

to have and to need (Haben und Brauchen)

Manifesto

- **Opposed to the Dispossession of the Commons**
- **What do we mean by “work” here?**
- **Economy: Partaking Rather than Being Cheated**
- **A Commitment to Berlin’s Collective and Egalitarian Urban Traditions**

Preamble

Up until the last few years, the special historical situation in Berlin created special working and living conditions in the city. In contrast to other big cities, Berlin was devoid of any exceptional pressure on the housing market, and the range of available spaces enabled diverse and often self-organized art practices. Now this situation is beginning to change dramatically. Rents are on the rise, and pressure on the conditions of production and living is increasing without any increase in money making opportunities. Most people engaged in cultural production still earn most of their money outside of Berlin.

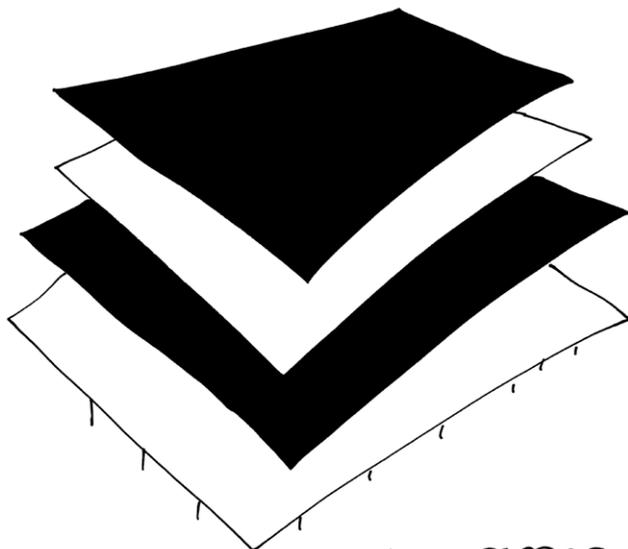
The bustling art scene in Berlin evolved less through the specific support of the city and more through its historical situation. Nevertheless, at the very moment when the conditions for people engaged in cultural production are worsening dramatically, the city prides itself on its artists; and the attention is welcome—in principle. The view of how art should be fostered, however, stands in stark contrast to what culture-makers consider necessary. In our opinion, participants in cultural production today need, first and foremost, a safeguarding of their conditions of production and not necessarily a new art museum and other such solutions as have been proposed.¹

Formed in response to these issues, Haben und Brauchen seek to be advocates in the field of art as well as in art's neighboring occupational fields with a platform for

discussion and action. In our opinion, with regard to its social and economic structure, Berlin is still an exception among other cities worldwide. Within the city's historically determined heterogeneity and intermixture of social diversity lies a potential for the future, not a phased-out model from the past. With that said, it is imperative to establish a consciousness and self-concept concerning *what* distinguishes the forms of artistic production and articulation that have unfolded in Berlin during recent decades and *how* these forms can be preserved and further developed. Therefore, it is of importance to avoid limiting our demands to the attainment of open urban spaces and affordable studios, to the augmentation and reorientation of public art funding; instead, it is crucial to make a connection with current discussions on urban development and planning, on property and rental policy, and to take up a position with respect to concepts and realities of work, productivity, and the Commons.

This manifesto, composed collectively by more than forty people, was developed within this context. This act of collective writing is an experiment and an attempt to convey the diverse perspectives on the situation of the contemporary Berlin art scene and to put those perspectives forward for discussion and action. We understand the text as a first step—offering it to a broader public for discussion.

WHERE ARE THE



NEGOTIATION LEVELS

¹ The open letter from January 25, 2011, addressing plans for the “Leistungsschau junger Kunst aus Berlin” (Competitive Exhibition of Young Art from Berlin) sparked a widespread debate on cultural policy and played a part in activating an examination of the present and the future of the conditions for the production and presentation of contemporary art in Berlin. See www.habenundbrauchen.kuenstler-petition.de

IMPRINT

habenundbrauchen.de, Berlin 2012

With the kind support of bbk Berlin e.V.

Opposed to the Dispossession of the Commons

Art is a central arena for local communities. It is a relational event: through the production, viewing, and discussion of art, people's relations to one another are continuously negotiated, studied, and formed anew. Art doesn't keep to itself. By producing relationships between people and their horizons of experience, it constantly opens itself up to a wide range of societal fields and creates an exchange between those fields. Whatever takes shape as art is, consequently, a collective societal process that involves everyone. Such a definition of art

challenges those who would relegate art to the sector of private consumption or treat it like an economic venture. Art must remain a subject that is devoted to pan-societal concerns. Thus, all parts of society—the citizenry and culture-makers, and the political and economic systems alike—have a responsibility to the Commons that art and culture yields.

Today the existence of this Commons is seriously threatened: the subjugation of the cultural public to a wide-ranging economic imperative means nothing less than that public's dispossession! In accordance with the wishful thinking of neoliberalism, urban life and cultural memory, i.e. societal subjectivity in general, is being privatized—and put up for sale in the form of a commodity—in the same breath with the privatization of art. Only those who are able to pay are barely granted access by private security, to the ruins of the Commons.

The irony of it all is that the elimination of the Commons is driven forward today by invoking the ideal of the artistically "creative" loner (who comes with an inbuilt economic ability to organize him or herself). The wishful thinking of neoliberalism depicts art and culture as if they were primarily a matter of a form of capital known as "creativity"—and therefore a matter of individual success stories filled with unbridled entrepreneurial initiative and so-called innovation. Any such story is a fiction! It distorts the reality in an absurd way: art is presented before the cameras as a showpiece—a motor for the future and a location factor—and is thereby expelled from its place at the heart of the Commons. The vibrant activities of artists and other culture-makers are reframed as evidence of the potential for the economic development of a city, and in the process, the obvious is ignored: often enough producers of art are just so active due to sheer survival pressure, and the concomitant anxieties: he who does a ton of things does so, to be sure, because she wants to, but also, just as often, because he has no other choice.

Based on the justification that the exposure to a public should be compensation enough, artistic work—and public relations as well as curatorial work in the art field—are, as a general rule, badly paid or not paid at all. Few can live from the sale of work. Furthermore, many today produce a kind of art which doesn't relate to sales in any way because the work takes the form of projects in which the thing at stake is communication, research, and documentation—or, quite simply, pointed gestures. However, precisely this kind of art which seeks a public in society is now often compensated solely by that publicness—such that, ironically, the least is earned by the very artists who the city's public perceives as most active. In some sectors of the economy the rule of thumb is "activity creates

NON PROFIT



DOESN'T
EXIST

income." But not in art. In art, a high degree of activity doesn't necessarily produce income. Instead it often simply stands for a poverty that prolongs itself ungrudgingly.

In addition, the fact that there are an exceptional number of galleries in Berlin doesn't mean that these galleries make a profit. Representation alone doesn't generate capital. On the contrary: first and foremost, visibility *costs* money. For reasons of image, the upkeep of a showroom in Berlin is a must these days, but for a gallery, this constitutes expenditure, not gain. When money is flowing, it rarely comes from the city, and most of the actual business is taking place in other locations (e.g. at art fairs outside the city and country). Thus, for a gallery, being in Berlin means entering into bonds of costly promotion and

representation far more than it means engaging in tangible, on-location market development. Many of them don't even manage to break even.

The claim that a stable art market exists in Berlin, a market that could nourish and retain artists in the city is, therefore, a dangerous illusion. This "market" can hardly maintain itself. So when Berlin uses its gallery-scape and attraction to artists to advertise its economic potential, it is effectively giving a guided tour of a Potemkin village—with art makers and presenters as a band of extras, as involuntarily recruited to this as they are unpaid by it.

It's absurd: artists who suffer unceasingly under the reality that no stable market that works for them exists are showcased as proof of the merits of the market. People with hard lives on or under the poverty line become, by declaration, warrantors for a mindset of prosperity who are simultaneously cut off from the tangible revenue thereof: she who is supposed to prove the existence of a market that doesn't even exist no longer receives the support he needs—and is, as a result, exposed to the very social injustices whose concealment he must pay for. If one wished to stage the art market elation in Berlin as a farcical comedy sketch, one could produce an advertisement for a future sick bay for the "creative class," complete with one-armed patients who have learned the initiative to self-dependently bind their own wounds . . .

The dispossession of the Commons can happen quickly and the damage can be irreversible. The example that Reagan and Thatcher made was repeated this year by the Dutch right-wing government from one day to the other and with practically no comment: a total clear cutting in the culture and health sectors. Being short on funds is no explanation; after all, enough money is left over for other things. Instead, the main reason is that the society's grounds for maintaining its own Commons are eroded. Society eliminates itself due to a lack of imagination regarding what it could be—but it doesn't become fatigued

from doing so. It can still swarm around in high-pitched innovation and creativity in order to gloss over the destruction of the Commons which gave meaning to these concepts in the first place.

Haben und Brauchen say²: Society must assume responsibility for the preservation of the Commons. Society shall not, dare not, eliminate itself! Especially not in our name!



What do we mean by “work” here?

Since art's place lies at the heart of the Commons and since it seeks debate about fundamental societal problems, it is often exposed to and unprotected from the contradictions that a society carries within itself. The public's eulogization of creativity and innovation (in the name of art) as backup music for the privatization of the Commons is only one example here.

The situation is similar with the unsolved question of society's understanding of the meaning of *work*. Today, when it is increasingly clear there is hardly enough work to go around, we throw ourselves into our work even more in order to hold on to our belief that work is the foundation for self-worth and societal morality. We keep our eyes on the

promise of flexible, creative work, ignoring the potential for burnout. Here the activities of culture-makers are strong-armed into becoming the force behind *glamorization of the freelancer* in all sectors where work bears features of the artistic-creative and elements of communication, but is also deregulated.³

The fact that artists are now being merchandised as figureheads of a new work culture—the creative industry—leads some to believe that artists possess the same money making opportunities as other “creative professionals.” That, however, is seldom the case. Artists deliver an image for an entire industry, but it is simply not the case that they are paid well (or paid at all) for their activities. As evidenced

2 The use of the plural verb here is grounded in a proposal made by a small group who were looking for a way to represent the form that our collaboration takes: *Haben und Brauchen* do not speak with one voice backed by many other voices, but with many, sometimes disagreeing voices. The collectively written manifesto is an attempt at combining these different stances on

central points so as to generate collective statements.

3 Our examination of the term “work” refers above all to the discourse that has formed around the ideas of the “work-based society” (*Arbeitsgesellschaft*) and the “multi-activity-based society” (*Tätigkeitgesellschaft*).

by current studies (see statistics in sub-section “Economy”), the old, undignified tradition has largely remained unchanged: the majority of culture makers continue to lead lives at or under the poverty line.

Hence artistic work stands in the hot spot of a pan-societal contradiction: a new work culture advertises itself as flexible, artistic, and creative; at the same time, survival anxiety and the pressure to perform in this culture increase along with the gap between the rich and the poor.

Haben und Brauchen speak out resolutely against this construction of the success story “Art in Berlin,” a narrative which glosses over contradictions that are felt everywhere in this city where culture makers stay poor even though they work nonstop.

Haben and Brauchen also wish to launch a widespread, general, and collective discussion on how work should be understood and rightfully recognized and honored throughout society as a whole:

Because everyone is talking about work. But even if we work ceaselessly, only some work is paid. Some is not. When all is said and done, payment is an expression of societal recognition. Today this form of recognition is primarily given, however, to work that can be measured by its productivity, that is, by the products it manufactures. Yet the commodity form is not necessarily the result art strives for. Even though it is often thus portrayed, only a marginal part of artistic work can be understood in terms of productivity. A large part of the time that artistic work consists of is determined by other activities: reflection, research, reading, communicating, linking one’s own knowledge to that of others, trying things out, preparing, practicing and coaching, and also having to throw things out, fail, gain distance so as to see more clearly again, to have experiences, deal with those experiences, reflect on them, let them ferment, and return to them in meandering processes, or not.

None of these activities are necessarily goal-oriented—they quite possibly do not even manifest as art—nor can they be judged according to standpoints that privilege efficiency. Nevertheless, all these activities are a prerequisite for artistic work, and they should be recognized as work.

Cultural work can be compared with scientific working processes: it is almost always self-motivated and self-contracted, and it costs time and money. Just as scientists need access to libraries, culture-makers require the possibility to examine the cultural life of the city which they contribute to and, therefore, need free entrance to museums, theaters, and libraries. The continuity of artistic working processes conditions the quality of their output.

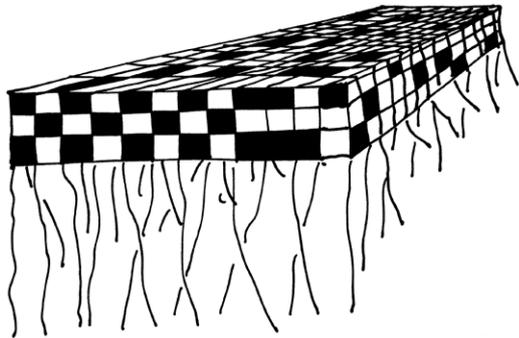
The availability of affordable working spaces (studios, workshops, project spaces) as well as a certain basic income which enables the continuation of artistic work are vital prerequisites for the securing of this art-making and research continuity. Simply having enough time to do work is unfortunately not something one can take for granted in the art field, for often this time increasingly gets used up jobbing to pay the rent. A society that’s interested in having art as part of its fabric and legacy has a responsibility to culture-makers, the responsibility to ensure the existence of space and time where and when art can be made.

The processes of articulation—the *becoming public*—of artistic practices has also become vastly more complex today than has been recognized in the popular consciousness: art is no longer concerned only with the production and exhibition of an artifact. Classical models such as exhibitions, performances, and publications continue to play an important role, but these days they frequently show only excerpts or segments of projects whose conception spans a much longer period of time—and which require, as a consequence, the creation for entirely new forms for production, financing, and presentation.

Today artistic work considers itself more and more as work both in education and in democracy; that is to say, it doesn’t only take place in the art field—it enters into other societal areas (educational communications, sociopolitics, ecology, media, music, etc.) to search for new ways of handling and looking at problems in their own field and its adjacent fields. But—making the dismantling of the social state more tolerable cannot be art’s task. Culture-makers’ engagement, for instance, in neighborhood cultural work should by no means be itemized in city budgets as a trade-off for the anomie and disruptions of a shrinking social state.



INSTITUTIONAL



EXTENSIONS

Art is not societal decor. And likewise, artists are not virginal, spiritual beings who await their savior in a place far removed from the theater of capitalistic virility. Instead, critical and self-determined, they comprehend developmental processes in society as processes of formation. Cultural work produces cultural, social, and interpersonal knowledge. It is within the incisive contradictions of art that society, in its emotions and in its thoughts, arrives at a concept of itself. Art creates spaces where societal actions can be experienced as worth. Hence it poses a challenge and a contradiction to the neoliberal agenda as it strives to privatize the Commons and peddle collective rights (fundamental rights and land law rights) to the highest bidder.

Neoliberal populists' relationship to art is schizophrenic: on the one hand, artists are celebrated as "creative," and on the other, art's role in the creation of the Commons (and its dependency therein) is denied while public support for culture makers, and the conditions that make work possible, are denied or withdrawn. This logic of denial and withdrawal must be opposed! Cultural activities must receive adequate recognition *as work*. Here "recognition" means the right to demand fair payment and participation in societal decision making processes.

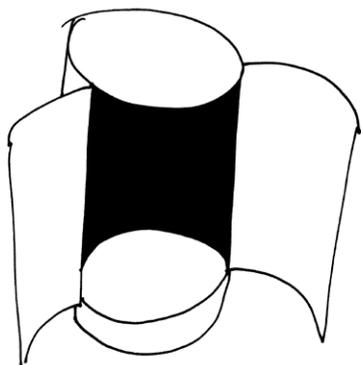
The non-recognition of this form of occupation serves at the present moment as a model for the non-recognition of occupations in other societal fields where engagement is presupposed, demanded, and not honored – such as specific areas of the creative industries (the term "intern's destitution" (*Elend der Praktikantinnen*) is already well-known), but also in areas of science and education, in nursing and social-service work. So an expansion or redefinition of the term "work" hardly applies only to art; it pertains to all areas where people work and don't get paid.

Much of the time, the excuse is that funds are tight. Sometimes this may be the real reason. Far more often, however, it is a spurious argument *vis-à-vis* those whose work an employer can escape paying for because she reckons the employee works out of passion – and therefore, would do so for free. In other positions and in other occupations, there is nothing to discuss. The money is there. This form of two-faced budgeting appears in larger institutions or projects quite explicitly in the method and manner through which paid work is separated from unpaid work. Once established, such patterns are quick to spread to the macro-level:

Spurred on by a figment of wishful thinking, namely that cultural "flagship projects" contribute to the creation of an entrepreneurial city, a readiness emerges to invest enormous sums of money. Resources of all kinds are mobilized for inflated, supersized productions. For the most part, though, hardly any of these supplies of money reach the city's culture-producers themselves. For, the megaprojects' additional expenses (like transportation, insurance, customs, airfare, hotel, etc.) are more willingly paid than fees for freelance workers! So while resources are flowing in select places, cultural workers are exploited beyond all measure:

Predominantly, artists still do not receive exhibition fees. The same goes for publicity work in the art field: often higher rates are paid for the graphic design and translation of publications than for the making of the articles themselves. "Content" – artistic and intellectual subject matter – is increasingly treated as a disposable resource. Just the fact that something was seen by the eyes of a public should be compensation enough, the argument goes. People working in construction and art transport of exhibitions, curatorial assistants and young curators are

CURATORIAL



RESPONSIBILITY

fobbed off with scandalously low compensations grossly disproportionate to their qualifications and professional experience. The fact that volunteers and interns are paid badly or not at all—and that basically a cheap work force is recruited under the pretext of further education and increased chances of future employment—is often a matter of course in entrepreneurial strategy.

Haben und Brauchen demand a minimum wage for cultural workers! Hourly wages of 4 euros are unacceptable.

Haben und Brauchen appeal to those responsible to implement directives for art funding: at long last, fees for artists and other culture makers must be permitted as legitimate items in funding applications and budget settlements.

Haben und Brauchen appeal also to those responsible in the institutions: it cannot be that a project's additional expenses are paid as a matter of course while fees for freelance workers who deliver the art, the content, the curatorial and technical competence for the production of an exhibition are denied.

We need to come to an agreement with regard to the necessity of working toward that which should be self-evident: within the framework of an exhibition project, the artistic, content-related, and organizational significance of each person's work output for the project should at long last stand in *adequate* proportion, rather than in *inverse* proportion, to its payment.

Economy: Partaking Rather than Being Cheated

Art is being used as an advertising medium for the potential of an entire city. But culture-makers stay poor nevertheless, because they are made to pay for the dream of the *culturalization of the economy*. Rather, artists ought to be witnesses for the prosecution in a trial where the charges recount the consequences of that dream. The concept of culture is employed to promote the promise of a new creative economy, while all around the structures that would sustainably enable producers of this culture to work and survive are being dismantled in silence, or are collapsing.

Haben und Brauchen say: We refuse to generate the stardust needed to lend the *culturalization of the economy* its false charm. We refuse to thereby assist in the *culturalization of the economy*, whose first victim is the artistic itself.

Let us clearly phrase this refusal once again: Berlin has undergone a massive upward revaluation due to artists' manifold activities and the resulting decisive climb in the attractiveness of urban life here. Nevertheless, this has still not yielded any positive consequences whatsoever as far as the living and working conditions of the artists go. Quite the opposite: their conditions are still desolate.

We provide some statistics:

According to a study by the German Institute for Economic Research (Deutsches Institut für Wirtschaftsforschung), the monthly income of artists can be broken down as follows:

- 6% no income
- 16% up to 250 euros
- 24% up to 500 euros
- 31% up to 1,000 euros
- 13% up to 1,500 euros
- 4% up to 2,000 euros
- 3% up to 2,500 euros
- 3% up to 2,500 euros

In 2011 a study by the IFSE (Institute for Strategy Development / Institut für Strategieentwicklung) reached the following results concerning artists' sources of income:

- 12,3% receive welfare, unemployment benefits, social welfare
- 13,4% receive financial support from family and friends
- 18,9% have a permanent position / side job with no relation to artistic activity
- 13,0% live from the sale of artworks
- 6,8% have a side job in the art field
- 6,4% live from commission / freelance work
- 5,7% benefit from funding programs or stipends
- 5,5% teach in the visual arts field
- 2,9% live from being employed in individual art projects

The same study shows that it is absolutely unrealistic to believe that the art market would provide any relief here, for the following reasons:

1. Only 8% of Berlin artists have a permanent relationship with a gallery. What's more, only a third of these galleries are located in Berlin.

2. Certain forms of work that are key to the life of contemporary art—conceptual, discursive, documentary, site-specific installation, and performance practices—are almost never viable candidates for representation and dealing through a gallery, because in these areas hardly any artifacts exist which could be sold. According to the IFSE study from 2010, average gallery turnover, broken down by category of artwork, amounts to 60% painting, ca. 20% photography, and ca. 12% sculpture. Conceptual, discursive, documentary, site-specific installation, and performance practices account for less than 10% of

turnover. That being the case, commercial galleries' turnovers do not display those very tendencies that provide meaning and movement in the contemporary visual arts.

3. In view of this data, it stands to reason that the key role in the artistic life of this city is accorded to venues where art is shown publicly, but usually with no fee to compensate artists for their contributions: the IFSE study shows (here it was possible for those surveyed to give more than one answer) that 48.7% of artists have, in the last three years, shown their works in art spaces, off-spaces or project spaces, 19.7% in municipal galleries, 17.5% in art clubs or societies, and 17.1% in museums and large-scale art venues.

Haben und Brauchen draw the following conclusion from this data: the art market alone does not provide a sufficient economic basis for the future life of contemporary art in Berlin. If the city now advertises itself with the special role of Berlin's art arena, then the city must join in taking responsibility for that arena's economic requisites.

In other words—if contributions made by art in recent decades have increased the attractiveness of Berlin (and if Berlin is not shy to use art to advertise itself), then the city should ask itself how it can protect the producers of this art with a fair share of the real proceeds it draws from the upward revaluation it has undergone.

In other words—if the city profits from artistic flair, it is perfectly logical and valid to stop talking in terms of *funding* and start talking in terms of *partaking!* What the city should give to artists is simply a portion of what art has given and continues to give to the city.

It is urgently necessary to initialize a return flow of resources *now* toward those who have effected the rising attractiveness of this city. Not only are artists mostly cut off from the benefits of the upward revaluation they have brought about for the city; much more, it is a well-known fact that they are also among those who suffer under that revaluation's negative consequences. If the real-estate branch begins hiking up prices through the roof in quarters where art provides a good ambience, then artists are among the first who must leave because they can no longer

afford to live and work in that part of the city. In view of this fact, artists' funding means fairness in district funding—and not only for artists, but also for everyone who would be able to stay in certain districts were the city to rethink its policies, assume responsibility for urban life, and protect inhabitants who contribute to urban life from the effects of real-estate speculation, which destroys urban life.

While on this topic, it is crucial to reaffirm a major difference. While in the real estate sector capital is, self-evidently, *absorbed*, creating private prosperity, this is not the case in the art field. In comparison, the number of people who get rich from art—that is, excluding the few who were rich to begin with—is entirely negligible. Instead, for the most part, whatever flows into art flows back into the city: be it in the form of money spent on materials and fees when productions are realized on location in Berlin, or money for smaller expenses (when artists pay for their infrastructure themselves, from canvas and paint to computer, camera, and editing suites) be it in the form of airplane tickets and hotel stays for speakers, or exhibition construction and preparation for invited artists, or be it ultimately for the money spent through involvement in the city where cultural life happens, for food, drinks, entrance tickets, lending fees, and so on. No third party is siphoning anything off. Money for art stays cyclically in the city's bloodstream to benefit urban life.

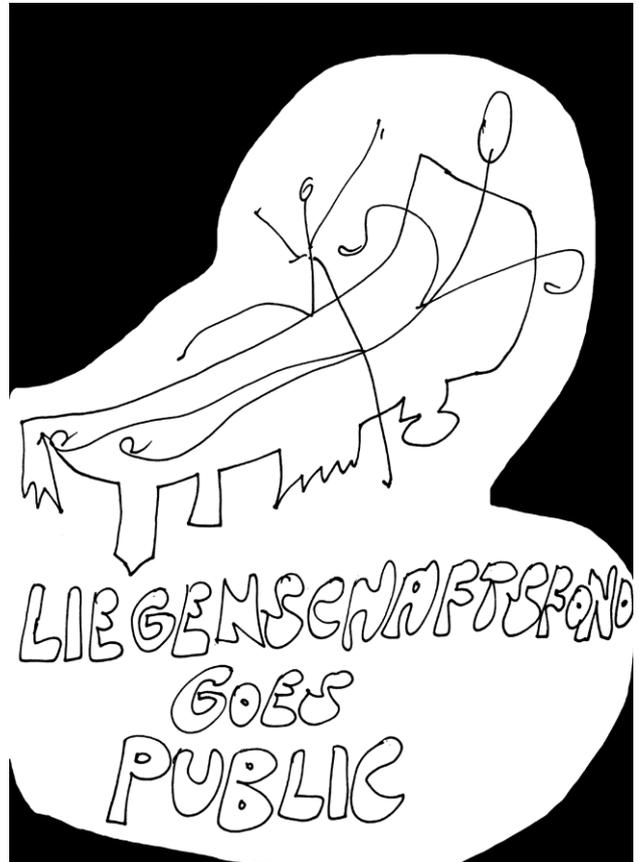
Considering nothing more than the fact that as of 2011, approximately 8000 visual artists live here—the endowment provided by the city through stipends and project grants remains poor and insufficient. What's more, protecting the increased value and reputation of the city can only be ensured through long-term structural projects concerning artists and art-making. Various models for self-management would readily answer this call, and the allocation of property would be a welcome response. Financial stimulus projects would also be necessary in the art field. In Berlin such projects have already proved successful in other fields, such as in fashion, (and have, in Vienna for instance, had outstandingly productive effects). Cooperative negotiating partners in the political arena are indispensable to the development and implementation of such ongoing long-term projects.

A Commitment to Berlin's Collective and Egalitarian Urban Traditions

Artists and culture producers increasingly recognize themselves as influential actors in the urban development of Berlin. They contribute ever more powerfully, whether directly or indirectly, to the maintenance and repair as well as to the modernization of buildings and complexes, quarters, districts, and thus to the commodification of the entire city. A key factor in this development is the city's—and this still holds true today—openness to appropriation, despite having become the German capital and despite investor-driven development since 1990. Prices for living and working space are esteemed by artists, especially by international artists, for their affordability. A parallel aspect of the situation is that Berlin is considered the “Mecca” of so-called urban pioneering.

Yet even those who practice the temporary use of spaces are increasingly affected by upward revaluation and the resultant urban displacement occurring in many areas of the city. In the context of this win-lose situation, this form of gentrification, which is frequently intended as participative and self-empowering, occurs in twofold form: while some secure themselves financially with the resulting revenue and thereby profit economically^{4 5 6} (assuming everything goes well), others get pulled off the field.⁷ Reactions to this include reflection, criticism (also self-criticism), and, above all, the production of discourse. Currently we are also witnessing an increasing interest and engagement in citywide anti-gentrification initiatives and the like. The assessments, demands, and proposals accompanying these initiatives should, however, be prefaced with the following:

A commitment to a tradition that was always of essential importance to how living space is dealt with in Berlin must be articulated: the tradition of a collective and egalitarian spirit in the production and use of space in the housing sector.⁸ As opposed to many other German, European, and global metropolises, in Berlin the potential for the reactivation of a socially just, self-determined, and community oriented housing sector lies “on the table,” waiting to be implemented. The foundation of cultural, political, and economic movements, of reformative and/or revolutionary movements in Berlin can be documented up



4 E.g. by means of the acquisition of condominiums or by participating in—usually well meaning—“*Baugruppen*.” As building cooperatives, and later on housing cooperatives, *Baugruppen* usually combine private ownership of individual apartments with collective ownership of common spaces.

5 “The mystery behind the evermore frequent *Baugruppe* (housing coop) lies herein: they are active victims of the deregulation of housing provision, secure themselves financially with their remainders and act as blind perpetrators on the terrain of the new subjectivity. They triumph in this role and have an effect on the (municipal) political arena. It certainly goes without saying that this realm of possibilities has, since its inception, been open to a mere few while it has remained off-limits to most who are forced into a “socialization of the weak.” Günther Uhlig, “Die neuen Baugruppen,” in *archplus: Zeitschrift für Architektur*

und Städtebau. Nr. 176/177: *Wohnen. wer mit wem, wo, wie, warum*, May, 2006, pp. 100–106.

6 Faced with social vulnerability, waning social interconnectedness, and a state with receding welfare structures and influences, we could understand such practices as techniques of self-liberation. When taken seriously as such, these techniques pose pan-societal questions that in the long run must be asked.

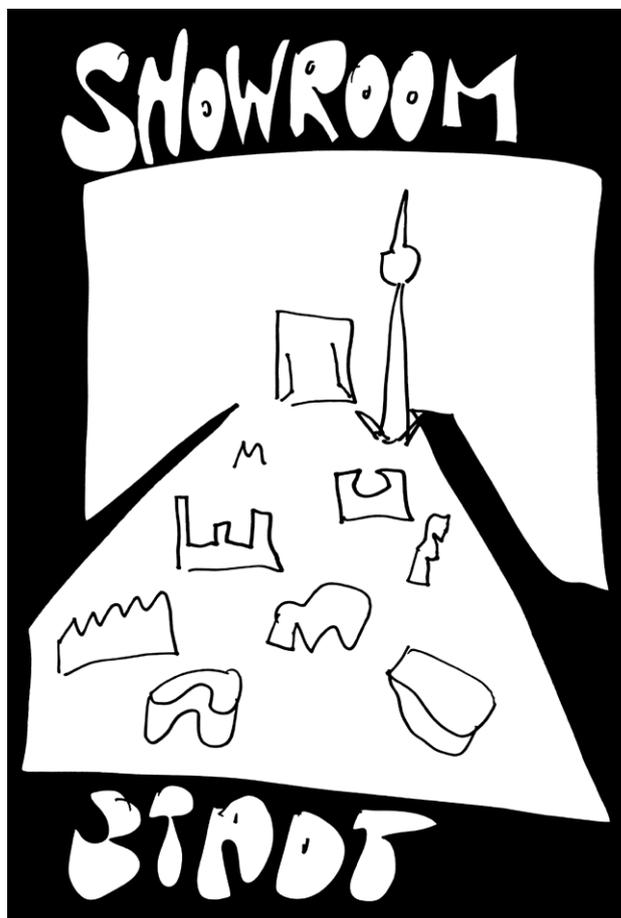
7 The generation of heirs (*Erbgeneration*) establishes itself on class division (poor parents don't leave any legacy) and on the division of East and West (only in very rare cases did former citizens of the GDR accumulate capital).

8 We will not allow our ability to think social housing to be taken from us.

until the turn of the twentieth century. Since as early as the 1920s, these struggles have become spatial and thus characteristic of the lifeworld of Berlin; they have shaped individuals and communities and thereby the city's society^{9,10} by means of the large-scale non-profit, as well as public, production of apartments. People must be made equally aware, firstly, of existing widespread criticism directed at a Berlin housing sector that largely deprives tenants of the right of decision, secondly, of the manifold methods of political activism and civil resistance in opposition to the policies of this housing sector, and thirdly, of corresponding alternatives in planning and construction and with that also economic and social alternatives.^{11,12}

Based on this distinctive history, Haben und Brauchen can summarize: the larger part of capital in Berlin is generated alongside a production and use of space that is both collective and egalitarian. If the potential thereby posed is ever to make it off the drawing board and into the city, then up-to-date concepts, strategies, and protagonists for its articulation, re-activation, and qualification in the twenty-first century are needed.¹³ The following areas of activity must result from such a harnessing of potential:

- The development of another kind of real-estate policy: no further privatization of public properties,¹⁴ the establishment of a city-wide land survey register that is comprehensible to the public, a conversion of the "Liegenschaftsfond" (Berlin real estate fund) into a publicly accessible Building and Open Space Fund, and the inclusion of further public proprietors in such an agenda.
- The diversification and continued availability for appropriation of public residential and commercial property.
- Purchase option for the public hand in matters concerning private real-estate (as is the case in Munich, for example).
- A renewed appreciation for – and the publicly funded continued development of – non-profit housing associations.
- A ban on speculation, or the implementation of a speculation and gentrification tax within the housing market.¹⁵
- The activation of existing instruments in policy and administration (such as a ban on the misappropriation of living space, and a cap on rental prices).
- Cooperation between culture-makers and tenants' associations as well as similar organizations.
- The sustainable financial support for, as well as development and expansion of, experimental multifunctional spaces for living, production, and presentation.
- 1000 times ExRotaprint.



10 At this point some would add that the—above all—institutionalization of this kind of housing provision was, admittedly, since (at the very latest) the 1960s, well-intended, as far as the welfare state is concerned, but that it was implemented in a paternalistic and therefore patronizing and domineering way. This was doubtless the case, in both the East and the West. Furthermore, until today such administration and planning continues in this mode in some places, making them fertile ground for the introduction of the agenda sketched here.

11 For the purpose of mentioning alternatives in planning and construction as well as economic and social policy, we shall—for the time being—recall urban planning in the context of the squatter movements of the 1980s and 1990s as well as the attendant programs and projects within the framework of "Behutsame Stadterneuerung" (caring urban renewal). Even if the cultures of planning and the socio-spatial achievements that went along with "Behutsame Stadterneuerung" (whether geared to uses for living, working, community, or the public) were "applied" over the course of time in a stagnant, conservative, or even abusive manner—as was the case with the aforementioned processes of institutionalization—it can still be said that they constitute an important basis for the standard of living in certain parts of the city that are cherished by all yet affected by upward valuation and urban displacement.

12 Here one should mention the massive amount of vacant apartments in inner-city East Berlin neighborhoods, a circumstance which, starting as early as the beginning of the 1980s, led to the appropriation (squatting) of publicly-owned housing by countless students as well as culturally and intellectually informed milieus.

13 Is there such a thing as the right to a city?!

14 See, for example, the agenda and actions of the initiative *Stadt Neudenken* (Rethinking the City): <http://stadt-neudenken.tumblr.com/>

15 Furthermore, one would have to discuss, for example, why—even after landlords' mortgages and loans are paid off—rental prices for residential and studio/office spaces do not go down according to the sinking interest and payments.

9 Besides Vienna—which oversees public welfare in several ways, including an appropriately social housing construction policy—in Central Europe there is only one other metropolis, namely Berlin, in possession of such a highly developed potential within the public and nonprofit division of the housing sector. Interestingly enough, however, the decisions affecting such policies that are currently made in a growing region like Munich are smarter than those being made in Berlin.