of squattings, demonstrations or more militant actions).[922] Women squatters continued to engage themselves in mixed-gender groups and heterosexual relations with male squatters existed despite the existence of exclusive female spaces. And the sheer existence of women's spaces "could be read as a symbol that sexism existed in the new Left as well".[923] Although these spaces were "islands", separated from the rest of the scene, they were still part of it through social practices—friendships, demonstrations—and mental mappings. Moreover, they were perceived as part of the scene, partly *because* female squatters' criticism was directed at other squatters. Last but not least, both sub-scenes were part of a communal territory, especially in Kreuzberg but also in the case of women's spaces inside, or close to, "mixed" squatted houses. The proximity between the autonomous women's movement and the squatters' scene was as much a discursive one as it was a spatial one.

No matter whether women decided to criticize male dominance from within the scene or from the heterotopia of a women's house (or even something in-between), conflicts about gender relations showed the fragility of the concept of "free spaces". Spatial autonomy

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women's movement see also Notz, "Frauenräume. Die autonome Frauenbewegung der 1970er Jahre und ihr Konzept des Frauenraums in der BRD," *Ariadne*, no. 61 (May 2012): 60-65.

922 Amantine, *Gender und Häuserkampf*, 99.

923 "[...] konnte die Notwendigkeit eines Frauenzentrums als Symbol dafür gelesen werden, dass Sexismus auch in der neuen Linken existierte." Edith Siegenthaler, "Frauenbefreiung durch männerfreie Zonen? Die Bedeutung von Frauen vorbehaltenen Orten und Räumen am Beispiel des Frauenzentrums der Frauenbefreiungsbewegung Bern," *Ariadne*, no. 61 (May 2012): 55.

depended on clear dividing lines between the territory of hegemonic norms and oppression and the utopian spaces of resistance that appeared as entirely distinct from their surroundings. In this concept, there was no room (in a double sense) for forms of behaviour that had been located in the outside world. While it was relatively easy to imagine oneself as a "drop-out" from capitalism based on the austere living conditions, there was no such easy escape from patriarchy. A closer look at the problems at hand thus shows how heterotopic spaces were far from being homogeneous spaces of resistance but were themselves organized along multiple conflicting dichotomies. And no matter how hard squatters tried—their spaces were always related to all other spaces in more complex ways than the concept of the "free space" would suggest.

5.2.4. Sexualized violence against women

As with drug use, squatters needed to extra-territorialize social conflicts about gender in order to keep the concept of the heterotopia working. But, as demonstrated in the previous section, in the case of gender relations this was much harder if not impossible to accomplish. On the other hand, nowhere was the need to externalize social conflict more urgent and strenuous than in the case of sexualized violence against women by squatters and/or within the spaces of the squatters' scene.

As much as squatters might have imagined themselves as totally different from "ordinary" citizens and their behaviour (and as much as they were clamouring against patriarchy on an abstract level), sexist behaviour and sexualized violence against women were clearly present in the squatters' scene. The extent to which these offences did take place is unknown and it was not until the 1990s that debates about sexism and rape within the radical Left took place outside the small scene of autonomous feminists. Only when severe incidents

became public, short-lived discussions flared up. They were usually focussed on particular cases, without leading to a larger questioning of gender roles within the autonomous scene or the role of "free spaces" as spaces of protection and/or danger for women. One of these incidents took place in a squatted house in Hamburg's Hafenstraße. It sparked an intense debate, both because of the severity of the incident and because of the reaction of the squatters. The positions that were assumed in this debate show the fragility of "free spaces" as a concept and the controversial attempts to uphold this concept by projecting the reasons for sexualized violence on factors and spaces outside of the houses and by shifting the focus from gender relations in the squatted houses to questions of how to punish perpetrators adequately.

In June 1984, three inhabitants of a squatted house in the Hafenstraße raped and tortured a twenty-year-old female visitor to the house over the course of twelve hours.[924] The two women, Birgit P. and Susanne S., and one man, Oliver P., co-founder of *Punks against Fascism* and also known as "Olli Perverso", forced the woman to write a letter in which she stated that she would be away on a holiday for the subsequent two weeks. Before she was left chained in a cellar room, the three perpetrators threatened to cut her to pieces and declared that there had already been two women "who had disappeared in the river Elbe".[925] After the three left, the woman managed to free herself and was discovered by another inhabitant of the house. She was brought to a hospital and the police were also informed.

Information about the incident quickly made its way to other squatters in the houses. One of the perpetrators, Birgit P., was found in the squatters bar and brought to the *Volxküche*,

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924 The following according to "HAFENSTR./BER.NOCHT," [1984], ArSozBew HH, 09.400, Hafen Flugis 1982-87; Initiativkreis für den Erhalt der Hafenstraße, "Hafenstraße. Chronologie eines Kampfes (1. vorläufige Fassung)," [1987/88?], ArSozBew HH, 09.400, Hafenstr. I, 8; "Schlimmes Verbrechen bei den Hausbesetzern," *Hamburger Abendblatt*, 08.06.1984: 1; "Punker übten Selbstjustiz in den eigenen Reihen," *Hamburger Abendblatt*, 08.06.1984: 3.

925 "Es hätte schon zwei Frauen gegeben, die in der Elbe verschwunden wären." "HAFENSTR./BER.NOCHT," 1.

or public eatery, to be publicly confronted with the accusations. The squatters beat her up severely, shaved her head and eventually drove her out of town and abandoned her on a country road outside of Hamburg. Groups of squatters fanned out and managed to find Oliver P. and Susanne S. that same evening in the nearby town of Tostedt. Both were brought to the Hafenstraße and beaten up, Susanne S. so heavily that she suffered a fracture of the skull. Eventually both were locked up for the night because, as the squatters later declared, "we were so worn down that we neither could nor wanted to make a decision [about the further proceeding, JHF] that same night."[926] At 5:30 a.m. the police raided the building; Oliver P. and Susanne S. used the situation to escape.

Both mass media and the squatters themselves tried to make sense of the incident by relating it to other crimes or violent forms of behaviour, which they believed were similar to the rape in the Hafenstraße. Although their attempts at an explanation were significantly different from one another, both established a spatial connection with the incident. While the mainstream press, together with politicians, saw the incident as the result of "lawless spaces", the squatters tried to protect their "free space" by negating such a causal connection between the attack and the squatted houses. They sought to locate the reasons for this act of violence elsewhere, from local neighbourhoods of the rich to far away countries such as El Salvador. The specific misogynist aspects of the crime were overlooked by both sides. Squatters sidestepped the question of how to prevent further sexualized violence against women and focused instead on questions of how to punish future perpetrators and the supposed need to support the squatted houses against outside threats.

The local newspaper *Hamburger Abendblatt* spoke of an "abyss of crime" [*Abgrund von Kriminalität*] when it reported on the rape and the subsequent revenge of the squatters. For

926 "Wir haben Susi und Olli dann weiter festgehalten, weil wir so zermürbt waren, daß wir in der Nacht keine Entscheidung mehr treffen konnten und wollten." Ibid., 2.

Hamburger Abendblatt these were just another series of acts of delinquency committed by people from the squatted houses: "This case is the preliminary climax in a series of crimes that have been committed by punks and *Polit-Rockern* from the St.Pauli-Hafenstraße: They had laid fire, had broken into houses, had damaged cars and had started street battles against the police."[927] The spokesman for interior affairs of the conservative CDU in Hamburg's city council was quoted, attributing the incident to the senate's policy, which had "allowed that a de facto lawless space has developed" in the Hafenstraße.[928] The specificity of the crime was not discussed. On the contrary, the generalizing discourse on "crime" meant that both the rape and the response by the squatters were portrayed as equally condemnable, delinquent acts. The rape and torture of a woman was seen as part of a wave of general deviance that was associated with the heterotopic, "lawless" space of the squatted houses.

A commentary in the local left-wing journal *Hungrige Herzen* denounced such a coverage as hypocritical:

> [T]he rape did not take place in the marriage-bed, which isn't reported even under "miscellany", but in the Hafenstraße. And that is in many ways something special. In the Hafenstraße about 100 people are trying to live differently than the ordinary citizen between his *Neckermann* furniture elements – and this fact alone is reason for scepticism and speculation.[929]

The commentary rightly pointed to the mechanisms of spatialization that underlay the press coverage. The focus on spectacular cases of violence by deviant individuals[930] in (often

927 "Dieser Fall ist der vorläufige Höhepunkt einer Serie von Straftaten, die von Punkern und Polit-Rockern aus der St.Pauli-Hafenstraße verübt wurden: Sie hatten Feuer gelegt, Einbrüche verübt, Autos beschädigt und Straßenschlachten mit der Polizei angezettelt." "Schlimmes Verbrechen bei den Hausbesetzern," *Hamburger Abendblatt*, 08.06.1984: 1.

928 "[...] zugelassen, daß ein faktisch rechtsfreier Raum entstanden ist." "Punker übten Selbstjustiz in den eigenen Reihen," *Hamburger Abendblatt*, 08.06.1984: 3.

929 "[...] die Vergewaltigung fand nicht im ehelichen Bett statt, was nicht einmal unter 'Gemischtes' berichtet wird, sondern in der Hafenstraße. Und das ist unter vielen Gesichtspunkten etwas Besonderes. In der Hafenstraße versuchen rund 100 Leute, anders zu leben als der Normalbürger zwischen seinen Neckermann-Wohnelementen – und allein diese Tatsache macht skeptisch und läßt Platz für Spekulationen." "Kommentar," *Hungrige Herzen*, no. 6 (summer 1984): 31.

930 The reports in *Hamburger Abendblatt* mentioned the nickname of Oliver K., "Olli Perverso", thus marking

public) places that were marked as especially dangerous let the private space of the nuclear family appear as a safe haven despite the fact that most cases of sexual abuse and of violence against women were (and are) taking place in the realm of the family and the associated private spaces.[931] The reference to the supposedly standardized, normative and philistine furniture of "ordinary" people's homes (*Neckermann* was a big mail order shop, a symbol for post-war consumer-goods for the middle class) thus also served to counter this specific form of spatialization. While the attempts to "live differently" might be cause for suspicion amongst ordinary people, it was in fact the philistinism of their own homes that marked these as uncanny.

This tendency to simply reverse the assumptions about the spatiality of the crime became also visible in a statement from the squatters themselves in which they rejected the idea that their spaces fostered violence against women:

> The fact that in our houses a woman has been tortured beyond all recognition is continuing to dominate our debates and is with us in all our thoughts. We cannot and do not want to suppress that any less than the question: What shall we do with such people? Yet we also know that rape and torture are happening just as much in modern residential areas [*Neubauviertel*] as in villas. They are not a product of the "milieu" Hafenstraße, but of a society that in many ways turns people, especially women, into commodities, [a society] that is using violence against people everywhere and everyday […].[932]

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him as a degenerated individual that was potentially located outside of society. How much gender stereotypes were structuring the reports becomes clear in the construction of Oliver K. as the main perpetrator who had "raped and bestially tormented" while "his grilfriends Susi and Birgit supposedly helped him with it". In contrast, Birgit P. declared later in court that it had "not [been] Oli alone, it was all three of us." "Punker übten Selbstjustiz in den eigenen Reihen," *Hamburger Abendblatt*, 08.06.1984: 3; quote from *taz*, 19.05.1989: 3, quoted in Amantine, *Gender und Häuserkampf*, 134, footnote 296.

931 Cf. Manuela Brandstetter, *Gewalt im sozialen Nahraum. Zur Logik von Prävention und Vorsorge in ländlichen Sozialräumen* (Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2009), esp. 19ff.

932 "Die Tatsache, daß in unseren Häusern eine Frau bis zur Unkenntlichkeit gefoltert worden ist, bestimmt weiter unsere Auseinandersetzungen und verfolgt uns in all unseren Gedanken. Wir können und wollen das nicht verdrängen, genausowenig wie die Frage: Was sollen wir mit solchen Leuten machen? Aber wir wissen auch, daß Vergewaltigungen und Folterungen ebenso in Neubauvierteln wie in Villen vorkommen. Sie sind kein Produkt des 'Milieus' Hafenstr., sondern einer Gesellschaft, die Menschen und besonders Frauen in Vielfältiger [sic] Weise zur Ware macht, die überall und alltäglich Gewalt gegen Menschen ausübt [...]." "HAFENSTR./BER.NOCHT," 2.

It was of course true that (sexualized) violence was not restricted to the squatted houses. Yet this was only half of the truth. The inhabitants of the Hafenstraße did not even pose the question, namely to what degree had their own spaces enabled, or even fostered, such a crime. Instead, they shifted the responsibilities away from their spaces towards modernist and upper-class urban settlements. And as much as the press had ignored the misogynist character of the rape by equalling it with arson, theft, and other forms of "crime", the squatters made it similarly disappear by subsuming the rape under the vague term of "violence". At the same time the search for reasons was substituted with the more technical question of proper forms of punishment of "such people", a formulation that implied that the perpetrators were not, and had never been, part of the squatters' society. This development was even more disturbing given the physical violence involved in the punishment of the perpetrators and especially with the shaving of one of the women's head. With this act, the squatters themselves had resorted to quite traditional concepts of both masculinity and misogyny in meting out their punishment of the three rapists.

In the following days and weeks, the position of the Hafenstraße squatters was strengthened by several statements and letters to the editors of the alternative *taz*. "Some *Autonome*" stated in an open letter that if "3 people who have lived in the houses, are acting out fascist fantasies of violence, the responsibility is with this bestial system" that "is spreading hatred on women and xenophobia" in order to "secure the profit and dominance of the propertied classes". The task at hand was to discuss "how we want to deal with such people (like the 3 torturers, other rapists and rowdies, extraordinarily brutal cops and police informers) and how we conceive their punishment (*Bestrafungsaktionen*)."[933] And a letter to the

933 "Wenn in dieser Situation 3 Menschen, die in den Häusern gelebt haben, faschistische Gewaltphantasien umsetzen, trifft die Verantwortung dieses bestialische System, das durch seine gezielte Propaganda Phantasie vergiftet und soziale Beziehungen ausbeutet, das mit seiner ideologischen Hochrüstung Frauen- und Fremdenhaß verbreitet, um die Aggressivität und Radikalisierung der Massen gegen sie selbst zu richten zur

taz, signed by "a few upset citizens", made clear that the rapists did not belong to the Hafenstraße in the first place:

> Olli is a pig. He is none of us, [he] hasn't been, [he] never was. […] That he was able to live in the Hafenstraße nonetheless has to be explained by the guys from the [squatted] houses. It is neither new nor unusual that pigs are appearing and settling down in our scene [*in unseren Zusammenhängen*]. […] This pig committed a crime.[934]

The choice of terminology—"fascist", "bestial", "pig"—marked the incident and its perpetrator(s) as something that was situated outside the society of squatters and their system of values. The authors placed responsibility for the incident with "the system". The perpetrator(s) had never belonged to the squatters and the only question was how to punish them adequately. Like with drugs and drug users, the squatters' discourse on sexualized violence served to construct this extreme form of misogynism and violence as something alien to the squatters' scene and the squatted houses in an attempt to re-establish them as heterotopias of resistance and liberation.

Such conceptions were provoking contradictions among the squatters' sympathizers as well. An editor of *taz Hamburg* denounced the squatters' actions as "fascistoid". A few days later he was beaten up by a group of people "as a warning"; the following declaration demanded "solidarity with the Hafenstraße!"[935] To some, any form of criticism endangered the political project of the Hafenstraße. The precarious situation of a squat that was always faced with the threat of eviction fostered the violent rejection of such criticism in the name of

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Absicherung von Profit und Herrschaft der besitzenden Klassen. […] Unsere Sache ist es also, eine verstärkte Auseinandersetzung unter uns darüber zu führen, wie wir mit solchen Leuten (wie den 3 Folterern, anderen Vergewaltigern und Schlägern, besonders sadistischen Bullen und Spitzeln) umgehen wollen und wie wir uns Bestrafungsaktionen vorstellen." Einige Autonome und Leute aus der Stadtteilinitiative Karolinenviertel, "Offener Brief," 1984, ArSozBew HH, 09.400, Hafen Flugis 1982-87.

934 "Olli ist ein Schwein. Er ist keiner von uns, war es nicht, nie gewesen. [...] Daß er trotzdem in der Hafenstraße wohnen konnte, müssen die Typen aus den Häusern sich erklären. Daß Schweine in unseren Zusammenhängen auftauchen, sich reinsetzen, ist nicht neu und nicht ungewöhnlich. […] Dieses Schwein hat ein Verbrechen begangen." Einige empörte Bürger, "[Leserbrief]," *taz Hamburg*, 15.06.1984.

935 Amantine, *Gender und Häuserkampf*, 130.

"solidarity".

Others insisted that self-criticism was indeed necessary and highlighted the 'home-grown' nature of the case. In a letter to *taz*, a woman explained that "this extreme excess did not take place in a modern residential area but in a squatted house" due to a "discrepancy between left-wing standards and the ever more barbaric social manners and living conditions" in the squatted houses.[936] Another woman insisted that the perpetrators were part of "our movement" and reasoned that the unquestioned concept of masculinity was one of the roots of the problems: "The only answer of left-wing men to the question of violence against women that I know of, is their offer to beat up rapists. […] Until today only a few [of them] are seeing the connection between masculinity, torture and rape."[937]

This explanation was also brought forward in a longer paper by "a few men from the scene" in which these men criticized the squatters' actions and justifications. They, too, the authors argued, had experienced the shock and disbelief that such an act could have been committed by fellow comrades and within the squatted houses:

> Shaking heads, doubts, blocking out the facts, disbelief, a helpless shrug of the shoulders are the first reactions – dismay. Everything is spinning around in the mind, neatly separated antagonisms are crashing together, classifications aren't true any more, little myths are breaking down, something simply isn't right any more, like always when something is happening that must not be.[938]

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936 "Die Vermutung, daß der Grund dafür, warum dieser maßlose Exzess nicht im Neubauviertel, sondern im besetzten Haus stattfand, darin zu suchen ist, daß der Widerspruch zwischen linken Ansprüchen und den sich immer barbarischer entwickelnden Umgangsformen und Lebensverhältnissen völlig unerträglich wird, mag man mir als bösartige Spekulation auslegen." Christiane Becker, "[Leserbrief]," *taz Hamburg*, 19.06.1984.

937 "Die einzige Antwort, die ich von linken Männern zum Thema Gewalt gegen Frauen kenne, ist ihr Angebot, Vergewaltiger zusammenschlagen zu wollen. [...] Bis heute sehen nur wenige den Zusammenhang zwischen Männlichkeit, foltern und vergewaltigen." B. Such, quoted in Amantine, *Gender und Häuserkampf*, 131.

938 "Kopfschütteln, Zweifel, sich sperren gegen die Tatsachen, Ungläubigkeit, ratloses Achselzucken sind die ersten Reaktionen - Entsetzen. Alles wirbelt durcheinander im Hirn, fein säuberlich getrennte Gegensätze knallen aufeinander, Zuordnungen stimmen nicht mehr, kleine Mythen brechen zusammen, da stimmt einfach was nicht mehr, wie immer, wenn was geschieht, was nicht sein darf." einige männer aus der scene, "Wozu den Pfeil beschuldigen, wenn es den Bogen dazu gibt," 1984, ArSozBew HH, 09.400, Hafen Flugis 1982-87, 1.

When the reports came in, they had stood in contrast to what had been assumed about the nature of the squats and their inhabitants. Summarizing associations and typical reactions, the "men from the scene" wrote:

> IN THE SQUATTED HOUSE: "Resistance, liberation, collectivity, conquering new life-forms,..." "Do you know what kind of people are living there?" "No, but I think they're all pretty done, a lot of drinking, everything possible [sic!] lives there, but really – no idea what kind of people they are!"
> FROM THE SCENE: "can't be true"; "The three cannot have anything to do with us"[939]

These first reactions had to give way to a sober analysis of the prehistory of the incident, though, the men argued. They were criticizing the inhabitants of Hafenstraße for the fact that their declarations were ignoring the concrete situation in the houses and suppressing the link between the houses and society: "There is a quiet, bleak place between society's sexism and the scene – the *bürgerlich* patriarchal identity of the left, autonomous, anti-imperialist, social-revolutionary man – the unconsciousness of one's own self."[940] Faced with the existence of hegemonic norms and forms of behaviour in the bodies and minds of the squatters, with the Other in the Self, the idea of "free spaces" became much harder to sustain. "All right then", these men concluded sarcastically,

> we are already living in the liberated territory, washed clean from the structures of a patriarchal society from which we came a long time ago – liberated through our resistance. Society, misanthropic and turning women in particular into commodities, is producing its sexists outside of our 'Morazan'.[941]

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939 "IM BESETZTEN HAUS; 'Widerstand, Befreiung, Kollektivität, Eroberung selbstbestimmter Lebensformen,...' 'Weißt du was für Leute da wohnen?' 'Nee, aber die sind da, glaub ich, ziemlich fertig, viel Suff, da wohnt alles Mögliche, aber echt - keine Ahnung was das für Leute sind!' AUS DER SCENE: 'kann doch nicht wahr sein'; 'Die drei können nichts mit uns zutun [sic] haben'," einige männer aus der scene, "Wozu den Pfeil beschuldigen, wenn es den Bogen dazu gibt," 1.

940 "Es gibt da einen ruhigen, öden Platz zwischen gesellschaftlichem Sexismus und der scene - die bürgerlich patriarchalische Identität des linken, autonomen, antiimperialistischen, sozialrevolutionären Mannes - die Bewußtlosigkeit über sich selbst." Ibid., 2.

941 "Nun denn, wir leben schon im befreiten Gebiet, reingewaschen von den Strukturen einer patriarchalischen Gesellschaft aus der wir vor langer Zeit mal kamen – befreit durch unseren Widerstand. Die Gesellschaft, menschenverachtend und insbesondere Frauen zur Ware machend, produziert ihre Sexisten außerhalb unseres 'Morazans'." Morazan is the name of a province in El Salvador that was one of the major strongholds of the left-wing guerilla FMLN during the 1980s. Ibid.

Such a conception of "liberated territories" was missing the point, they argued further, as the three perpetrators had "been living in structures gained by 'us' after hard struggles (apparently as anonymous and isolated as in modern residential areas or in the villa)".[942] These statements show the threatening potential of sexist and misogynist behaviour to a political movement that was centred around urban spaces conceived as heterotopias. Not only did it discredit the idea of a liberated territory and its supposed difference from the rest of city and society. It also called into question the identity of the squatters' scene—if one was not willing to exclude the perpetrators discursively from the squatters' collective, the collective "we" became much more fragile and had to be put in quotation marks ("gained by 'us'"). The collective identity of the squatters' scene depended on spaces and it depended on the heterotopic nature of these spaces. Only if the spaces of the scene could be imagined as entirely different from their surroundings could people create a political identity as squatters simply by identifying themselves with spaces instead of political analyses and programs. What had been one of the advantages in mobilizing heterogeneous groups of people under the umbrella term "squatters",[943] proved to be an Achilles heel once conflicts arose that transgressed the dichotomies of top vs. bottom and "our" *Kiez* vs. "their" concrete city. The vehement attempts to exclude the perpetrators from the collective and to focus on technical aspects of their punishment[944] must therefore be understood as attempts to save the concept of

942 "Mit dem, was am 5.6. passierte, sind wir damit konfrontiert, daß ein Typ und zwei Frauen aus der scene, denn sie haben in von 'uns' erkämpften Strukturen gelebt (anscheinend so anonym und isoliert wie im Neubauviertel oder in der Villa), aus sexuellen Gründen Gewalt bis zum Exzess an einer Frau ausgelassen haben." Ibid., 5.

943 Cf. section 3.2.

944 "Criteria have developed in the resistance of bottom against top. There, everyone has his dividing line between 'us' and 'them'. […] For some, the shot in the knee of the Italian prison guard might be too much, for others too little, but apart from that,.... fair enough." "Im Widerstand von unten gegen oben haben sich Kriterien entwickelt. Da hat jeder seine Trennungslinie zwischen 'wir' und 'sie'. [...] Manchem mag ein Knieschuß für die italienische Gefängniswärterin zu viel, dem anderen zu wenig sein, aber ansonsten,.... gebongt." einige männer aus der scene, "Wozu den Pfeil beschuldigen, wenn es den Bogen dazu gibt," 4f.

the heterotopia and with it the squatters' political identity—at the cost of unchanged conditions within the heterotopic spaces.

5.2.5. Conclusion

In contrast to conceptions of squatted houses as heterotopias—either of deviance ("lawless spaces") or of resistance ("free spaces")—a closer look at these spaces reveals that they were neither entirely separated from their surroundings nor unambiguous in their character. Problems with drug use and gender relations within the squatters' scene showed that it was not enough to occupy physical space in order to create counter-sites to the hegemonic regime but that the hegemonic Other would constantly transgress the borders of the "free spaces". The squatters' reactions to the emergence of such problems, which they had believed were characteristic of mainstream society but not of their own spaces, shows how much energy was indeed necessary to establish the squatters' scene as a homogeneous free space. Entering an empty building and renovating and securing it, were the easiest parts. The real challenge came later, when squatters had to organize the social structure of the houses. Questions of belonging had to be constantly re-evaluated and the line between an imaginary "us" and "them" had to be drawn again and again.

Comparing the Berlin squatters' policy regarding heroin use with that in the AJZ in Zurich shows how conceptions of space and identity structured the understandings about problems and solutions within the youth and squatters' scene respectively. The Berlin squatters understood themselves not as a youth movement, but as an urban one and their stronger identification with space fostered the construction of heroin (users) as alien to the squatters' scene. This tendency was reinforced by conceptions of heroin as a means of the state, which given its encompassing definition was understood as the common enemy of all squatters, to

destroy the squatters' movement and the rebellious *Kiez* alike. Just as hegemonic drug discourse and policy did not address the social and/or political roots of heroin use and addicts' misery, squatters avoided questioning their own habits of drug consumption by focussing on how to keep "their" spaces free of a presumably deviant and dangerous Other.

A similar strategy applied to the squatters' own sexist and patriarchal behaviour, although conflicts about gender issues were much more difficult to exclude spatially. The existence of these conflicts called into question the idea of a heterotopic free space and its promise of liberation through spatial autonomy, much as the emergence of heroin use(rs) had done. But gender-related problems could not be dismissed as easily as "alien" to the scene for two reasons.

First, conflicts about the organization of household chores and a lack of "warmth" among squatters touched upon one of the core elements of their self-conception. The squatted houses had been imagined as counter-sites to the "coldness" of the city, a coldness that was symbolized by its materiality and present in metaphors of "concrete" and "neon lights" but which had always inferred a social coldness among the inhabitants of this city. The exact nature of this social coldness remained vague and was expressed through symbolic metaphors, encompassing such things as alienation from the workplace, the presumed shallowness of consumer society and its spectacles, pollution, lack of spaces for non-commercial youth culture and absent "alternative" ways of living with people of the same age rather than as a nuclear family. Squatting houses was quickly seen as a means to evade the narrowness of a *bürgerliche* existence, its spaces and institutions. If the tone amongst squatters was even colder, more aggressive than outside and if women were complaining about a classical division of labour within the squatted houses and the existence of *bürgerliche* and patriarchal forms of behaviour, then assumptions about the possibility to change the—politically charged—everyday through

spatial autonomy became harder to sustain.

These women were, *second*, much more successful in making themselves heard than heroin users ever were. They represented a significant part of the squatters' movement and they possessed resources similar to their male counterparts, including the time and energy that many heroin users were lacking. Most importantly, they were able to forge a common identification as women and could therefore formulate their demands from a sense of solidarity. Discursively, they were able to pick up on the critique of the nuclear family and hegemonic gender norms, as described above. In terms of organizing, experiences and subjectivities, they could draw on the resources of the autonomous women's movement, their practices, their media, and their spaces.

Yet those women who adhered to the principles of the autonomous women's movement, in particular, became conflicted in their position as militant female squatters. As squatters, they, too, understood the houses as a means to liberate themselves from hegemonic power relations, including patriarchal dominance. As militant squatters, they also saw the necessity to defend these spaces. As feminist squatters, though, they also faced the fact that they were fighting on two fronts: against "the state" and against gender stereotypes within the squatters' scene itself. The fetish of militancy and the ideal of the street-fighter characterized the squatters' scene and yet they were markedly masculine. Despite their common claim of providing alternatives to the nuclear family, autonomy and feminism produced contradictory practices. "We won't be persuaded any more that our enemies are standing only on the other side of the barricade", some women concluded.[945]

This does not mean that autonomy and feminism were mutually exclusive. Some women

945 "Wir lassen uns nicht länger einreden, daß unsere Feinde nur auf der anderen Seite der Barrikade stehen." "Auf Vergewaltigung steht lebenslänglich - für uns!," in Frauencafé Moabit, ed., *Frauenbewegung und Häuserkampf - unversöhnlich?*, 39.

experienced even the harsh tone among squatters with ambiguity. On the one hand, they felt obliged to level out male aggressiveness with social competencies traditionally related to concepts of femininity; on the other hand, they themselves developed a toughness that some experienced as empowerment and liberation from traditional gender roles. These experiences allowed for a feminist identity without references to a seemingly natural, peaceful femininity or to radical lesbianism. Autonomous "free spaces" allowed for new feminist subjectivities and practices, but they did not do so automatically. Subjectivities and spaces of emancipation were mutually and constantly (re-)constituted.

Enduring conflicts about gender roles thus showed the ambiguity and fragility of the concept of "free spaces". The idea of political change based on spatial autonomy was rooted in the conviction that liberation could be obtained by "dropping out" into somehow alternative, different places. But this idea also implied that those different spaces were in themselves homogeneous and that hegemonic norms could be kept out of these spaces just as easily as the police. The longer the squatters' scene existed, the more it became clear that this was not the case. Even in those instances where women created their own spaces, their heterotopia within the heterotopia of the squatters' scene, the strictly relational character of these spaces became apparent. For the existence of these spaces was in itself a critique of the squatters' scene from which the women had separated themselves. Although conflicts about gender relations resulted in the creation of new spaces, the conflicts themselves were thus not extra-territorialized to the same degree as it had been the case with heroin users. In the case of extreme sexualized violence against women, there were visible attempts to situate the reasons for this violence and the perpetrators themselves outside of the squatters' scene and its spaces. The discursive efforts to externalize violence against women were part of a strategy to defend the concept of the heterotopia and to suppress its inherent problems and differences. For the

price of unchanged conditions within the squatted houses and the autonomous scene in general (and repeated cases of sexualized violence in the future), the strategy was 'successful' insofar as it allowed the squatters to maintain a "revolutionary" subjectivity based on symbolic spaces.

By comparing squatters' reactions to drug consumption and sexist behaviour in their ranks, the underlying mechanisms of these reactions can be assessed more clearly. Without denying the difference between the exclusion of drug users and rapists, there were similar structures at play. In both cases, squatters tried to draw a clear line between the acceptable and the unacceptable. While exclusion of heroin users had allowed for a continued consumption of alcohol and other "soft" drugs, the exclusion of rapists went along with the toleration of other forms of sexist and violent behaviour. These aspects of the "ice-pack society" were tolerated in the squatted houses, as long as the overall "productivity" and unity of the squatters' scene was not endangered.

Looking at squatters' reactions to heroin use and gender-related conflicts helps us to understand the significance and the nature of spaces of non-conforming youth in the 1980s as neither homogeneous nor separated from their surroundings. For although they were imagined as "lawless" and "free" respectively, that is defined by being different from all other sites, the various divisions within the squatters' scene make it clear that these were not sites of a homogeneous deviant/revolutionary Other. Rather, they were constituted by various forms of deviant/rebellious subjectivities that structured and competed for these spaces. The more youth identified with and through space, the more important conflicts about the coherence of such identifications became. The expulsion of heroin users from the squatters' scene shows especially the fragile character of the "free spaces" and their contested nature.

The constant conflicts about gender roles, on the other hand, show first and foremost the

transgression of the borders of heterotopias. "Dropping out" meant leaving mainstream society and building spaces that were "free" in the sense that they had cut all ties to their surroundings (in the case of the *Kiez* the same principles were applied, only on a larger scale). But in the conflicts about gender roles, the sexism of the patriarchal mainstream society entered the "free spaces" and revealed their structural similarity with the surrounding spaces. Even the creation of heterotopias within the heterotopia, in the form of women's spaces, could not change this fact. On the contrary, despite all efforts to seclude oneself from the patriarchy of the scene, the lasting conflicts about these spaces (and indeed their sheer existence) showed the connectedness of women's squats with the rest of the squatters' scene. Although it had very real consequences, the idea of a separated space that was entirely different and free of all forms of dominance was an illusion.

6. Conclusion

Around the year 1980 it was possible to witness a fundamental shift in the "apparatuses of security"[946] that became first visible in the governance of non-conforming youth. The Fordist order had been in a deep crisis since the early to mid-1970s. Modernization, social engineering and technocratic master solutions to problems of the economy, the city and the nation-state had seemingly failed. Deviant youth in public space, especially young heroin users, became the most obvious signifier of this crisis. As youth, they were believed to be a constant danger to themselves and others and came to symbolize anxieties regarding the nation's future as a whole. As drug users, they embodied the negative effects of the success of consumerism and of a modern, global economy.[947] With their sojourning in public spaces, they reminded people of their own possible social descent and provoked questions about whether those who had ceased to have a place in society could still have access to the space of the city.

Throughout the 1970s the focus of public and expert discourses shifted successively from individual behaviour and criminal acts to the visible presence of presumably deviant groups in public space and how best to control these populations. Heroin consumption could be seen and encountered everywhere—by the mid-1970s local heroin scenes existed in virtually every region, city and, as the example of West Berlin has shown, in every city district—and it affected young people of every social strata. The rising numbers of heroin users was not interpreted as a change in consumption patterns but perceived as a movement of substances through spaces: from abroad across the borders of the nation-state and from the city to the countryside. The spatialization of heroin consumption among youth provided two complementary ways of dealing with this problem and simultaneously rendered related

946 Michel Foucault, "Governmentality," in *The Foucault Effect. Studies in Governmentality*, edited by Graham Burchell, Colin Gordon, and Peter Miller (London: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1991), 102.

947 Stephens, *Germans on Drugs*, 6, 87.

anxieties, in view of the "structural break"[948] of the 1970s, less threatening. The omnipresence of heroin use could, *first*, be seemingly limited to certain, well-defined spaces. As such, heroin would be contained at least on a symbolic level. And parents—who could not stop their children from going to school, for instance, even if they feared they might come into contact with illegalized drugs there—could save their children from a descent into drug addiction by keeping them from these places. The spatial control of youth by their parents was complemented by, *second*, local tactics of policing the spaces of the heroin scene. As the economic crisis after the boom of the 1960s left therapeutic programs with severe funding shortages, policing was also a reasonable solution in terms of economics.

Press reports on the "disappearance" of the heroin scene into side-streets and private apartments once the repressive strategy of policing was installed seemed to indicate a policy failure. Similarly, the effect on young heroin users was devastating. If anything, intensified policing increased the death-rate among heroin users while doing little to improve their living conditions. However, these were not the decisive criteria to evaluate the success of the repressive strategy; its benefits lay elsewhere, namely in its spatialization. Policing helped transform drug use into a spatial phenomenon. The constant interplay between dissolving local scenes and their disquieting disappearance on the one hand and their tolerated re-emergence in different places on the other, established the police as the most important factor in the regulation of heroin use. Even in its apparent failure to permanently solve the problem of heroin use, the policing strategy created a self-perpetuating demand. Accordingly, when policing proved unsuccessful, the solution was sought not in abandoning but in intensifying the repressive strategy. Heroin was thus transformed into a problem of urban space that could be governed accordingly.

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948 Doering-Manteuffel and Raphael, *Nach dem Boom*, 10.

It also became possible to extra-territorialize social crises. As the example of the Bahnhof Zoo illustrates, the symbolic spaces of the heroin scene were understood as totally different from their surroundings, as heterotopic counter-sites of chaos and deviance. They could thus be used to define who, and what, was society's Other and to symbolically contain this Other. Those marginalised groups, in particular, who became more visible during the 1970s—immigrants and homosexuals—were thus marked as deviant and symbolically excluded exactly at the time when they were visibly demanding an inclusion into West-German society.[949] In these cases, as with heroin use, anxieties regarding social change could be mitigated through their spatialization. Representations of such spaces as sites of deviance reassured citizens of their luck at being normal, despite their actual socio-economic situations. (Talking about) spaces of the heroin scene always included the renegotiation and codification of society's fundamental norms and values in times of change.

The spatialization of the social also had some "unintended effects".[950] It established "youth" as an object of governmental practices but also as a subject and means of identification. Teenagers and young adults began to understand themselves successively as "youth" across social and educational backgrounds and articulate their social critique in terms of a generational conflict. This also affected stories about teenage heroin consumption and the spaces youth created for themselves. Even for those adolescents who were not consuming

949 After the "recruitment ban" of 1973, many work migrants from Southern Europe decided, contrary to German expectations, not to return to their home countries but to permanently settle in West Germany, together with their families. – Homosexuality had been decriminalized with the Great Penal Law Reform in 1969 and a follow-up reform in 1973. In addition, public manifestations of a new self-confident gay movement emerged in German cities beginning in the early 1970s; and the founding of the Green Party in 1980 led to the election of the first gay members of parliament. On local conflicts over this new legislation, traditional policing of spaces of gay sexuality, and protests of the gay liberation movement see for Hamburg: Stümke, "Die Hamburger Spiegel-Affäre von 1980".

950 Foucault described the emergence of a "milieu of delinquency" as the "unintended effect" of the dispositif of imprisonment. Michel Foucault, *Dispositive der Macht. Über Sexualität, Wissen und Wahrheit* (Berlin: Merve, 1978), 121f. See also Christoph Hubig, "'Dispositiv' als Kategorie," *Internationale Zeitschrift für Philosophie*, no. 1 (2000): 45.

illegalized substances, stories such as Christiane F.'s seemed to express a world-weariness common to all youth. Spaces like the Bahnhof Zoo could become pilgrim destinations because, as heterotopias of youth deviance, they also promised a different and perhaps better life for some youth, free from hegemonic, constricting, adult norms. And with the "youth revolt" of 1980/81, the very *object* of governmental policies turned into a powerful *subject* able to resist these policies.

A second unintended effect was the permanent creation of dangerous spaces. Even if no criminal offences were being committed, these spaces were experienced by observers as frightening and disturbing. By constantly policing the meeting places of local heroin scenes, deviant behaviour became spatialized and spaces were simultaneously invested with deviance. By preventing crime—or, rather, by rendering youth deviance invisible—by installing a visible police presence in public spaces, these physical spaces were visibly marked as deviant. Whether drug users were present or not, symbolic spaces like the Bahnhof Zoo as well as local meeting places like Stadelhoferplatz in Zurich took on a notion of Otherness and uncanniness.[951]

Flash: Brave New World

"The Outlet-World is bright, clean, safe, and friendly. No homeless person is bothering anyone here. Starting from Foucault's world design of 'heterotopia', the most important law here is that of order, which is mirrored in the hierarchy of spaces and the clear layout of paths [*Wegeführung*]. The consumer feels positively integrated into this order and enjoys each shopping trip as a real experience [*Erlebnis*]. According to studies of the Society for Innovative Market Research [*Gesellschaft für innovative Marktforschung*], shopping today is a 'fundamental component of human life in modern consumer society'. Based on Descartes this means: 'I shop, therefore I am.' […]

Within the next couple of years more such autistic Oases of Experience [*Erlebnisoasen*] will

951 A useful theoretical model to understand these mechanisms, based on the works of Foucault and Bourdieu, has been developed by Imke Schmincke in *Gefährliche Körper an gefährlichen Orten*.

emerge everywhere in Germany [...]. Some on the green meadow, some close to cities. Problems are to be expected. For some Factory-Outlet-Centres in the Ruhr region whole residential areas are torn down. And what happens to the homeless [*heimatlosen*] tenants? They may go shopping to find some comfort."[952]

As the hegemonic order and its governmental practices evolved in the period under study, its objects and the opposition to it changed as well. Both aspects can be understood as reactions to the crisis of the 1970s, especially that of the modernist city. Metaphors like that of an "ice-pack society" and a general "coldness" as well as of "concrete" and "neon lights" linked the critique of modern society with that of urban space. The protest against this development was led not by "students" or a certain subculture but by a wider youth movement. In Zurich, this self-conception as youth was particularly strong, whereas West-German activists referred to themselves usually in more "political" terms such as "squatters" or *Autonome*, although under these umbrella terms youth subcultures like punks or *Stadtindianer* also had their place.

The analysis of the squatters' scene shows how quickly the new practice of squatting for living space, or *Instandbesetzung* (as opposed to earlier squattings to gain space for non-commercial youth culture) changed its character. In the beginning, squatting was just a means to create pressure for interventions into urban redevelopment policies, a symbolic action to

952 "Die Outlet-Welt ist hell, sauber, sicher und freundlich. Hier nervt kein Obdachloser. Ausgehend von Foucaults Welt-Entwurf der 'Heterotopie' ist das oberste Gesetz hier die Ordnung, die sich in der Hierarchie des Raumes und der klaren Wegeführung spiegelt. In diese Ordnung fühlt sich der Käufer positiv integriert und genießt jeden Einkauf als echtes Erlebnis. Nach den Studien der Gesellschaft für innovative Marktforschung (GIM) ist Einkaufen heute 'grundlegender Lebensbestandteil des Menschseins in der modernen Konsumgesellschaft'. Frei nach Descartes heißt das: 'Ich shoppe, also bin ich.' […] In den nächsten Jahren werden überall in Deutschland [...] weitere solcher autistischer Erlebnis-Oasen entstehen. Manche auf der grünen Wiese, manche in Stadtnähe. Probleme sind vorprogrammiert. Für einige Factory-Outlet-Center im Ruhrgebiet werden sogar ganze Wohnanlagen abgerissen. Und was geschieht dann mit den heimatlosen Mietern? Die dürfen zum Trost shoppen gehen." Karin Leydecker, "Hohle Häuschen zum Wohlfühlen," *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 17.09.2012: 12.

demand more living space, to change, in a word, the politics that were shaping the city. In the course of only a few weeks (in the case of West Berlin), though, it quickly turned into a means to create presumed counter-sites to the modernist city. The squatted houses became the centre of a new political movement and provided young people with the novel possibility of identifying themselves as "squatters". In contrast to earlier radical movements, liberation was now sought through and within certain spaces. Freedom was conceptualized as a spatial rather than an all-encompassing social project.

Squatting appears thus as a practice that was grounded in similar critiques of modernization and Fordist principles of social engineering and urban redevelopment as its hegemonic counter-part. Squatters developed similar mechanisms in response to this critique: neighbourhoods that hegemonic discourse had conceived as backward counter-sites to the modern city were praised as more humane and as authentic alternatives to the alienating effects of modernization. This thinking in terms of spatial dichotomies also affected the perception of squatted houses as "free spaces" that would allow for immediate liberation and emancipation from hegemonic norms and values. To squatters, the heterotopias of chaos and deviance appeared as rebellious sites of liberation—the spatialization of social conflicts seemingly allowed for resistance in and through spaces as well.

This new approach was so successful that contemporaries perceived it as a "wave" of squattings, washing over society like a natural disaster. Squatting was appealing to many youth as it enabled them to immediately improve their own living situations, whereas earlier generations had largely put off such notions until some day "after the revolution". Squatting promised to combine larger political issues with personal liberation in the here and now. For youth especially, squatting created new spaces to reject social norms and to evade the grasp of parents and disciplinary institutions without having to live on the streets. While "the state"

became a symbol for everything that was bothering these youth—from police to teachers and parents to urban redevelopment companies—, the squatters' scene became a new home both in a physical and a social sense.

Another decisive factor for the success of the squatters' movement was its pluralistic character. It was not necessary to formulate political programs or build up revolutionary organizations—everyone could become part of the squatters' scene by sojourning in its spaces and by adhering to certain cultural codes and social practices. As with "youth", the category of space allowed for many different people to feel, and act, as a unified movement. And although squatting has been described as a youth movement, youth itself changed its character. Rather than biologically, youth was defined culturally: those who participated in the squatters' scene were by definition youth, this meant fourteen-year-olds as well as people in their late twenties. (A mutual creation of youth and space that also influenced perceptions of heroin use as a youth phenomenon, such as descriptions of "the *children* of Bahnhof Zoo".)

A closer look at the spatial practices employed by squatters also showed the enormous differences between individual members of the squatters' scene. The vagueness of their political goals and their loosely-defined enemies turned the squatted houses into empty screens onto which manifold hopes and wishes could be projected. Squatters' hopes, political goals, and their use of the newly acquired spaces differed significantly. Contemporaries and historians alike usually distinguish(ed) between peaceful *Alternative* (*Müslis*) and the more militant *Autonome* (*Mollis*) and between negotiators and non-negotiators. Yet the concrete use of space and the underlying imaginary geography of groups such as *Stadindianer* or punks shows different distinctions than those usually described. *Instandbesetzer* were simultaneously trying to change the character of (parts of) the city and their own lives by creating a "free space" that stood in contrast to the Fordist principles of city and society, while *Stadtindianer* were focussed

on creating a "free space" in the sense of a refuge from this society. Although diverging in their political convictions, goals, and their habitus, both groups conceived squatted spaces in terms of a heterotopia, as "other spaces" that were marked by their utopian character as totally different from their surroundings. Punks, on the other hand, were not so much trying to create another, dichotomous space as attempting to undermine and overcome the dichotomy between public and private space itself. By dissolving the differences between the streets and their apartments, they offered a form of radical spatial politics that was not based on opposition but rather on evasion.[953] Despite its different uses, space provided the common ground necessary to unite youth from various backgrounds.

Edward Soja has pointed out the difficulties that arise from the necessity to write sequentially about synchronous phenomena "that are tied together by a spatial rather than a temporal logic".[954] In this sense, the relation between governmental strategies of spatialization and the behaviour of youth was not a simple top-down effect. Rather than as simple causality, the two have to be understood as simultaneous developments that supplemented each other. The practice of squatting was directed against Fordist policies of urban redevelopment and against a social model that was experienced as rigid and technocratic. But it was also a reaction to experiences within the radical Left and a new political strategy beyond communist party politics and depoliticized retreats into rural communes and alternative economies. Neither were the young heroin users will-less objects of governmental strategies. Deviant behaviour, including heroin use, was a way of creating spaces for youth that were inaccessible to adults. Open heroin scenes were not just a market place for illegalized substances and information but

953 De Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, xix; Anders, "Wohnraum, Freiraum, Widerstand," 477f.

954 Edward W. Soja, "Preface and Postscript," in *Postmodern Geographies. The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory* (London: Verso, 1989), 1.

Fig. 6.1: "Forced clean? Never", demanding fixers' rights of self-determination against institutions of discipline and control. – Source: "Impressum," *Nerv. Bärliner Junkie-Zeitung*, no. 1 (March 1984): 1.

also a home to social outsiders. These scenes provided a refuge from spaces like children's homes or the family in which many of them had been subjected to sometimes extreme violence. By gathering in public, these youth actively occupied a space both in the city and in society. Drug users and squatters alike created spaces that allowed them to live in a more self-determined way—even if this appears paradoxical in the case of heroin addicted youth—and deny disciplinary institutions any grasp on their lives (fig. 6.1). The new governmental programs were thus also a reaction to these new strategies of evasion and the creation of deviant and rebellious spaces by non-conforming youth.

But activists quickly came to experience the limitations of a concept of resistance based on the categories of youth and heterotopic spaces. In the case of the Zurich youth movement,

for instance, different groups of youth came into conflict as soon as the space of an autonomous youth centre had been won. The relationship between heroin-consuming youth and other AJZ activists proved to be more conflictual than anticipated. Conflicts about the use of heroin in the AJZ showed that the "other spaces" of the youth movement were not just spaces of a deviating Other but were themselves marked by various differences among those who were spending their time in these spaces. Youth, as much as space, quickly turned out to be a discursive construction.

The groups that were trying to find a solution to the problem of heroin use in the AJZ confronted a severe dilemma. On the one hand, they had to react to hegemonic strategies of spatialization and policing. While the whole city was turned into a no-go-area for heroin-consumers, it was paramount to preserve the AJZ as a safe space for drug users as non-conforming youth. On the other hand, the concrete experiences within the AJZ showed that self-perceptions as "non-conforming youth" were not enough to guarantee the orderly running of the youth centre and its open character. If there was no kind of intervention, the heroin scene, driven into the AJZ by the police, would in turn drive away all the other users of the space. Based on a generational self-identification as "youth movement", activists needed to find an alternative way to organize their spaces without excluding any youth who wanted to sojourn there.

The drug groups' solution lay in the creation of a space within the AJZ—the *Tschönkie-Room*—which was designated for heroin use only and designed to enable stress-free and safe consumption and thereby improve the living conditions of the heroin users. The idea was to create opportunities for addicts to eventually withdraw from the drugs without being dependent on welfare or disciplinary institutions. In this sense, the *Tschönkie-Room* was in compliance with the idea of a heterotopic counter-site. But the drug groups also saw the

necessity of counteracting the governmental strategy of spatialization itself. Informational campaigns were planned to prevent the problem of heroin addiction from becoming invisible behind the walls of the AJZ. The concept of the *Tschönkie-Room* is thus key to understanding the possibilities of radical politics in the early 1980s. It was based on identifications with youth and certain spaces that were perceived as free and entirely different from their surroundings. But to the activists of the *Drogengruppe AJZ*, it was clear that such a policy alone would not guarantee success. The activists' cooperation with adults and left-wing professionals of the *Drogengruppe Zürich* as well as their use of the AJZ as a base for intervention rather than as a retreat from the "ice pack" were attempts to develop means of resistance within the changing apparatuses of security and against the spatialization of the social.

AJZ and *Tschönkie-Room* are examples of the potential that lay in this combination of "new" spaces of rebellion with "old" forms of political interventions. Until the space of the AJZ was secured by the youth movement, evaluations of the heroin problem had been largely theoretical in nature. Whether it was the international drug trade or the alienation of youth in modern cities, whether it was youth unemployment or consumerism—the criticism remained fairly abstract so that no practical policies in this matter could be developed. The strategy of policing established local regimes of control with harsh consequences for young heroin users' lives and activists were unable, initially, to react adequately to this repressive strategy. The experiences within the space of the AJZ, though, shifted activists' assessments of the drug problem significantly. The fight against the international drug mafia proved to be too big a task for the youth, a confrontation with drug dealers was either synonymous with a fight against drug users or, in the case of mid-level dealers, simply too dangerous. Activists had also had to accept that a drug-free AJZ was as illusionary as a drug-free society and that for many drug users a life without drugs was simply not an option, at least in their current situation. By

creating a space like the *Tschönkie-Room*, the world's first safe-injection site, youth activists not only anticipated what would later become known as the harm reduction paradigm and helped fellow youth; they also developed a new political practice on the micro level that held the potential to become a radical counterpart to hegemonic strategies of governing youth and deviant behaviour in the 1980s.

Fig. 6.2: "Zurich greets Berlin! The Autonomous Republic of Greenland wishes Happy Holidays," poster, Zurich, December 1980. – Source: "Autonome Republik Grönland wünscht frohe Festtage," 20.12.1980, SozArch ZH, Ar 201.89.7 - Mappe 3.

The hitherto overlooked significance of the *Tschönkie-Room* experiment becomes all the more apparent when compared to the Berlin squatters' scene. "Zurich greets Berlin", it said cheerfully in a flyer from the AJZ in December 1980 (fig. 6.2). Both movements—the Zurich youth movement and the Berlin squatters' scene—looked at each other with enthusiasm and hopes for inspiration. But alternative and autonomous squatters had a different understanding of space from their fellow activists in Zurich, as their focus was almost exclusively on the creation of supposedly free spaces in the sense of a heterotopia. Claims to use the squatted

houses as a stepping stone towards a more encompassing social change could be found in squatters' convictions as well. The *Autonomen* especially had unequivocally declared that social revolution was their long-term goal. But the conflicts about heroin use(rs) showed the differences between a movement based on a generational identity and one that was defined primarily through space.

Although heroin users had participated in the squatters' scene (which was open to anyone, similar to the Zurich youth movement), since the winter of 1981/82, they were perceived as alien to the spaces of the squatters' scene. Based on a spatialized understanding of social change, with free spaces and liberated territories at the core of this change, internal conflicts were soon extra-territorialized. Heroin users were perceived as agents of "the state", sent to destroy supposedly rebellious movements and neighbourhoods. They were thus turned into scape-goats for the squatters' own use of (legal and "soft") drugs and the beginning defeat of the squatters' movement. In contrast to Zurich, the squatters' radical opposition was about space (the city, redevelopment) and performed in space (squatting, street battles) but not directed against the process of spatialization itself, on the contrary. In their attempts to exclude heroin from "their" spaces, they implemented a strategy similar to that of their counter-parts in the police. Some squatters were reluctant to actively kick out heroin users from squatted houses, revealing the underlying difficulty in their position. Who were they to deny access to a "free space" to people who saw themselves as victims of society, who they might even know from past political struggles?! Yet, the policy was apparently implemented without much contradiction. Interventions from activists in Zurich in favour of a more inclusive solution were rejected.

The exclusion of heroin users not only meant they were sacrificed as pawns in the battle between squatters and "the state" over territory. It also set an example for the handling of

other conflicts. The exclusion of sources of trouble from supposedly free spaces meant that conflicts *within* these spaces could not be addressed easily and that the spaces of the squatters' scene ran the risk of becoming sites that conserved the traditional order instead of giving birth to something radically new.

This problem became most apparent in regard to conflicts about gender roles. These conflicts proved very quickly that the squatted houses were far from being heterotopias, utopian spaces in which all evil had been left behind. Squatters themselves brought with them behavioural patterns that were deeply rooted in conventional images of masculinity and femininity. Patriarchy and sexism structured the squatted houses as much as all other sites in society. But feminists' positions and their critique of everyday behaviour were brushed aside. That the personal was political was agreed upon but the consequences of this association changed within the (autonomous) squatters' scene. If a squat was a free space in which everything was different, a realized utopia in the here and now, then it was enough to live in such a space to leave society and its power structures behind. It was no longer necessary to question one's own behaviour. Patriarchy and sexism did not need to be *overcome* as they had already been *excluded*. The militant defence of the houses was therefore viewed as one of the most important "revolutionary duties". The focus on militancy and the praise of the tough street-fighter fostered conceptions of men as warriors and codified traditional gender roles. Women who were not willing to accept this reasoning often saw no other option than the creation of new spaces for women only. These heterotopias within (or from?) the squatters' heterotopia brought a partial solution for the women involved. In removing themselves, their influence on the behaviour of all other squatters or even on the rest of society became even more marginalized. Removal became a solution that meant more entrenched inequities could be ignored in the majority of the squatted houses, but also in squatters' bars and other meeting

places of the autonomous scene. In cases of excessive sexualized violence, perpetrators could be excluded from the "free space" of the houses. Yet the exclusion of such perpetrators or, more exactly, the discursive construction of rape and sexism as alien to the movement also allowed for everyday sexist behaviour to be largely ignored—just as the exclusion of heroin users had allowed for the continued and unquestioned drug consumption among the remaining squatters.

Just like the category of youth, the new spatial politics of squatting had allowed for a huge mobilization of very different people. But the exclusive focus on spaces and their conception as heterotopias of liberation created a fundamental problem. Meant to be sites of change and revolution, the spatialization of political protest and the strategy to exclude everything that did not fit into this conception—from heroin use to rape—turned many "free spaces" into sites of unsolvable conflicts and stagnation.

Squatted houses and neighbourhoods like Berlin-Kreuzberg continued to be powerful symbols for radical opposition, youth protest and the wish and possibility to live differently, to live outside, against, or beyond the hegemonic order. As an instrument for intervention into urban policies, however, the squatted houses soon ceased to be relevant.[955] Despite their revolutionary claims, squatters (and *Autonome* in general) constantly debated their own "self-ghettoization" into a scene of seemingly like-minded youth without any influence beyond this small subculture.[956]

As militant and uncompromisingly as the squatters might have been, their understanding of free spaces complied with governmental strategies to spatially contain deviant behaviour

955 The ineffectiveness of squatting in post-Fordist or neoliberal urban regimes has recently been discussed by Armin Kuhn, "Zwischen gesellschaftlicher Intervention und radikaler Nischenpolitik. Häuserkämpfe in Berlin und Barcelona am Übergang zur neoliberalen Stadt," in Balz and Friedrichs, *"All We Ever Wanted..."* 37-52.

956 Anders, "Wohnraum, Freiraum, Widerstand," 493. This conflict had already been an issue for the alternative scene of the 1970s; see Kraushaar, *Autonomie oder Getto?*

and political protest. Even if the squatters "won" a battle, either by fending off police during a street-fight or by gaining a rental contract for a squatted house, they could not change the field of power relations in any significant way. By the mid-1980s, hegemonic discourse and policies had thus successfully established urban space as the prime locus of governance and resistance and had complemented disciplinary practices and institutions by a regime of control over this space.

Many aspects, then, support the thesis of a shift from disciplinary to control societies in the early 1980s. Yet that does not mean that disciplinary institutions remained unchanged. In the case of heroin addiction, for example, a parallel development discursively transformed heroin users from rebels and misfits into sick people in need of medical and psychological help. The successive exclusion of heroin users from the spaces of politically active youth supported such a development. Directly after the final eviction of the AJZ, the conservative *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* concluded:

> We do not need a large "autonomous" centre which fosters the delusive idea that there could be a space in which our legal order does not apply; rather, we need to make efforts so that the existing institutions take a stronger integrating effect and that the gaps in the youth welfare system can be closed. That does not mean that there was not enough funding for youth work today, but we need to clarify if this is being used *efficiently enough*.[957]

The experiences that the drug groups had gained with the *Tschönkie-Room* were disappropriated and robbed of their political implications. Drug users' autonomy and self-determination, which had figured so prominently during the "drug week" two months earlier, were to be replaced by their integration into society through normalization. The insistence on

957 "Nötig ist nicht ein grosses 'autonomes' Zentrum, das die in manchen Köpfen herumgeisternde irrige Idee fördert, es könne einen Raum geben, in dem unsere Rechtsordnung nicht gilt, vielmehr braucht es Anstrengungen, damit die vorhandenen Einrichtungen noch verstärkt integrierend wirken und sich die Lücken in der Jugendhilfe schliessen. Dies heisst nicht, dass heute für die Jugendarbeit zuwenig finanzielle Mittel zur Verfügung stünden, indessen ist abzuklären, ob diese immer *effizient genug* eingesetzt werden." "Keine Wunder in der Jugendpolitik," *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 20./21.03.1982, original emphasis.

the economic efficiency of such programs points at a new criterion to be used in the evaluation of social policies, one that would become hegemonic with the rise of neoliberalism in the late 1980s and 1990s.

With the emergence of HIV in the mid-1980s, the discourse on heroin use changed dramatically. The repressive strategy on heroin use clearly fostered the spread of AIDS. As a result, needle exchange programs were introduced, followed by substitution programs and, ultimately, safe-injection sites. In contrast to the *Tschönkie-Room*, though, these sites were not introduced as a means to facilitate heroin addicts' self-empowerment. Instead, they were (and are) spaces in which the discursive construction of heroin users as pathologically sick patients was (and is) confirmed.[958] Instead of increasing the addicts' autonomy, the dependence on heroin is now complemented by a dependence on disciplinary institutions.[959] Today, the discourse on drugs is largely restricted to academic journals, although the number of drug-related deaths is much higher than it was in the early 1980s.[960] Only in those cases where new safe-injection sites are to be opened, does the issue return to the media, usually in terms of protest by neighbours near the proposed sites.[961]

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958 Von Aarburg and Stauffacher, *Verwirrender Imagewandel des Heroinkonsums*.

959 Bergschmidt, "Pleasure, power and dangerous substances".

960 According to the *Deutsche Hauptstelle für Suchtgefahren*, the number of drug-related deaths in Germany amounted to 1,237 in 2010 which was the lowest number since 1989. In 1981, official statistics counted only 360 drug-related deaths. Deutsche Hauptstelle für Suchtgefahren, "Illegale Drogen", http://www.dhs.de/datenfakten/illegale-drogen.html (accessed 17 January 2013).

961 For Kottbusser Tor in Berlin-Kreuzberg see for example Ferda Ataman, "Grün gegen Grün: Ärger für Kreuzbergs Bürgermeister," *Der Tagesspiegel*, 24.02.2009. For Hamburg see Friedrichs, "'Hamburg voll bedröhnt'".

Flash: Safe-injection site, 1997

"The fixer room (*Druckraum*) is a tiled room with a steel table in the middle that is surrounded by six chairs. Dishes with swabs drained in alcohol for disinfection are on the table. Hygiene is the first priority here; the addicts are getting a sanitized spoon to cook up [the heroin], sterile water and sterile ascorbic acid."[962]

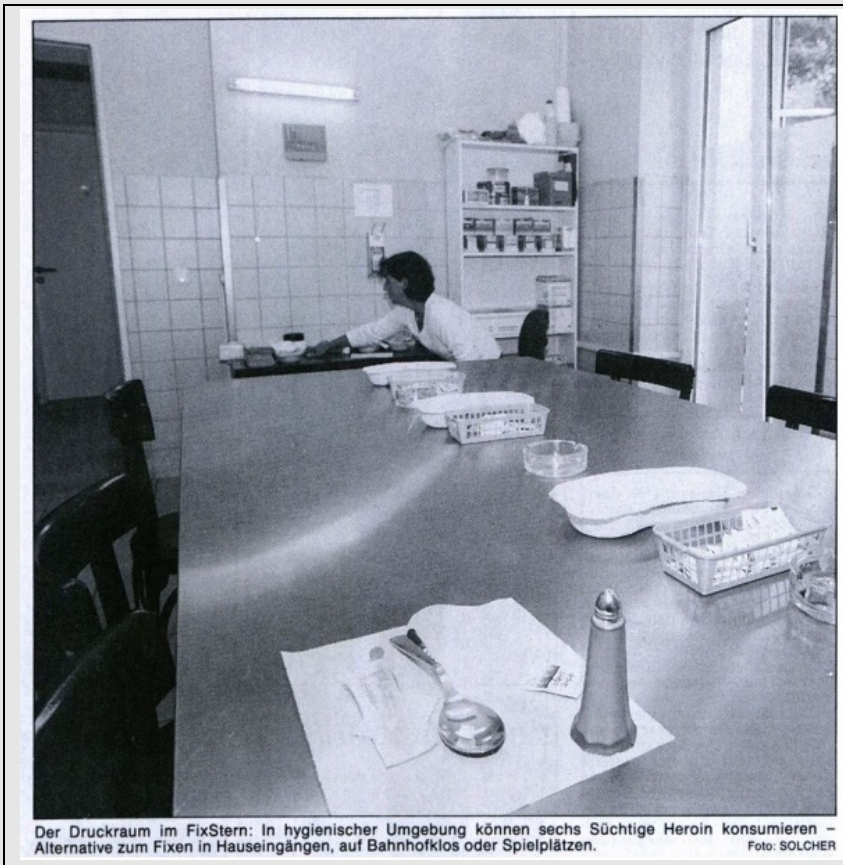

Fig. 6.3: Fixer room in Hamburg, 1997: "Six addicts can consume heroin in a hygienic environment – an alternative to shooting up in house entrances, on train station toilets or on playgrounds." – Source: Kristian Stemmler, "Anleitung zum Überleben," *Hamburger Abendblatt*, 05.09.1997: 12.

It is important to remember that the control of public space complemented other forms of governance and normalization in the early 1980s.[963] Likewise, the incessant control of non-

962 "Der Druckraum ist ein gekacheltes Zimmer mit einem Stahltisch in der Mitte und sechs Stühlen drumherum. Auf dem Tisch stehen Schalen mit Alkoholtupfern zum Desinfizieren. Hygiene ist hier oberstes Gebot, die Süchtigen bekommen zum Aufkochen einen desinfizierten Löffel, steriles Wasser und sterile Ascorbinsäure." Kristian Stemmler, "Anleitung zum Überleben," *Hamburger Abendblatt*, 05.09.1997: 12.

963 See also Elizabeth A. Grosz, "Bodies-Cities," in *Space, Time, and Perversion. Essays on the Politics of Bodies*, edited

conforming youth in urban space was paralleled by similar policies regarding other marginalized groups, especially immigrants. In late 1981, the mayor of Frankfurt, Walter Wallmann (CDU), formulated a program to clean up the city that exemplified the interrelatedness of urban space, youth, class, and race. *Der Spiegel* reported:

> Many do not fit any more into the picture of this inner-city idyll. The hoboes, for instance, were driven from the *Hauptwache*, the city's central plaza, by the mayor's decree. For asylum seekers, he had shut the whole city. And he had the police disperse dealers and drug consumers from the parkways.[964]

In addition, Wallmann wanted to forbid any political demonstrations that he suspected of causing "major disturbances or violent excesses". The city of Frankfurt, marked by "failed urban planning with narrow streets and bleak office towers" and "ghettos" of foreigners, *Der Spiegel* concluded sarcastically, would become liveable again "without any sight of misery".[965] The quote exemplifies the interconnectedness and importance of questions of normalcy, crime, and cleanliness in neoliberal urban policies. It also shows the crucial role that migration played in these policies. The links to the topics discussed throughout this dissertation are manifold: the strong connection of discourses on migration with those on the drug trade; the discursive construction of city districts with a high proportion of migrants as "ghettos of foreigners", or *Ausländergettos*;[966] the congruency of such neighbourhoods with the imagined

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by Elizabeth A. Grosz (New York: Routledge, 1995), 108, who emphasizes the continuing importance of institutions like the family in the construction of bodies and subjectivities.

964 "In dieser Innenstadt-Idylle passen viele nicht mehr ins Bild. Die Stadtstreicher etwa vertrieb der Oberbürgermeister per Verordnung von der Hauptwache, dem zentralen Platz in der City. Für Asylsuchende sperrte er ganz Frankfurt. Und Dealer wie Rauschgiftkonsumenten ließ der Unionspolitiker von der Polizei aus den Anlagen verjagen." "Punkt erreicht," *Der Spiegel*, 02.11.1981: 101.

965 "Wallmann will einer Stadt zu besserem Ansehen verhelfen, die durch eine verfehlte Bauplanung mit engen Straßen und kahlen Bürotürmen gezeichnet ist. Abseits vom Bahnhofsviertel, wo Gastarbeiter in Gettos zusammengepfercht hausen und Ausländer das Geschäft mit der Prostitution und dem Rauschgift an sich ziehen, soll sich"s wieder leben lassen: zwischen prunkvollem Gemäuer und schmucken Passagen, ohne Anblick von Elend. Der christdemokratische Erneuerer hat noch eine Problemgruppe, mit der er im Handstreich fertig werden will: die Demonstranten. Ihnen verbietet Wallmann jetzt die Straße 'ohne Wenn und Aber' immer dann, wenn er erhebliche Störungen oder gewaltsame Ausschreitungen ahnt." Ibid.

966 Friedrichs, "Milieus of Illegality".

"rebellious neighbourhoods" of the squatters' scene;[967] finally, the alternating policies of dispersing and concentrating migrant populations by banning them from certain districts or forcing them to live in mass accommodations, or *Lager*.[968]

Yet what was first introduced as a way to govern non-conforming youth and other marginalized groups and to manage the effects of an encompassing social, political and urban crisis, eventually affected all members of society. New forms of surveillance and control were implemented in urban space without much resistance. The "dangerous places", which were really the unintended effect of policing deviant youth in the 1980s, were successively put under increased camera surveillance during the 1990s and 2000s. Analyzing the shift towards spatialization in the early 1980s thus helps to understand why camera surveillance of specific urban spaces appeared as a reasonable practice when it seems to have no effect on crime prevention. Just like imprisonment produces a milieu of delinquency, control and surveillance produce spaces of deviance.[969] Monitoring these spaces is less about reducing crime (or integrating delinquents into society) than preventing disturbances of everyday routines.[970] They aim, in other words, for the subjection of everyone under a regime of only vaguely defined normalcy.[971]

While the history of spaces of youth deviance and protest reveals why the surveillance and control of public space and ideas of "dangerous places" appear as logical and true, the

967 Carla MacDougall, "In the Shadow of the Wall. Urban Space and Everyday Life in Kreuzberg," in *Between the Avant-Garde and the Everyday. Subversive Politics in Europe from 1957 to the Present*, edited by Timothy Brown and Lorena Anton (New York: Berghahn Books, 2011), 158.

968 Gerda Heck, *"Illegale Einwanderung." Eine umkämpfte Konstruktion in Deutschland und den USA* (Münster: Unrast, 2008), 37ff., 75, 241 also situates the changing migratory regimes within a shift from societies of discipline to those of control. See also Koordination Flüchtlinge in Hamburg, *Schwarzbuch Asyl. Lager, Verteilung, Abschiebung* (Hamburg [1985]).

969 Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 340ff.

970 Susanne Krasmann, "Mobilität: Videoüberwachung als Chiffre einer Gouvernementalität der Gegenwart," in Hempel and Metelmann, *Bild - Raum - Kontrolle*, 317.

971 Manfred Bornewasser, "Evaluation der Videoüberwachung: ein Praxisbericht," in Hempel and Metelmann, *Bild - Raum - Kontrolle*, 236.

question remains of what benefits these spaces might bring to the new hegemonic, "neoliberal" order. Apart from providing a comparably cheap strategy for governing youth deviance and delinquency, the spaces of deviance themselves are rendered profitable. A rather obvious example is the integration of (former) squatted houses into urban marketing concepts. Here, the houses are being cut off from their politically charged past and are presented as colorful dots, as signifiers of a creative and pluralistic city. The spaces of the heroin scene serve another, less colorful, function that supplements the effects of surveillance and control of public space described above. Whereas until the 1970s deviant youth were subjugated to disciplinary practices with the goal of normalizing and reintegrating them into society, the strategy of policing and spatial containment differed from such a goal. Heroin users were not forced to conform, but their apparent misery was used to encourage everyone else to do so. Since the early to mid-1970s heroin addicts have been perceived less as rebels than as people who failed to live up to society's expectations. The misery of the drug scene, largely an effect of the criminalization of drug use in combination with repressive strategies against consumers, and popular imaginings of spaces such as the Bahnhof Zoo turned heroin users into a visible reminder of what happens to those who do not make it. The visible misery of young heroin users was utilized to normalize all other citizens and to ensure their compliance with the norms and values that the drug discourse helped to reestablish. Space itself changed its character accordingly. In the words of Robert Castel:

> In this way, marginality itself, instead of remaining an unexplored or rebellious territory, can become an organized zone within the social, towards which those persons will be directed who are incapable of following more competitive pathways.[972]

The governance of youth deviance through space thus appears as only a first step towards a new regime of control and normalization that affected all other members of society and that

972 Robert Castel, "From dangerousness to risk," in Burchell, *The Foucault Effect*, 295.

fit well with other aspects of what would later become known as the neoliberal project.[973]

The "other spaces" described in this thesis never completely lost their attraction to non-conforming youth. They remained important points of reference throughout the 1980s and 1990s, whether it be the Bahnhof Zoo, the houses in Hamburg's Hafenstraße, or neighbourhoods like Berlin-Kreuzberg. But with time their ability to serve as a projection screen for utopian wishes and hopes diminished. Other spaces took their place, "alternative" tourism boomed, the "warmth" that the squatted houses had been unable to provide was now sought after in the Mediterranean, especially in Italy.[974] The few remaining squatted houses, like the ones of the Hafenstraße, were no longer related to their immediate surroundings but were understood as nodes in a global "anti-imperialist" front, together with places such as Belfast, Nicaragua, or Palestine. The city successively lost its importance as an object of radical politics. Urban regimes of control could thus be implemented without encountering much resistance.

Importantly, the strategies of opposition to the neoliberal project changed as well. On the occasion of the hundredth anniversary of heroin's registration as a pharmaceutical and in view of the intensified policing of the local drug scene at Hamburg's Hansaplatz in 1998,[975] a nation-wide alliance of left-wing groups organized a demonstration and called for "solidarity with junkies and dealers" and "legalization of all drugs".[976] After the local heroin scene was driven

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973 See the contributions in Hempel and Metelmann, *Bild - Raum - Kontrolle*, especially the essay by Susanne Krasmann, "Mobilität: Videoüberwachung als Chiffre einer Gouvernementalität der Gegenwart," 308-324.

974 Monika Reimitz, "'Im Schweiße Deines Angesichtes'. Ehemalige Hausbesetzer zwischen Legalisierung und Privatisierung," in Bock et al., *Zwischen Resignation und Gewalt*, 98, 100. On the history of backpacking and "alternative" tourism see Anja Bertsch, "Alternative (in) Bewegung. Distinktion und transnationale Vergemeinschaftung im alternativen Tourismus," in Reichardt and Siegfried, *Das Alternative Milieu*, 115-130 and Axel Schildt, "Across the Border: West German Youth Travel to Western Europe," in Schildt and Siegfried, *Between Marx and Coca-Cola*, 149-160.

975 Schmincke, *Gefährliche Körper an gefährlichen Orten*, 137-239.

976 "Solidarität mit Junkies und Dealern! Freigabe aller Drogen!" "Heroin. Hundert Jahre Hustensaft," 1998, ArSozBew HH, 11, Drogenpolitik.

from Hansaplatz, activists from the squatted cultural centre *Rote Flora* even helped drug dealers against the police and installed an improvised safe-injection site on the premises, accompanied by a campaign to inform neighbours and the general public about their activities.[977] These alliances and demands had been unthinkable in the radical Left and unheard of after the experiment of the *Tschönkie-Room*.

Today, the hegemony of neoliberalism itself is in crisis and resistance against gentrification and demands for a "right to the city" dominate discourses and political practices alike. The squatting of buildings, but also of public spaces, has become popular again. In contrast to the early 1980s, though, these spaces are not conceived as heterotopias and do not provide the possibility of identifying as a squatter. Rather, they are a tactical component in a larger movement that comprises tenants' and migrant organizations, youth activists, street workers and many others.[978] Whether they will be successful remains to be seen. But such grassroots movements are well advised to reflect the exclusions that their own power structures produce.

Space is a historical and social construct. Governmental technologies and social movements have not only fought about specific spaces and the role of urban space in politics; by doing so they have also changed the character of urban space itself. The city of today is different from the one of 1980, as are the new or remaining squatted houses and meeting places of the heroin scene. An understanding of space as an ever-changing product and producer of political discourses, social practices, and subjectivities is therefore as fundamental to political activism as it is for a critical historiography of modern urban societies.

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977 Rote Flora, "Liebe NachbarInnen, Was ist hier eigentlich los?," 1999, ArSozBew HH, 09.232, Flora. Flugis II, 1992-2000; Oya Sömnez, "Böse Dealer, arme Schweine," in *Umkämpfte Räume*, edited by StadtRat (Hamburg: Libertäre Assoziation, 1998), 65-77; Friedrichs, "'Hamburg voll bedröhnt'".

978 Kuhn, *Freiräume in der neoliberalen Stadt*, ch. 4.3.

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