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UNSETTLING PLANNING PRACTICES

From Accommodation to Dwelling in Hamburg

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Unsettling the Planning Routines

The project Building a Proposition for Future Activities at HafenCity Universität (HCU) Hamburg, Germany, started in the year 2015 with a first project sketch for possible engagement with refugees who were going to be accommodated in the north of Hamburg. The engagement strategy was conceived in a context of increasingly nationalist and racist attitudes in Germany, where the growing numbers of refugees were perceived by some as a threat. The project explicitly intended to critically address the settled routine in German planning authorities to formally distinguish between accommodation and dwelling, by combining the practice of urban design with research and teaching (see Figures 5.1 and 5.2).

The chapter first outlines the series of events that unfolded in Hamburg focusing on the contested nature of accommodating refugees into Hamburg’s urban fabric. The definitions and sequence of events of refugee housing and cultural inclusion strategies in Hamburg are analyzed through Jacques Rancière in Mustafa Dikeç’s work. After delineating the conflicts and negotiations, we move between Heidegger and McFarlane to argue that if dwelling has to be learned, what we today must ask is how the city can be learned. Grounded in actor-network and assemblage theories, Building a Proposition for Future Activities can be understood as a way to unsettle academic practice and political-administrative procedures.

What in Our View Happened

Hamburg’s planning department together with Fördern und Wohnen [F&W, ‘Support and Housing’], the city’s public agency providing social services and accommodation, devised a program called Unterkünfte mit Perspektive Wohnen [UPW, ‘Accommodation with the Perspective of Dwelling’]. The program is a

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FIGURE 5.1 Aspects and relations of unsettling the planning process. The threefold threads of engagement represent Urban Design’s understanding of Research, Teaching and Practice.

FIGURE 5.2  Timeline of unsettling the planning process.

legal construct that grants those who produce the buildings under this program to fast-track the realization process by postponing time-consuming parts of the building inspection procedure, which greatly prioritizes developers. Construction may start without a proper permit. The permission process is postponed to after completion. Furthermore, the program is in many ways the spatial-political translation of the municipality’s integration policies. It determines where and how refugees are accommodated and thus reaches far into their everyday life.

Summer 2016, Poppenbüttel: We walk across a plot of undeveloped farmland in Poppenbüttel, one of Hamburg’s most northern reaches that is surrounded by single-family houses and a golf course. Hamburg’s Senate has decided to build 21 three-to-five-story houses to accommodate 1500 refugees. The decision was reached through consultation with the district administration and was based on several parameters such as availability and size. The City of Hamburg’s declared goal is to avoid having to accommodate refugees in shelters, mostly tents, over the winter. The city commissioned F&W with the development of a housing project within the UPW in Poppenbüttel. A group of professors from Hamburg’s universities, together with Hamburg’s Chamber of Architects, established an advisory board for the UPW project. However, the board was terminated after only two meetings because the advisory board’s request for sufficient information was not provided by the municipality and the city in general was not actually interested in their advice.

At the same time, concerned citizens form an initiative opposing the planned UPW. Together with other interest groups, they create an umbrella organization named Hamburg für gute Integration [‘Hamburg for Good Integration’] and negotiate the Hamburger Bürgerverträge [‘Hamburg citizens’ agreements’] with the Hamburg parliament. The citizens’ agreements lead to the re-design of central aspects of the UPW program. Most critically, they reduce the refugees’ occupancy rate of the planned buildings from the entire UPW program to only one-third of its total capacity. F&W will allocate another third to persons holding a residence entitlement certificate, and another non-subsidized third will be put on the market. Hamburg für gute Integration and its initiative ironically celebrate this as an essential step for Hamburg’s path to good integration. In their eyes, this is a significant step to prevent the risk of emerging ghettos in their neighborhoods as a consequence of planning.

Another citizens’ initiative named Poppenbüttel hilft e.V. [‘Poppenbüttel helps’] is promoting a Versammlungshaus [meeting house] in the planned UPW and is sending a rough sketch to the president of the HCU Hamburg, who forwards it to our team of the Urban Design teaching and research program (UD). Following preliminary discussions, representatives of all the organizations involved (the head of the district administration, the head of F&W, a representative from the senate, representatives of both initiatives and the UD professor) hold a round table at the district office for the planning of the Poppenbüttel meeting house project. Initial promises and concessions are quickly made to the project. F&W will provide the plot to build on. Our team (UD) will run a seminar and produce a representation
of the future meeting house, as desired by the neighbors’ initiative. Both district and initiative want to raise funds for the total production costs of the building. The meeting house is to be self-built by refugees and neighbors. Everyone at the round table agrees that the self-construction aspect could allow the project to serve as a precedent for collective action that does not rely purely on political-administrative modes of dealing with the refugee crisis, effectively unsettling hierarchical control. The project should not be built for refugees, but with them. All work done by the institutional actors should be about opening up the agency of refugees by including them as equal partners in project planning, implementation and future use. Members of the round table also concur that the building should not receive refugees as passive bodies that will merely be accommodated and welcomed, as the UPW concept implies (Bürgerschaft der Freien und Hansestadt Hamburg 2015). At the threshold between project conception and project planning, our team document the project motif: Building a Proposition for Future Activities.

The Process of Finding Motives

The motif directly emerges from a contestation of official narratives regarding refugee resettlement programs in Hamburg, as a way to advance the integrity of pluralism as a viable technique to build communities and housing. If our reading of the production process is somewhat polemical, this is due to the fact that it has proven quite controversial at times and in places. How so? Here Mustafa Dikeç’s reading of Jacques Rancière’s conceptualization of politics brings further analysis into play. Dikeç (2012: 172) dissects ways in which space can be considered a mode of political thinking and outlines that “space does not become political just by virtue of being full of power, or by virtue of the contentious multiplicity of interests embedded in space”. Instead,

following Rancière, space becomes political in that it becomes the polemical place where a wrong can be addressed and equality can be demonstrated. It becomes an integral element of the interruption of the ‘natural’ (or, better yet, naturalized) order of domination through the constitution of a place of encounter by those that have no part in that order. The political, in this account, is signaled by this encounter as a moment of interruption, and not by the mere presence of power relations and competing interests. (ibid.)

We move forward to follow the actants of the story provided so far: the municipality issues the UPW program, which is designed to produce thousands of housing units as a response to the refugee crisis and—if read generously—as a response to the housing crisis more generally. It seeks to fast-forward the production process so that accommodation can be provided. While a typical timeframe to produce housing units in multi-story residential buildings in Hamburg is somewhere
between three to five years, with half the time dedicated to finding and securing the land in a city where land prices have skyrocketed over the past years, the UPW program aimed to do it in less than two years. We argue that this urgency, on the one hand, leads to positioning those who are necessary for or are complying with the program (landowners, investors, political-administrative representatives, building companies, typical plans and designs) in a streamlined process and, on the other hand, designing out those who call into question the very standards and assumptions enabling the program and getting it up and running (academics, the Chamber of Architects, critical journalists, reports and studies researching how to live and how we actually live together). The situation is designed to allow for the acceleration of housing production through the already-existing means, methods and actors who currently manage housing and development. This approach assumes this is necessary when the scale and scope of the problem has radically changed: Hamburg’s task is not simply to provide more housing for existing residents in Hamburg, but also housing for refugees and the facilitation of cultural inclusion in a time of increasing racial tension. The UPW program was the naturalized order of how to manage the refugee crisis or, as Dikeç (2005: 174, referring to Rancière 2001) may have described it, the UPW functions as a police unit to manage “an established social order of governance with everyone in their ‘proper’ place in the seemingly natural order of things”.

Appearance of the Citizens

However, the will to get things done only held until the neighbors of the planned UPW project in Poppenbüttel started to worry about the value of their land, their life’s work, and thus their security in old age. They met in the evenings and on weekends on their verandas and in living rooms, wrote a petition and went door to door to collect signatures. When they had collected the necessary 25,000 signatures for a referendum, they approached town hall and forced the political and administrative authorities into negotiations. The Parliament reacted with the Hamburger Bürgerverträge. This delayed the planned process of realizing the housing capacities in the UPW program—uncertainty regarding what to build and for which clients is unsettling for an industry relying on clear-cut building assignments in order to organize their capacities efficiently. The municipality’s core strategy in the realization of the UPW program—designing out politics to fast-forward the production of accommodation capacities—backfired. Thousands of refugees now remained ‘over-resident’1 in central primary reception facilities as they could not be accommodated in UPW capacities after a maximum of six months as planned.

Again, we read Dikeç (2005: 177) citing Levitas (1996) in order to theorize the umbrella organization’s political efforts and their effects: “Structural dynamics that produce and reproduce inequalities disappear from the policy agenda, and the name of the problem becomes ‘exclusion’”. The citizens felt excluded from the political negotiations over integration policy. “Hence not
only is the ‘problem’ separated from its structural dynamics, but also a certain idea of society is evoked, where the ‘included’ are doing just fine” (ibid.). With the citizen’s agreements, the questionable umbrella organization Hamburg für gute Integration was able to dictate pertinent spatial aspects of the UPW program, and reach far into the everyday lives of refugees to be accommodated there: The capacities for refugee accommodations were not distributed according to urban design parameters as in the initial plans but had to be realized as far away as possible from existing residential areas. Playgrounds or other meeting places were not planned at central locations in the existing neighborhoods and instead moved to the inward-facing areas of new housing estates. The facades were made of red brick typical of Hamburg. The capacities for refugee accommodations in the new UPW locations were not only reduced to the Drittelmix ['one-third mix' of refugees, people with eligibility permits for subsidized housing and freely available on the market], but the capacity allocated to refugees was to be reduced again after three years by several hundred places per project. All this added to the problematic aspects that were already inscribed in the program: for example, the fact that refugees in UPW projects do not receive a rental contract, which would give them the protections offered by Germany’s federal tenancy laws. Because they are accommodated, they formally are not dwelling, i.e. not leading their own household. This immediately and unequivocally limits how to make use of the accommodation and, conversely, makes it easier for the landlord to impose sanctions on the tenants who are not protected by landlord-tenant laws.

The process of writing up a petition, collecting signatures door to door, and eventually negotiating the citizen’s agreements “is not about assessing interests and entitlements between parties; it is, first of all, a conflict concerning ‘the existence of parties as parties and the existence of a relationship that constitutes them as such’” (Diçek 2005: 178, referring to Rancière 1999: 26). At no time between the emergence of the migration movement at the end of 2014 and the Hamburg citizen’s agreements in the summer of 2016 had refugees had a seat at the table, let alone a voice in the discussion. Plain and simple, they remained refugees who had to be accommodated.

What Did We Make of This?

Our UD team had a seat at the UPW project’s roundtable as an institutional actor. So, all that remained for us was to interfere on the level of the project, with all its contingencies about whether or not the project could help enable refugees to do more than being accommodated. We kept critiquing and stating that being accommodated is, to say the least, a complicated matter. How would we proceed from there? In a debate on the relevance of Lucius Burckhardt’s work in terms of the politicization of planning, Monika Grubbauer (2017) and Michael Guggenheim (2017) pick up on the same sentence at the end of Burckhardt’s essay Who plans planning? calling for “a comprehensive consideration of the way in which
municipalities change their environment through planning” (Burckhardt 2017 [1974]: 114, own translation). Grubbauer (2017: 144, own translation) pleads for making visible the interrelations between projects and infrastructures and the resources of the European ‘citizen city’ on the one hand, and the exploitation strategies and economic interests articulated elsewhere in the context of global regimes of regulation and resource exploitation on the other.

She places this investigation decidedly “beyond concrete projects, places and urban (or rural) institutional contexts” (ibid.). From an ANT perspective, Guggenheim (2017: 149–150, own translation) argues that the problem of the politicization of planning can be addressed through its multiplicity:

Planning does not take place in one but in different worlds, or in the terminology of actor network theory: in multiple ontologies. […] The point now is that the various actors use each other to construct their world, or translate each other into different worlds.

While we agree with Grubbauer in her demand to relocate the research on how cities change their environment through planning beyond the concrete project, we nevertheless assume along with Guggenheim that we can meet this demand by engaging with the physical and social aspects of the project, both as active makers and academics. At a minimum, we are experimenting with design processes for different forms of inclusion, reassembling all pertinent aspects of its normalized order in its new occurrence. At its core is Dikeç (2005: 181, referring to Rancière 2001): “politics is made possible by a multiplicity of political subjects configuring, transforming, appropriating space for the manifestation of dissensus, for the coexistence of two worlds in one, becoming political subjects in and through space”. Regarding our position, this enables us to immerse ourselves in its present occurrence as an unsettled and unsettling terrain to study historical developments of this status quo and to draw out possible future trajectories, or build propositions for future activities.

Toward Learning the City

The relationship between accommodation and dwelling is at the core of our politicization of the UPW program anchored to our motif Building a Proposition for Future Activities. As we entered the project, we found the problematization of the form of housing in full swing—a polemical debate between civil society initiatives and the city’s administration, whose handling of the UPW program was rather contradictory. While adapting to the alienating Hamburg citizens’ agreements, it simultaneously funded an inclusive meeting house project. Colin McFarlane (2011) has put forward useful work to bring dwelling and assemblage
into dialogue, despite their distinct intellectual histories with the aim of thinking the city as a dwelling process and conceiving its spatiality as processual, relational, mobile and unequal. By drawing a reference to Jacobs and Smith (2008), he renders visible how we might be able to do away with the object (home)—practice (housing) debate by focusing “upon the dispersed logics, practices, meanings, and experiences that perform ‘home’ as an ‘assemblage of dwelling’” (McFarlane 2011: 657). Following this argument

[...]he acts of ‘housing’ and ‘dwelling’ [as well as accommodating] are a coproduction between those who are housed and the variant technologies that do the work of housing: ornaments and decorations, yes, architecture and bricks and mortar, sanitation and communication technologies, too, but also housing policies and practices, mortgage lending and insurance, credit scores, and all the other lively ‘things’ of finance.

(Jacobs and Smith 2008: 517, cited in McFarlane 2011: 657)

McFarlane (2011) continues with the conceptualization of dwelling by drawing on Heidegger’s (1971) description of dwelling as being

not just about engineering, architecture, or techne (in the Greek conception of ‘letting appear’), but the raising of locations and joining of their spaces through gathering, or assembly. What matters most about dwelling, as Heidegger suggests in this instance in relation to housing, is that people must learn to dwell.

(McFarlane 2011: 657, original emphasis)

This learning, however, McFarlane reminds, “is structured by stark geographies of inequality” (ibid.), in our case, the geographies of refugees and the ‘concerned’ citizens of Hamburg.

Yet, how do we learn dwelling? From accommodation, it is hard to learn, for all things to do with dwelling and active living are reduced to being taken care of. Yet clearly, refugees do more than being accommodated; in fact, they live the city, especially because being accommodated is not all they (have to) do. Accommodated people relocate individual dwelling functions to several places other than home and become experts in the urban fabric that serves as living room, dining table, drawing room and meeting space (Jesella 2017; Momic 2018).

UD students and staff engaged with the situation refugees face focused on the accommodation and housing discourse: refugee accommodations and accommodating structures, administration and management; we studied urban modes of dwelling-as-practice beyond the home and investigated the legal structure of refugee accommodation. Again, the notion of accommodation, as opposed to dwelling or housing, is highly problematic as it denies any active designing of one’s everyday life by reducing it to the container space where one sleeps, eats and stores his or her things. Our empirical observations of refugee shelters echo what the German
law (Bundesverwaltungsgericht 1996) prescribes: Accommodations, contrary to housing, are often temporary structures, have shared sanitary facilities, little living space, are often only a more durable ‘solution’ than tents due to shortages and, most importantly, prescribe a more or less inactive life. Being accommodated centrally denies the three aspects that define housing or dwelling that are equally legally defined as: (a) having a place to more or less permanently reside, (b) a voluntarily chosen place of residence and (c) leading independent household management.

The project’s motif culminated in the programmatic title in an attempt to enable Building a Proposition for Future Activities, thereby rejecting the closed-shop vision of designing and later building with (free) student and (free) refugee labor power a ‘community building’. Dikeç’s (2005) reading of Rancière provides grounds for further elaboration of the undertaking to problematize accommodation and dwelling with this motif. The ‘coexistence’ of both concepts (accommodation vs dwelling) and both practices (refugees wait vs citizens dwell), “this demonstration of two worlds in one that ‘holds equality and its absence together’ (Rancière 1999: 89), makes the handling of a wrong and the verification of equality possible, and is a crucial condition for politics to occur” (Dikeç 2005: 178–179).

Dwelling as Unsettling fACT

In order to clarify how we in UD organize our activities concerning a motif Bruno Latour’s concept of ‘matters of concern’ (2004) is particularly important. Estrid Sørensen (2012) explains that “with his concept for a scientific research approach that asks about the relationship between science and politics, Latour urges the development of an attention to the matters of concern that is able to replace the analysis of facts”. As opposed to matters of fact, matters of concern are “rich, complex, uncertain, surprising and artfully constructed” (Sørensen 2012: 210, own translation), in other words: they are unsettling, concerning and perhaps troubling. Our work therefore tries to address the concerns that matter most, such as representing the ways in which facts (e.g. the citizen’ agreements, accommodation programs) are made, as they are the results of actions and agencies and still bear traces of their original assembling.

We conceptualized our case as an attempt to think space politically through interpreting dwelling as a fACT, an accomplished act that becomes a fact, something that is done or practiced. One of the critical aspects when emphasizing dwelling as fACT is to show that socio-spatial ordering is not a given but is contingent (Wohnbund and HafenCity Universität 2016). The emphasis lies on the negation of any categorization of spatial order as natural or neutral. What makes insisting on this contingency political is what we call the work with an open form (Dell 2016). Such work links the political to the epistemological, and thus problematizes form. We comprehend politics as forms of aesthetic articulation of the societal forces and the production and questioning of meaning-making regimes of signification and semiotic codification. It is in this sense that we study the constitution of modes of experiencing, perceiving, representing, knowing
and interpreting spatial configurations of the city. Yet, we want to point out that the aesthetic antagonism over what is considered knowledge about the city exceeds the propositional. We are therefore concerned with representation and the question of how to represent the assemblage ‘dwelling’ or ‘housing’ vis-à-vis ‘accommodation’, if we are to enable a learning process.

We understand our modes of producing representations as epistemic, aesthetic and political endeavor. Since all modes of representation or acts of rendering visible operate within their societal context, every visualization is self-reflexive. This insinuates that every representation cannot but problematize in which ways and how far it co-articulates societal matters of concern. We call this mode of representation, which strategically engages with this problematization: diagrammatics. We understand it as a hybrid mode of representation that draws on, operates with and articulates contingency. Its aesthetics is far from being an isolated, autonomous realm of creativity. Instead, it is the realm of what is sensible and gives meaning; what articulates what is meaningful and how. Understood in this way, aesthetics is genuinely political as it is expanding beyond the polity. It constitutes regimes that frame and decide about what or who has access to meaning, is acknowledged as meaningful and therefore eligible to participate in negotiations of political decision-making. Consequently, any political debate argues, influences, instrumentalizes or operates through aesthetic regimes. Vice versa, political debates depend on the evidential power of knowledge regimes that are grounded in an aesthetics of showing and representing what is to negotiate and how this is to be done. One can define this field as an historical a priori, that seeks to determine which sensible experience is possible in a specific historical context.

Having gained a profound insight into the field through work and exchange with involved actors and publics (see Figure 5.3), we became able to engage with the production of an architectural representation of the meeting house to be realized (see Figure 5.4). The UD team gathered scattered knowledge about what it means to live today in terms of production and its potential in a sixteen-page brochure to explore and give space to the motif *Building a Proposition for Future Activities*: A double-page spread of recent media reports on the refugee crisis, maps and plans for the concrete location of the UPW program in Poppenbüttel, human and non-human actors essential for the realization of a meeting house in self-construction, a process diagram as a series of isometric representations of a possible building process, and a small selection of reference projects (see Figure 5.3). While the brochure engaged with diagrammatics as a mode of representation, it did not provide a visual rendering of the meeting house. However, it quickly became apparent that the adjacent neighbors who initiated this idea wanted an architectural drawing. The brochure once again functioned as a juxtaposition of two worlds: that of the closed process of realizing the UPW and that of the open, enabling process of the meeting house, as we envisioned it.

Using the brochure as a basis, we were able to raise the first funds for the planning, realization and documentation of a summer school with international students and future refugees and neighbors of the UPW. The summer school
FIGURE 5.3 Double pages from the brochure ‘Enabling Encounters’ showing a golf and country club in the direct vicinity of the accommodation with perspective dwelling at Poppenbuttel Berg, Hamburg. The brochure was developed as part of the Urban Design course ‘Parapolis Upgrade | From the Refugee Crisis to the Housing Issue’.

FIGURE 5.4 Spreads of the brochure *Gemeinschaftshaus Poppenbüttel* developed as part of the UD program’s urban design practice.

continued to work on the motif, leading to the project taking on the character of a model project, a cooperation between the Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg, in the form of F&W, the district of Hamburg Wandsbek and UD. The results allowed for raising €600,000 from the Hamburg parliament for the meeting house project. Through the brochure and the two summer schools, as three forms of representation of the dichotomy of accommodation vs dwelling, we were able to introduce dimensions of actual life and lived experience in the UPW and thus influence the (political) discourse by the diagrammatic thinking on the relation between accommodation and living through media reports, personal stories shared in actual encounters and academic work. The motif, the positions and procedures it enabled to deepen helped to finance the project, to maintain it in the long run, and to locate the possibilities of encounter in an active way.

Conclusion

Being concerned with a meta-dimension, we have intervened in the experiential to represent and represented the experiential in order to act. It is our intent to play back any findings into the UPW project Poppenbüttel, to enable the administration and other parties involved in the UPW program to learn and move beyond the continued practice of accommodating people. Yet, while the city celebrates the project as a model project—implying that learning from its findings is a priority—the city’s project managers and building companies perceive us as interruption and unnecessary complication of an already complicated matter.

Urban design is not a neutral container; it is a form of knowledge, both theoretically and practically. Building a Proposition for Future Activities exemplifies this through the ways the concept of dwelling itself can be regarded and analyzed as a form of knowledge. The production of representation as urban design’s key domain is always attached to ideological acts of determining the meaning of the built environment—past, present and future. Politics of urban design amounts to more than a gesture of translation, representation and dialogue for citizen participation; it is also about mobilizing learning through design practice. Along these lines, we propose an account of improvisation as an ethical imperative where lived experience—as McFarlane describes it when he brings assemblage and dwelling in dialogue—is not determined, but contingent and collective agency is not reduced to an unfettered collation of an inquirer’s mind.

Note

1 ‘Over-resident’ is a term for refugees who have been living in initial reception facilities for longer than the intended six months because there are no places available in the follow-up accommodation (Zentraler Koordinierungsstab Flüchtlinge 2018).

References


