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ALTERNATIVE EMPLOYMENT AND TRAINING
PROJECTS IN BERLIN

A thesis presented for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

by

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Abstract

The research presented in the thesis is a case-study of attempts to develop socially useful and environmentally sound technology (suest), products or services, as undertaken by alternative employment and training projects in West Berlin.

The research is important for the exploration of several issues: the limits of training as a process of changing employment patterns and technological practices; the role of the voluntary / alternative sector; the role of "suest" generally.

The initiator group and the eight member groups of the Kooperationsverbund Entwicklungswerkstatt comprised the focal point of the research.

Findings from the study suggest that the "training" focus has nearly as many limits as the "products" focus: there were internal problems which in part reflect the confusion about the role of training as a social / technological change agent. The fate of these initiatives will depend largely on what happens to the German economy: will it re-expand conventionally or will "alternative" models prevail?

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1. CHAPTER ONE: Introduction

This thesis looks at the role of local level employment and training¹ projects set up by alternative groups in Berlin (West) from the 1980s onwards for the development of socially useful and environmentally sound technology, products and services. It is located within a wider discussion of the prospects for socially useful and environmentally sound technology, set in the context of recent environmental and social policy developments in Germany, and Berlin in particular. The alternative employment and training projects have identified "ecological products" as being of primary importance to help restructure the economy and create future employment.

This view appears to be supported by others:

"There are many policy makers ... who believe that the next Schumpeter Shove will be in the field of ecologically desirable and socially useful products. In this connection, the need for sensitive antennae to identify emerging markets and the ability to develop new markets, social markets and community projects will be of paramount importance."
(Cooley, 1993)

¹The German "Ausbildung" does not translate easily into English. It has a wide range of meanings, encompassing the concepts of education, qualification and apprenticeship. For stylistic reasons only, albeit reluctantly, the term "training" has been used, as it fits the UK model and is widely used in the UK (for a discussion of this see Cooley 1987, pgs. 54 - 70).

The employment and training projects have their roots in the alternative movement, which emerged in the early 1970s out of the failed student protest movement in the 1960s. The alternative movement is described most generally as "...the attempt to directly realise social changes through self-organised forms of working and living." (Brand et al, 1986) (1; see Appendix "Original German Quotations"). Thus the emphasis of the alternative movement is to search for practical alternatives to the existing norms and problems of the capitalist industrial society (see Chapter Three for a detailed description of the role of the alternative movement).

West Germany's political foundations are the established social market ideology, which is accepted by all traditional political parties in the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG): "as much market as possible, as much planning as necessary". After the mounting debt crisis under the Social Democratic (SPD) and Free Democratic (FDP) coalition (1979-1982) due to high public spending since 1969, the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) and Free Democratic coalition pronounced the "Wende" (Change of direction) in 1982, which was a return to traditional ideas and aimed to overcome budget deficit and high taxation through cuts in public expenditure. A major problem for West Germany was to deal effectively with a changing economic environment, and the resulting high levels of unemployment, particularly in crisis regions (see Figure 1 and Figure 2 for levels of unemployment in FRG and West Berlin).

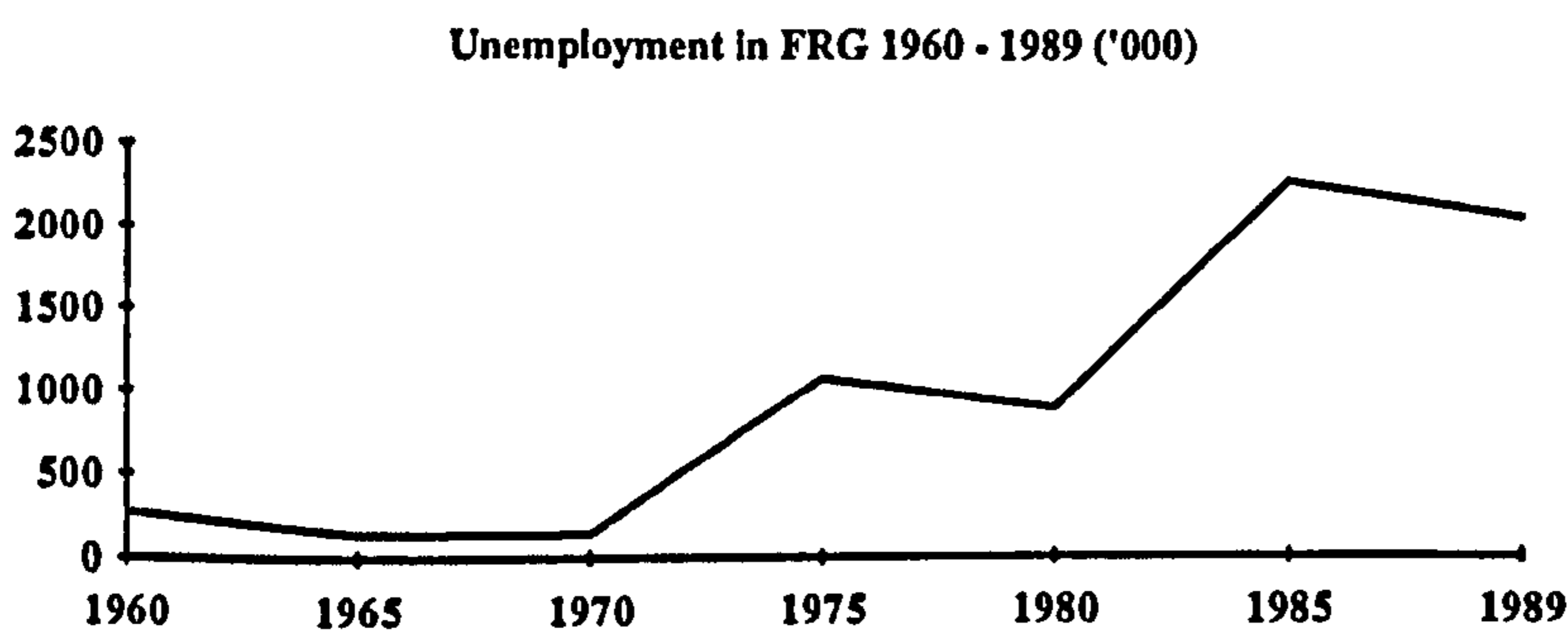


Figure 1 (Öko-Almanach, 1991)



Figure 2 (Kisker, 1987 and Statistisches Landesamt Berlin, 1990)

The Government's response was to focus increased attention on employment policy. One measure taken has been to re-vitalise work creation measures (Arbeitsbeschaffungsmaßnahmen: ABM) which have a long tradition, and were widely employed after the 2nd World War to rebuild the economy (see Figure 3 for post-war development of ABM) to temporarily accommodate the unemployed in a "second" labour market. This was coupled with providing qualification measures for the unemployed (see Figure 4). It was hoped that the time-lag created would help private industry to create jobs, but the qualification measures effectively individualised unemployment. It is within this context of continuing high and long term unemployment, particularly in crisis regions, that the new social self-help movements emerged; alternative employment and training initiatives especially experienced rapid growth.

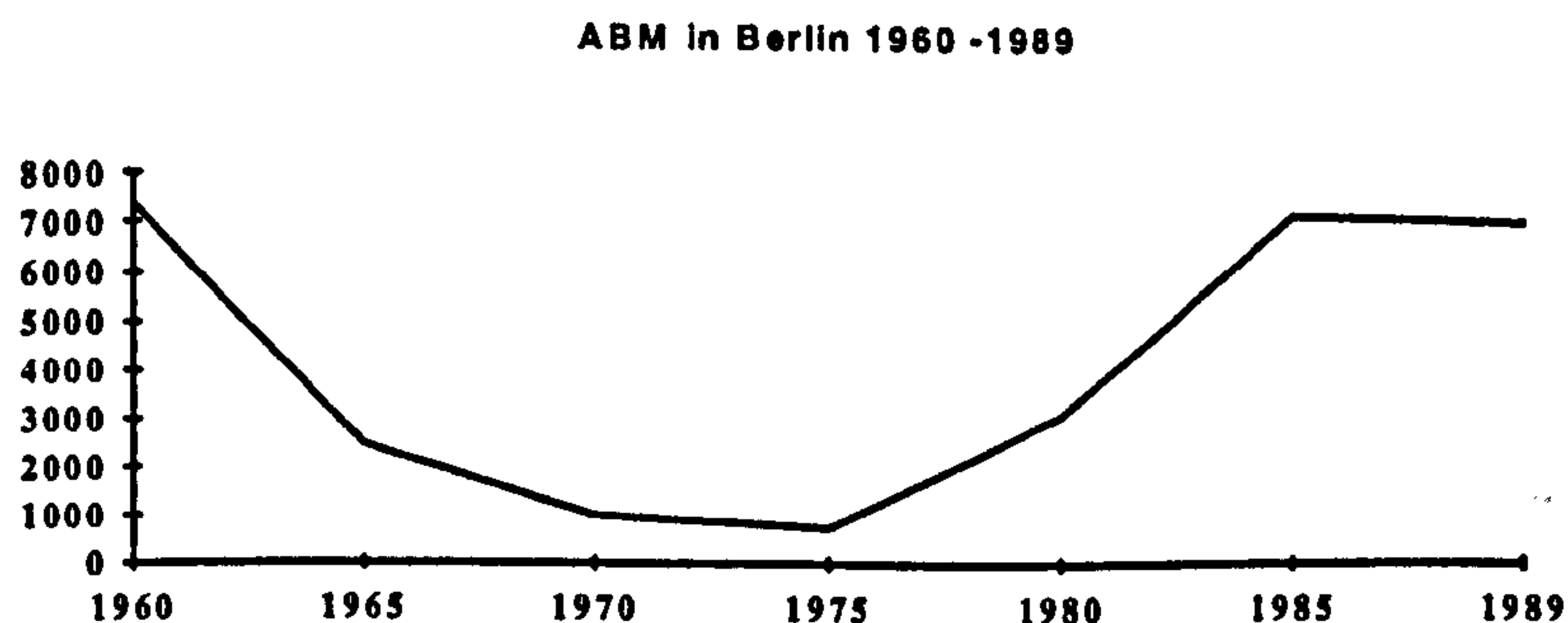


Figure 3 (Kisker, 1987 and Statistisches Landesamt Berlin, 1990)

Qualification measures from 1983 - 1989 in Berlin

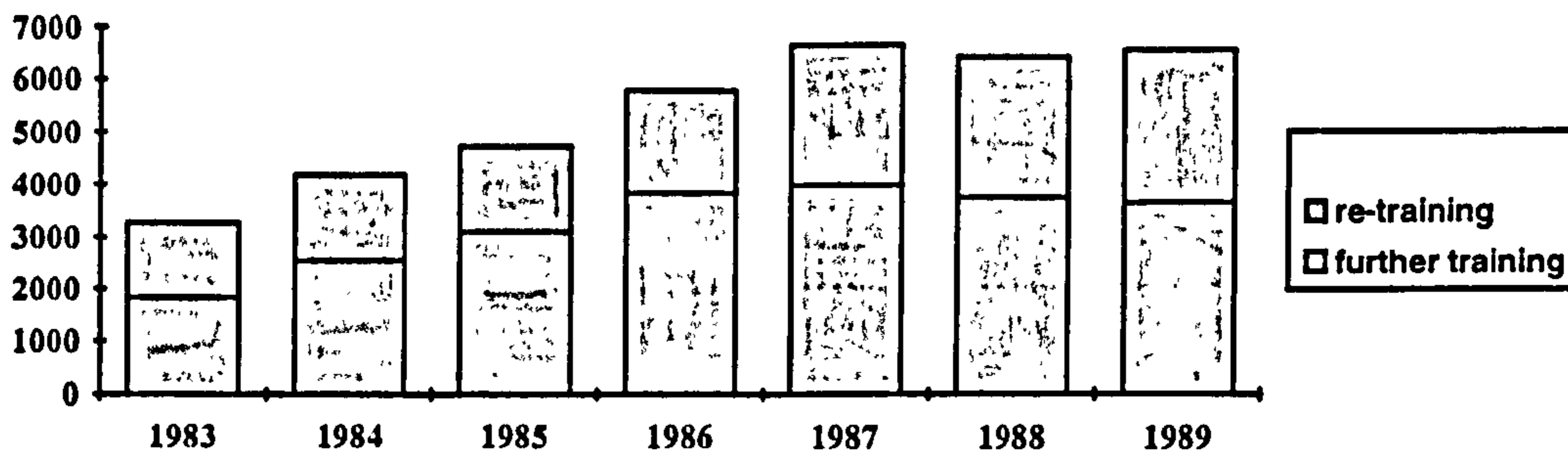


Figure 4 (Statistisches Landesamt Berlin, 1990)

This research focuses on a number of such initiatives located in West Berlin, which attempted to form a "Kooperationsverbund Entwicklungswerkstatt" (Co-operation combine development workshop) based on the idea of the Greater London Council's technology networks. Even though the development workshop was halted due to political events (removal of Berlin Wall and subsequent re-unification), the work of the member projects is taken as the basis for this research.

Their position is as follows:

"It is cheaper to create employment, than to bear the costs of unemployment. The funding of unemployment is a waste of human and financial resources."
(Atlantis, 1991) (2)

"We think that it is a useful combination, to create employment and at the same time, to get socially useful and ecologically sound work done. The practical experience is that by far not all our ideas are realised, because often lack of time and insufficient funds means that ecological factors take second place again. ... we feel that our responsibility actually lies with ecological pilot projects. We have a large workforce, and do not need to consider wages. ... we have plenty of time and there is no pressure not to experiment [with different forms of] building... . A normal firm cannot afford to do this; they would have to have a research department. Ecological building is precisely the area we work in, we try to expand this, but also to pass on our experiences, to co-operate with other projects, to work on a bigger scale, to make out building projects visible in Berlin. ... we received our funding at the time of the red-green Senate, who had the programme "ecological town restructuring". We thought: "great, we provide employment, qualify people and at the same time much ecological work gets done." We tried to build on this and to translate our aims into action." (3)
(Haas/Depta, 1991)

The research is in some way a follow-on from the work conducted on the Greater London Councils innovation programme by Mole and Elliott. In their conclusion, Mole and Elliott stress that:

"Opportunities do exist to exert influence: the practical experiments we have looked at give an indication of the points that need to be addressed - the promotion of technological awareness, alternative social marketing techniques, education and training facilities. Their value and role within a hegemonic counter-strategy to existing routes of development is crucial."
(Mole and Elliott, 1987)

While Mole and Elliott examine the policies and implementation strategies of a particular group (GLC) within a different local context (London 1981-1985), the problems and issues that are addressed are similar, namely the democratisation of technology and increased participation by a range of actors not usually associated with the innovation process, towards social usefulness and the creation of work. However, the emphasis in the UK was primarily on products. The research in Berlin adds another important dimension, that is the issue of qualification.

Both the London and Berlin initiatives were responses to three major, and currently extremely important, areas of concern, namely:

1. Increases in structural unemployment, especially long term unemployment and youth unemployment, and the failure of governments, the private and the public sector to create new employment,
2. destruction of the environment and the overuse of scarce resources, and the lack of action by governments, the private and the public sector,
3. attempts to address the above problems by way of education, creating awareness and training for the development of socially useful and environmentally sound technology as a strategy to combat both unemployment and environmental degradation.

In the United Kingdom, the response to these issues from those involved with alternative employment projects was as follows:

"It is argued by some that high unemployment is inevitable in what is seen as a transitional stage in the economy, in which industry is "slimmed down" and dead wood cut out ready for the "great leap forward" by new, lean

competitive industries which will then start to mop up surplus labour. There are two major weaknesses in this argument:

Firstly, modern industry requires continual and massive investment in research and development and new production technology. In recent years our major competitors ... have been re-investing at up to twice the rate of British industry, which may well have lagged even further behind than before by the time the economy picks up again.

Secondly, new high-capital industries use relatively little labour. ... At present, there exist many qualification workshops for unemployed young people and older workers requiring new skills. Enterprise workshop trusts are beginning to be set up to help new businesses start up. What is missing in these developments is any systematic means of encouraging the innovation function. It is hoped that the proposed innovation centres would help meet this need."

(Fletcher, 1982)

and ultimately

"It is hoped that the development of socially useful products will provide the necessary motivation for working groups of specialists - seconded from education or industry - unemployed workers funded through MSC schemes, project students and young trainees in qualification workshops to undertake the design and development of specific products to the stage where they can be usefully produced."

(Fletcher, 1982)

Very different priorities are adopted by the promoters of socially useful technology in the UK and Berlin reflecting the different conditions under which they have to work: whilst in the UK, it is the development of products which receive funding from groups like the Greater London Enterprise Board (GLEB), in Berlin funding is available largely for qualification and research, and not for technology: in Berlin, products take only a marginal role. Here the emphasis is on promoting environmental awareness, the development of alternative social marketing techniques, education and training. These are exactly the points addressed by Mole and Elliott as being of importance for the development of socially useful products / socially useful and environmentally sound technology. However, another vital ingredient identified by Mole and Elliott is missing in Berlin: a hegemonic counter-strategy. Unlike in London, where a strategy existed, e.g. in the shape of the GLC "London Industrial Strategy", backed up by the political strength (such as it was) of the GLC, in Berlin there exists no overall plan, just a number of different actors with different goals and methods of implementation. In

Berlin there was continued support from Senate governments, regardless of political parties.

The problem of focusing excessively on products was recognised only later in the UK:

"Promotional / development / educational work is vital in the networks, and an excessive emphasis on production / technical development is damaging: The tension between the two is intrinsic, and we have to find ways of making it a creative tension. "Positive technological agitprop" is politically important as a campaigning basis. But product development itself requires political work, economic strategic research and educational work. These are intrinsic to the networks technical role, not an "extra". Legal constraints on funding of such activities are real and significant. Technet Ltd. funds technical development, not "outreach", research, etc."

(Greater London Enterprise Board, 1984)

Thus the approach to "socially useful production" (sup) that emerged in Germany may have had some of the same roots, but it developed a somewhat different emphasis. In this thesis I will use the term "socially useful and environmentally sound technology" (suest). Suest has at its core two major themes: socially useful and environmentally sound technology. Social usefulness in the UK primarily refers to products, which are valued because of their use value. It could be argued that products are manufactured and sold, i.e. bought by consumers, because they are useful, otherwise nobody would purchase them. While this is true to some extent, there are many unmet consumer needs, especially in social, health and environmental areas, where manufacturers, operating on the profit principle, do not see it viable to cater for this market, i.e. small, undeveloped markets do not attract producers.

The primary social usefulness of the German employment and training projects as those involved see it, is the employment of unemployed people who may otherwise not find paid employment in the first labour market. Projects try to organise their work in such a way as to enable individuals to work in a framework which fits their individual ability, to carry out useful work. Another aspect of social usefulness is their attempt to create new areas of work for the future, work which is based on the criteria of ecologically sound, for the workers to work in a more humane environment, and to use ecological building materials and building processes.

"Technology" in this sense is not meant just to embrace production technology, but also products and services. The term "environmentally sound technology " is often seen as reflecting only a "technological fix" approach, based on the belief that environmental degradation can be solved by simply developing the necessary hardware, without any other major adjustments. These types of technologies are typically "end of pipe technologies", e.g. cleaning up after the event.

While I will adopt the term "environmentally sound technology", by this I mean that while it is important to adjust our present technology, that alone would be insufficient. As one interviewee put it: "it is more socially useful to develop public transport technology and facilities than to develop the Porsche - even one with cleaner emissions" (Kaufmann, 1991).

1.1. The Research Project

The subject of investigation is the attempt -by independent, alternative groups- to try to combine qualification and the development of new, socially useful and environmentally sound technology with the creation of work. The research is primarily a study of these organisations, rather than a study of the wider social and environmental problems they are trying to address.

The assumption made by those involved is that newly developed socially useful and environmentally sound technologies can play a major part in providing socially useful and environmentally sound work, as well as addressing the problems of environmental degradation and social need. This is the stated aim of a majority of self-help "training" groups who want to go beyond government ideology that unemployment is mainly the fault of the individual, and that people are unemployed because a qualification mismatch exists. While this may be true to a certain extent in that training may increase some individual's chances of obtaining employment, it does so by "re-arranging the queue", i.e. by increasing the chances of some while reducing those of others. The government qualification policy does not create work in itself.

The groups I looked at have made it their goal to:

- a) train people in areas that are future-orientated, for which it is hoped a demand will exist in the near future and,
- b) develop new technologies, thus creating new areas of work,
- c) target, in line with government policy, those most disadvantaged within the group of unemployed, namely young people, who have either never had work, or have no vocational qualifications, dropped out of school etc., and the long-term unemployed, as well as older unemployed. These target groups are least likely to obtain work in the first labour market.

The specific questions which are being addressed here are:

1. Why did self-help training initiatives emerge?
2. Why do they receive state funding irrespective of political parties in power (and despite duplication)?
3. Are they successful in their own terms, and compared to other organisations carrying out work creation measures (Arbeitsbeschaffungsmaßnahmen: ABM)?
4. What do they achieve?
5. How important is qualification in the development of suest?

Chapter 2, Methodology, explains the research methods used, and the choice of projects in Berlin as the basis for conducting field study research. The study relies heavily on first-hand material, such as interviews, observation and participation and is structured around the cases. As there has been no previous evaluation of the groups, both qualitative, and especially quantitative data is only available to a very limited extent, and is incomplete. Emphasis is therefore on qualitative data obtained from the groups themselves.

Chapter 3 initially describes the self-help movement, before going on to the sector of this movement which deals with unemployment, and in particular with the provision of employment and qualification, which is the focus of this study.

Chapter 4 looks at the political and economic background and the environment the self-help movement works in, and why the state has adopted qualification and work creation measures as a major part of employment policy. The question is raised why these

groups continue to exist, and receive funding, irrespective of governments, by looking at the two principles of German Basic Law: social market economy and subsidiarity.

This means a detour into traditional social provision, the independent welfare organisations, and their failure to meet new social needs. Also, it involves a general discussion of the debate of the first and second labour market.

Chapter 5 comprises the setting of the case studies, and looks at the particular situation of a crisis region, Berlin, and why this was chosen as a framework for this study. It examines why the groups became involved in qualification and employment initiatives, in which way the local government has supported this development, and what their relationship is, by focusing on one area of activity, the building sector.

Chapter 6 is an introduction to the individual case studies, how they are linked and how they co-operate.

In Chapters 7 - 13 the groups are then described and evaluated separately within their own category. Their internal structures, operations, aims and objectives, as well as problems encountered are described.

Chapter 14 evaluates the effectiveness of their approach.

Chapter 15 is an overall conclusion

2. CHAPTER TWO: Methodology

2.1. Introduction

This thesis aims to investigate the impact and importance of training on the development of socially useful and environmentally sound technology, training being a strategy that was adopted by alternative employment and training projects in Berlin. Previous research has been on the development of socially useful technology, as in Mole and Elliott's research on GLC initiatives, which identified several "points that need to be addressed - the promotion of technological awareness, alternative social marketing techniques, education and training facilities." (Mole and Elliott, 1987).

Although there are some obvious parallels, the focal point in Berlin is different: while priority was given under the GLC / technology networks to develop socially useful products, in Berlin this only takes on a marginal role, here the emphasis is on creating environmental, social, technological awareness, the development of alternative social marketing techniques, education and training. These are exactly the points addressed by Elliott and Mole as being important for the development of socially useful technology and socially useful and environmentally sound technology.

The main focus of the thesis is a study of the skill development in the innovation

process and in particular the factors affecting the introduction, use and outcomes of training and the development of socially useful and environmentally sound technology. For this purpose, I investigated the Berlin technology network's initiative of setting up a Kooperationsverbund Entwicklungswerkstatt (co-operation combine development workshop). Their aims are summarised in a contract, where each member makes a commitment to:

"[co-operate] ... towards the aim of a more efficient use of their individual capacities in the area of development and research of socially and environmentally acceptable products and services, the development of new areas of work and the creation of useful employment for the Berlin region."
(Interdisziplinäres Forschungsprojekt, 1990) (4)

and the

"Central task of the development workshop is the innovation of socially and ecologically useful products and services."
(Interdisziplinäres Forschungsprojekt, 1990) (5)

Work for this had been in preparation since 1985, and I had been following developments for the setting up of this group since my first contact in 1987 during research for my degree project. The aim then was to look at the problems faced by a group in Berlin in trying to transport and implement the GLC technology network idea. At that time, nothing concrete had developed, and I had to abandon my research for a general review of green / alternative movements. However, valuable contacts had been established. Several subsequent visits to Berlin before starting this research, were undertaken to keep up with developments there, and close liaison was maintained with several projects, especially with the research project "local economy" at the Technical University in Berlin, who monitor the development of the organisations of interest to me.

At the start of my research project in October 1989, the Kooperationsverbund Entwicklungswerkstatt (co-operation combine development workshop) had been set up, members recruited for it, and contacts had been established with several Senate (Berlin state government) funding departments. At this time, a Social Democratic - Green Party coalition government was running the Berlin Senate, and which was actively supporting

intermediary groups like the Kooperationsverbund. Verbal confirmation for funding had been obtained. However, changes soon occurred that were to affect my research focus:

1. Demolition of the Berlin wall, and
2. re-unification and all-Berlin elections (change of government to Social Democratic - Christian Democratic coalition).

In July 1990, the situation was that the verbal confirmation given by the funding bodies was still standing, and a final commitment was expected by October. However, the project received notice that the cost of unification was the reason why their project could not be funded for the foreseeable future.

This meant that effectively the Kooperationsverbund Entwicklungswerkstatt idea was shelved for the foreseeable future. As the Kooperationsverbund Entwicklungswerkstatt, as well as all the member groups, were the focus of my study, the planned study of its operation had to be abandoned. In view of the changing circumstances at the beginning of the research project, I decided instead to look at the operation of the individual member groups of the co-operation combine workshop. I received an assurance when visiting Berlin in the Summer of 1990, that although nothing could be guaranteed under the present climate of change, it was not anticipated that these groups themselves would cease operating. During this trip I also made my first contact with the member groups, and obtained brochures and other material from them. Even though the circumstances of their operation had changed, the target groups themselves were still the same. I therefore embarked on making contact with each member group, outlining my intention. This was done during my initial field trip, where I discussed with the groups how they could assist me.

The groups identified are aiming to combine training with the development of socially useful and environmentally sound technology / products / services. To conduct my research, I focused especially on the eight organisations who were aiming specifically to develop socially useful and environmentally sound technology / products / services, and who had intended to work together under the umbrella of the Kooperationsverbund Entwicklungswerkstatt.

2.2. The Research Aims

The research project began in October 1989. It took the form of an exploratory study, since the aim to develop socially useful and environmentally sound technology had only been newly adopted by alternative employment and training projects in Berlin. Their aims were to:

1. Offer training in future-orientated technology, thus increasing the individual's chance of obtaining employment "in the market", as a response to conventional training, which is considered obsolete, doing nothing to reduce unemployment.
2. Create real employment through the development of socially useful and environmentally sound technology / products / services.
3. Increase individuals' (possibly long-term unemployed) self-esteem and confidence.

The initial research question was directly based on the aims stated by the projects under investigation, and attempts to consider the importance given by the individual projects to qualifications, e.g. all projects that were members of the Kooperationsverbund Entwicklungswerkstatt were primarily employment and training projects. Through the means of providing qualification it was hoped that socially useful and environmentally sound technology / products / services could be developed, which would help create employment. Thus, the emphasis of the training aspect led to the research questions:

"Why are "qualified" workers crucial to the innovation processes associated with the development of socially useful and environmentally sound technologies?", or "Why is training seen as an important factor in the development of suest?"

and

"What led projects to adopt training strategies, rather than others, such as political pressure to a shift in social and technological policies?"

2.3. The case study approach

The research method I chose was case study research. I felt I needed to employ an exploratory strategy (Yin, 1990) as the field was largely unexplored and contemporary

events were being observed. Thus it was concerned more with theory-generation than theory testing. This approach has been supported by Glaser and Strauss (1967).

As methodology is a major component of a research project, careful consideration is necessary when choosing from the various methods available, such as surveys, experiments, histories or case studies.

The case study approach, which I chose, offers the researcher a multitude of research methods, and allows the use of several research techniques, such as observation, interviewing as well as collection of primary and secondary documentation. This provides the researcher with different approaches that can be adopted to collect his / her evidence. Also, case studies are particularly suitable for gaining an insight into causes and effects of change, and for focusing on a particular issue.

It is often argued that case studies are ambiguous because of their non-laboratory character (Yin, 1990).

Also, investigators are often accused of allowing their own biases to influence the direction and outcome of their research. However, I believe that biases exist in all types of research methods, as the researcher can never divorce his / her research from his / her own particular preferences. The use of case studies may force researchers to address the issue of bias, whereas with other research methods, the researcher may never question his/her own biases, as other types of research methods are often regarded as more "scientific", i.e. looking at "facts" rather than impressions. While conducting my own case studies, every endeavour was made not to succumb to my own biases. I have not found this very easy, as I tended to be sympathetic towards the aims of the groups under investigation. However, with the progression of research, I became more and more involved in the "finding of solutions" to the problems (environmental technology and work creation) addressed by each group and organisation. The variety of their approaches enabled me to stand back and look at the different approaches adopted by the various groups, and allowed for comparisons. The realisation that the internal workings of the groups are far short of perfect and their approach are generally guided by personal influences, has led me to take a very critical look at their overall effectiveness.

The research has therefore shifted slightly, and has become more focused on the groups attempting to tackle environmental and employment problems in society, rather than on these problems themselves. It is therefore effectively a study of organisations.

Despite all the inherent problems of case study research, it is generally accepted and widely used for social science research. In any case, nothing can replace case studies if we wish to learn about detail of certain processes in society.

2.4. Preparation and Fieldwork

Before my fieldwork (from October 1989 until January 1991) I worked through the material gathered during my undergraduate final year project, to help with the formulation of questions to be asked during the interview sessions. Also, during this time, I attempted to break the project down as much as possible. As the research was to be carried out abroad, much preparation was needed to ensure that the trips could be kept to a minimum. I had maintained contact with my core group since 1988, both on short trips to Berlin and during visits by them to London, to keep abreast of their work in general, and in particular of their progress made regarding the Kooperationsverbund Entwicklungswerkstatt, which aimed to be an umbrella organisation for other projects aiming to develop socially useful and environmentally sound technology.

The main bulk of the data was collected during two separate field trips.

The first trip (10.2.-23.3.1991, 6 weeks) was to reappraise the situation in view of the major recent restructuring and political changes in Berlin and to familiarise myself with the current developments in the nine major groups being studied (including the Kooperationsverbund); establish firmer contacts with the groups and to conduct preliminary interviews.

The second trip (28.4.-21.7.1991, 12 weeks) consisted of the main interview sessions, as well as conducting observations with 2 groups (PAULA and Atlantis).

A third trip had been planned and scheduled for spring 1992, after the preliminary analysis of the data, and allowed for filling in of gaps, updating and rounding off the research, but was not carried out. Preparation of the data for analysis took until November 1992, by which time SERC was unable to fund an additional trip.

The data gathered during the field trips form the major part of the empirical evidence for the research. In addition to visiting the projects, a combination of "open ended" (not taped) interviews with several "key informants" and "focused" interviews (taped) were undertaken. The open ended interviews were conducted while spending time with the projects under investigation, attending conferences, seminars and meetings. Many valuable insights into the problems of the organisations could be experienced directly. All the groups under investigation were visited several times, for initial informal visits, for conducting formal interviews, or to take part in meetings or just having a look around.

Within the major two groups under investigation some function within the groups was undertaken (Atlantis and Technet, e.g. English Teacher and Translator), which assisted the role of "participant observer".

I also interviewed various academics at research institutes dealing with training, employment, innovation and environmental issues to obtain more "objective" data, and also interviewed relevant individuals at government/senate departments and independent institutions.

The bulk of the fieldwork thus consists of in-depth, largely qualitative-orientated interviews with the relevant individuals in, or related to, the areas mentioned, as well as a period of observation for a number of core groups.

Secondary statistical and descriptive material was also gathered from journals, books and governmental data sources.

Organisational and technology introduction histories were gathered, in part from the literature, and secondary and in-house sources were used to provide qualitative data on the functioning of the organisations.

On the whole, all the respondents were very helpful and frank. Therefore, not many difficulties were experienced with obtaining information. A major problem, however, was the initial arranging for visits and participation, as the respondents were extremely busy due to the expansion of projects to East Germany.

It was also difficult to gain access and speak to "ordinary" workers. At Atlantis, at my initial visit, it was explained to me by one head of department, that "the workers could not cope with a string of new faces". It would disrupt them and they would become suspicious, thinking that I was an official of some sort or a social worker. Also, they needed to know what the exact tasks of people present were, they felt uneasy with people who they could not slot into a clearly defined role. I was able to make some contact, through standing in for the English teacher, who was absent for 2 weeks. However, I was constantly asked by people what exactly I was doing, as I appeared in all different departments. I had similar experiences with other projects, to varying degrees, from not being allowed to visit the workshops due to disruption and suspicion, to being told I could wander around the workshop, but without an offer to take me. I felt that it was not feasible to conduct a questionnaire myself, as at the time of my stay there was a general feeling of unrest due to the imminent running out of some contracts, and I felt it would be unfair to stimulate further soul-searching. A questionnaire had been conducted in the solar / photovoltaic department of Atlantis by a social worker, and it was passed around "under the table" and regarded as confidential information, which also led me to think that now was not the time to do something like this, if at all. The major outcomes of that questionnaire will be presented with the case study of Atlantis.

2.5. Translations

All interviews were conducted in German. Each focused interview was taped and either fully transcribed in German or partly transcribed in English. The grey literature, newspaper and magazine articles were also in German, as were most books.

When using quotations from the German source material, I have translated these myself, and only the translated version appears in the actual text. The original quotations are assembled in the Appendix. All translations have been checked and proof-read by several other German speakers. Every effort was made to give, where possible, as literal a translation as possible, so as not to distort what was said. However, for the purpose

of clarity, when required, more liberal translations were made (not least because the German language tends to be long-winded and rather elaborate).

2.6. Problems encountered

My work started initially as a fact-finding mission, a finding out what was happening on the ground, how the projects worked and to gain an insight into the environment in which they operated.

One of my major problems throughout the research was that of narrowing the focus. This has not been easy, as I felt it was important to provide a document which examines the problems that are addressed by the projects themselves:

- individual and societal problems of unemployment,
 - destruction of the immediate living area and of the larger environment,
- and look at the solutions that they offered, i.e. training and employment creation through the use of and development of environmental technology / products / services. Also, I felt it was important to describe the ambience in which projects work, such as the funding framework, and their historical development. There is a great deal of descriptive material, but in an area as new as this, where no previous research had been undertaken, the description is a vital basis, from which further research can then be conducted.

Another question that needed to be addressed was how to deal with the demolition of the Berlin Wall and subsequent unification of Germany, which coincided with the beginning of the research. I decided very early that I could not incorporate these major external circumstances into my work, even though they were bound to have a major influence on both the case studies and their environment. Obviously, frequent references are made to this event, as it had major implications for the work of the projects:

- The Kooperationsverbund Entwicklungswerkstatt did not materialise due to changes in priorities by the funding bodies.
- Government / local policy changed with emphasis now on unemployment in the former East Berlin and East Germany.

- Projects were forced to expand and establish themselves in the former East Berlin and East Germany.

While making reference to this, I did not include detailed activities of projects in East Berlin in the case studies, because the problems of unemployment there were very different, and on a much larger scale.

2.7. Structure of case studies

The content and structure of the case studies are not presented in a uniform manner. Some case studies contain exact figures regarding funding, target groups, work integration, etc. These figures were included where available. The figures were obtained from the projects themselves, either through the interview or through internal documentation. The existence of these figures reveals something about the individual case studies, in that projects consider it important to collect data, and / or conduct ongoing evaluation of their work. It may also be the case that some projects are obliged to gather various data for their funding bodies.

While no conclusive evidence can be drawn from this data or generalisations made, the data does provide some insight into the workings of a project. Also, the figures are valuable in themselves, as this type of data is not normally available at all.

3. CHAPTER THREE: The self-help movement

This chapter initially describes the self-help movement in general, before going on to the sector of this movement dealing with unemployment, and in particular with the provision of employment and qualification, which is the focus of this study.

3.1. The self-help movement / employment and training initiatives

The alternative movement in West Germany has a number of names: "anti-authoritarian movement", "student protest", "emancipatory movement", "technological protest", "new social movement", "green movement", "alternative movement", "critical movement", "self-help movement". This variety of terms is a reflection of the heterogeneity of the movement itself. While it is generally portrayed as one movement, i.e. it has a "general overall direction" it does not possess a uniting theory or fixed organisational structures. Within this broad church we can identify a vast number of strands: the peace movement, ecology movement, women's movement, self-administered business movement, social self-help groups, community initiatives, citizens' initiatives, workers' initiatives, trade union initiatives, etc. Within the movement, we can also talk in a wider sense about the attempt of the alternative movement to create an alternative economy, with its own alternative infrastructure. The movement covers areas such as living environment, working life, independent cultural

activities, disabled people and victims of discrimination. It is supported by hundreds of thousands of people in the Federal Republic of Germany. In West Berlin in particular, there is a relatively large spectrum of alternative projects.

The relative abundance of the self-help movement is often argued to be due to the inability of the traditional social welfare system to respond flexibly to needs within society, and to cope with changing demands.

"The bureaucratic structures of the state and the profit orientation of the market have failed to meet an increasing need for a more humane, ecologically protected environment."

(Vilmar and Runge, 1986)

Thus, the movement is attempting to change its surroundings from within and the emphasis is on showing concrete alternatives for all areas of life.

Hirsch/Roth (1986) see as necessary preconditions for the emergence of the new social movements:

1. The successful corporatist institutionalisation of the class compromise.
2. A well-developed welfare state.
3. A small apparent class conflict, i.e. right/left polarisation within the party system.
4. Weak communist or socialist trade unions, and/or integrated as minorities within unitary trade unions.
5. A political culture that is relatively "closed" towards new issues.

The movement is not static. New initiatives continually emerge out of previous initiatives to meet newly identified needs. It is fluid and re-adjusts to new situations, which means a constant generation of new ideas and a continuous evaluation of their effectiveness within a cycle of acceptance and rejection. In the same way, older initiatives are also subject to scrutiny, and new forms are adopted to suit new environments and demands. The movement operates very much at grass-roots level. However, the tendency exists today for concentration and professionalisation of the projects.

3.2. The Origins of the Movement

The movement can be traced back to the emergence of the student protest movement in the "hot summer" of 1968. It focused on specific protests, especially in Berlin, with the visit of the Shah, the Vietnam war, death of Benno Ohnesorg and assassination attempt on Rudi Dutschke, student leader. "Berlin felt like the centre of the universe." (The Guardian, 1988) Emphasis was on provocation. As Rudi Dutschke put it: "... without provocation we would not be noticed at all" (Caute, 1988). Protest gradually became organised: the non-parliamentary opposition (Außerparlamentarische Opposition: APO) emerged because many could not identify with the consumer society their parents had created and were unhappy with the political situation ("grand" coalition, where the major parties formed the government, and no parliamentary opposition existed from 1966-69) the right wing media tycoon Axel Springer (who condemned the movement as "the enemy within") (Konkret, 1988), the undealt-with Hitler past. Also, at that time a strong third world solidarity movement (especially with Cuba and Fidel Castro) existed, as well as the anti-authoritarian movement, with special focus on anti-authoritarian education (Frankfurt School/ Marcuse, Habermas). Confrontation was mainly with the older generation, who either defended the war or did not want to talk about it. But the children of the guilty generation wanted to have answers. Astrid Proll:

"...for us, there was the particular thing of fascism, confronting Nazism and our parents generation. They were either defending themselves, or never talking about it. We were encased in that in the 1950s, and the cold war...and we needed to break out."
(The Guardian, 1988)

The younger generation argued that democracy was imposed from the outside by the victorious allies and accepted as an absolution from the 12 years of fascist dictatorship, and regarded their parents as "politically bankrupt" (Konkret, 1988).

The revolution many of the younger generations had hoped for did not happen. Society was elastic enough to absorb the protest movement and redirect its energies. After the grand coalition, the social-liberal coalition came to power (1969), which offered many a way into the institutions: political parties, trade unions, media, etc. The movement was splitting: some chose the "march through the institutions", hoping to achieve changes

from within, others did not want to compromise and decided on the radical position and a large number of different communist groups developed. Some chose the path of violence: occupation of institutions, bombing of courts, police stations and local authorities, bank robberies, assassinations. The slogan of the time was: "Destroy what is destroying you".

A great disillusionment with the anti-authoritarian protest movement and the ideological theories of the non-parliamentary opposition (APO) led to the emergence of a new movement, the "Sponties" in 1976 (Scheer and Espert, 1982). Members of this group were no longer interested in mobilising mass protest and were aiming to change the state through increasing political awareness. The movement was anti-State, did not want to belong to society, and rejected theoretical concepts and planning, putting all emphasis on spontaneity and living out their feelings. The Sponti movement reached its peak in 1978 (Papadakis, 1984) and helped get away from political dogma, as well as experiences of massive clamp-down by the state. Violent confrontations were largely rejected. Instead, concern for the immediate environment and ecological issues grew. The emerging ecology movement attracted people from a variety of backgrounds: conservative nature lovers, animal rights groups, drop-outs from religious sects, disillusioned communists, students, etc. Green parties emerged at local level in 1977, and gained their first seats in 1980.

Berlin became the focal point of the new scene. Alternative projects emerged, ranging from workshops, alternative press, theatre to food and book co-operatives. The largest of these sub-cultures emerged in the run-down parts of the inner city of Berlin, especially Kreuzberg. The squatter movement began in 1980, and consequently linked up with alternative projects. Stattbau and the Projekteverbund Zukunft Bauen, two of the case studies examined, were the result of squatters' negotiations with the Senate government.

We can trace four lines of development:

- Post "1968" projects within a communist-socialist framework that sought a radical transformation of society, which tended to serve the communication needs, e.g. through printing and publishing.

- The communes movement from the mid-1970s which was more concerned with personal transformation from within, and reflected some disenchantment with the progress of the radical left.
- Employment projects / self-managed enterprises, that developed in the late 1970s and early 1980s as a conscious attempt to provide for the economic needs of people in the radical movements who had been excluded from State employment ("Berufsverbote").
- Projects by and for newly emerging marginalised groups for whom the State did not provide adequate social, cultural or economic development support.

While the alternative movement retains much of its original nature, it has been partially integrated into main-stream German society, through a process of adjustment on both sides:

- Some of the movements, most noticeably ecology, attracted growing support from a cross-section of society and became a part of the established opposition.
- Some alternative approaches (i.e. in forms of service delivery) were recognised as valuable innovations and were accepted into main-stream practice.
- Some projects found common ground with the State and accepted funding for delivering State services (e.g. skill training, adult education, social and health services).
- Alternative enterprises found that they had to adopt some elements of conventional business practice in order to survive or expand.
- As the project founders became older they desired more stability for themselves and their families, the management and service delivery became more professionalised.

A growing part of the alternative movement has concentrated on problems associated with unemployment, and unemployment itself. Projects range from self-help advice groups helping members to maximise unemployment and social welfare benefits to projects that aim to offer and secure meaningful training and employment. They are the focus of this chapter. The first projects of this type emerged in the late 70s.

Many of today's employment and qualification projects did not start as such, but grew out of an initial concern with two issues: criticism of state homes for youths and

speculative urban renewal measures. They started to address unemployment with the persistent rise of youth and long term unemployment. The projects wanted to provide an alternative to state homes, based on collective principles. Inhabitants of state homes became the target group for new projects. The aim was to develop alternative living environments. This was linked to the arguments surrounding traditional urban renewal, where the large scale demolition of housing in the 60s led to citizens protest in the early 70s, with demands for "ecological town renewal and careful town planning". The aims and objectives of employment and training initiatives are:

1. to work with youths or long term-unemployed, who have little chance on the "normal" labour market, addressing the needs of disadvantaged groups of unemployed,
2. to offer useful areas of work, providing socially useful and environmentally sound work,
3. to be based within the local community and provide a service to them,
4. to increase involvement in addressing environmental needs,
5. to try to use or develop ecological products, or ecological building technologies.

(Arbeitsgemeinschaft Arbeit and Ausbildung, (b) 1991)

3.3. The size of the movement

Hirsch and Roth point out that it is extremely difficult to establish a current political and institutional profile of the West German milieu of the movement, due to lack of empirical knowledge (Hirsch and Roth, 1986). There are some studies of alternative projects, which seem to confirm that their effectiveness depends heavily on the local intensity of the movement, and Berlin has clearly emerged as taking a leading role (Berger, 1985). At the beginning of 1979, it was estimated that the movement had 100,000 followers nationally (Scheer and Espert, 1982). In 1979, many became engaged in the creation of self-help / alternative projects. There are only approximate estimates as to the size of the alternative movement in Germany, due to definition and duplication. In 1980 there was an estimated number of 11,500 projects (Papadakis,

1984). Vilmar and Runge, who have studied the self-help movement, estimated for the period 1980-85 an increase from 30,000 to 40 - 45,000 groups and projects, with some 400 - 800,000 people engaged in a collective or other initiative in West Germany (Vilmar and Runge, 1986). They projected that there were at least 1,800 - 1,900 social self help groups in Berlin in 1986 and calculated that as the total population of Berlin (West) was 1.9 million, there was 1 self-help group per 1,000 population. Other studies for various locations in West Germany have confirmed this ratio of 1:1,000 (Projektgruppe Politische Wissenschaft, 1986). It is estimated that there are 370 self-administered businesses, employing some 2,500 people, and about 1,800 social and political projects with 7,500 workers / members in Berlin (tip, 1988).

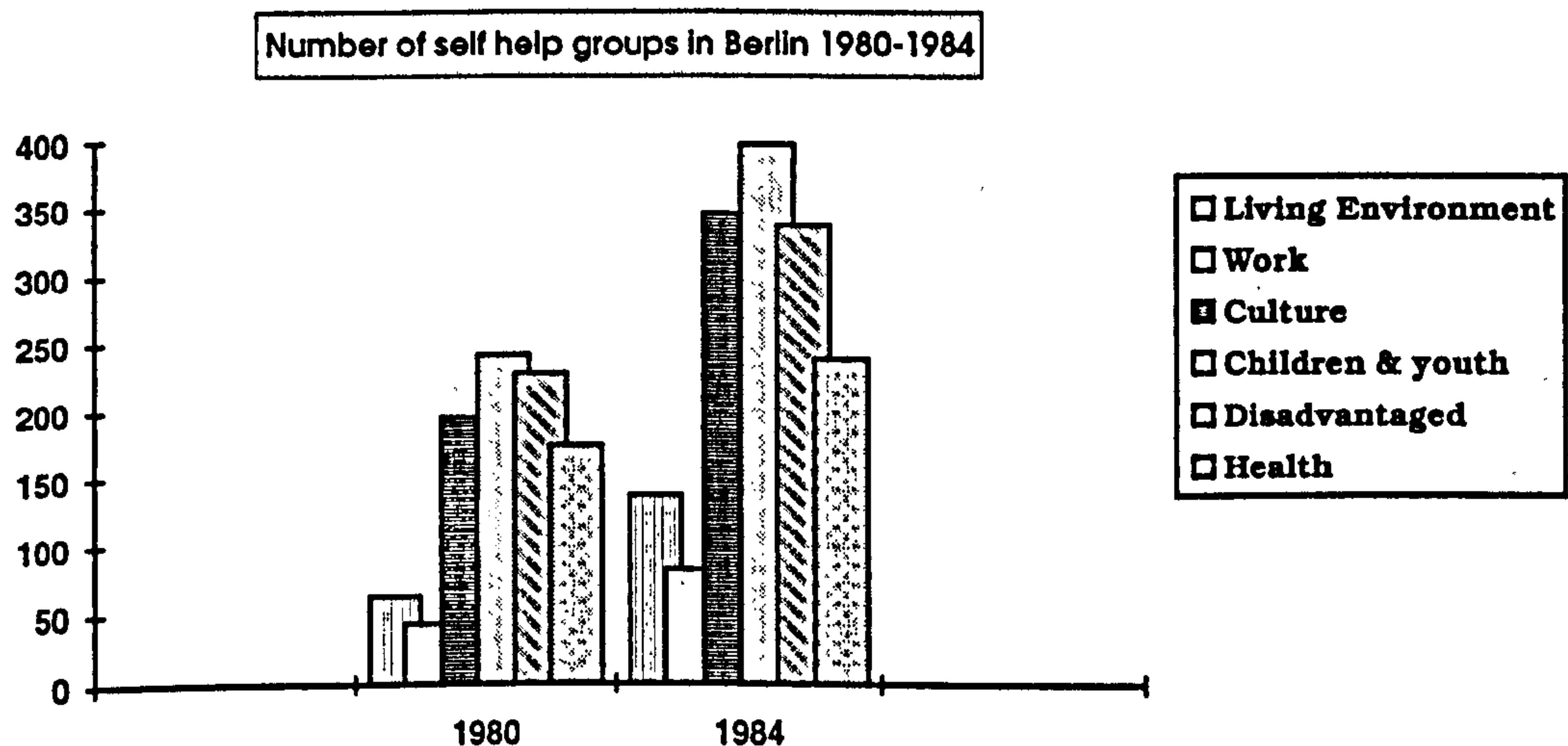


Figure 5 Development of social self-help groups in Berlin 1980-84
(Figures taken from Projektgruppe Politische Wissenschaft, 1986)

This "alternative" economy has been described as follows:

"The provision of material and non-material needs of people that is not based on the exploitation of people and the environment."
(Stattbuch 3, 1984)

The areas of the alternative economy can be divided as follows:

Manufacturing	crafts, printing workshops, etc.	20%
Trade and transport	book and health food shops, taxi firms	25%
Services	publishing, media, advice	15%
Catering	pubs, coffee houses,	10%
Personal services	education, health, therapy	30%

Table 1 (adapted from Czada, 1987)

However, while no definite statements can be made about the present size of the overall movement, the area of the movement under observation here, namely alternative training and employment initiatives, has increased rapidly over the last few years. Again, no reliable figures exist, but a recent study of 28 alternative training and employment initiatives (Lukas, 1990) shows that 11 of these were established during the years 1988-89, (compared to 6 initiatives from 85-87, 7 from 82-84, 2 before 1982) with all projects increasing in size and scope. Membership of projects belonging to *Arbeitsgemeinschaft Arbeit und Ausbildung* (AAA; Working group work and training), an independent networking organisation in Berlin, increased from 7 projects in 1988 to 14 projects in 1991. The size of the actual projects increased, too. While in 1988, projects employed a total of 264 people, in 1991 the figure was 1,350 people. The average size per project in 1988 was 38 people, in 1991 it was 96 people. The size of projects range from fewer than 20 people to over 200 people. With projects expanding to East Berlin and its surrounding area, another 375 additional workplaces were created by July 1991, with another 700 places planned for the year 1992 (*Arbeitsgemeinschaft Arbeit und Ausbildung*, (a) 1991).

3.4. Funding

Access to funding has been a major problem for the setting up and running of both self-administered businesses and social self-help groups.

Self-administered businesses face difficulties in securing funding for all stages of their existence, whether it be with help to start up, or further support with running costs

once they are established. The main reasons for lack of support from traditional funding sources such as banks are that these businesses do not have the initial starting capital and do not possess sufficient personal creditworthiness. A further reason for the banks lack of willingness to lend money is because self-administered businesses are regarded as less efficient, as having lower productivity, therefore low profits, making them unable to meet interest and loan repayments. The main reason for this caution lies in the fact that banks view the unfamiliar internal structures of the new firms with suspicion. New firms are breaking with tradition in that they attempt to establish equal rights and democratic participation for all workers. They aim to practise capital neutralisation, i.e. there is no individual ownership of the means of production. However, suspicion is not only one sided: many co-operatives are afraid of outside dependency and high levels of debt.

The social self-help groups generally provide services that are not provided by the welfare system or state institutions. Realising the importance of their contribution, 64 projects in Berlin formed the working group "funding of alternative projects" in 1980, and approached the Berlin Senate (then SPD/FDP coalition) demanding DM 12.7 million annually. After a few years of hard negotiations, the then CDU Senate granted DM 7.5 million through the so-called "Fink Topf", named after the minister who sanctioned this in 1983 and established the so-called "Berlin Model". (Krotz, 1988) The self-help principle is generally supported by the Christian Democratic Party, and can be interpreted as being in accordance with it's "Subsidiarity Principles" (see Chapter Four for expansion on this) and last, but not least, self-help is a useful tool for controlling and curbing escalating social costs. Thus, the alternative sector provided the Christian Democratic Party with an opportunity to test their new self-help model in Berlin. Because of all the difficulties involved in obtaining funding, many projects, especially social self-help groups, could not survive without some form of state support, which in itself is difficult to obtain. Local government support is usually in the form of some direct funding of running cost, but the main support is in the form of funding workers through governments work creation programme (Arbeitsbeschaffungsmaßnahmen: ABM). Only a small number succeeds in obtaining state help. The process of receiving

grants is lengthy and bureaucratic, and strict criteria have to be met before projects are considered eligible. Once money has been granted, they are subject to continuous control, thus living with the threat of having their funding immediately withdrawn should they participate in "unacceptable" political activities. One of many examples is that of the "Arbeitslosenladen" (unemployed support group) who by one single action, i.e. that of printing leaflets of a political nature, had all their funds withdrawn immediately. Faced with such severe punishment, many projects who want to maintain their political character, do not wish to receive state funding. They are worried that they would be forced to compromise their ideals, for fear of losing their financial support. This dependence is indeed a dilemma and hard to come to terms with, often self-exploitation (long hours with little pay and/or using their leisure time whilst in other employment) and funds from other areas are preferred to guarantee some sort of existence. So, while most remain keen to receive some state funding, as this may be the only way for them to operate, this means often hiding their political motives and presenting an acceptable "image". But the uncertainty about their future continues. The consequence for many is a state of "luke-warmness", as gradually more and more ideals and visions of reform are compromised. The authorities, while they do not want directly to encourage the progress of the alternative movement, make some concessions. These are selective, and are seen to aim at splitting the movement, by granting help to some groups, and not others.

Due to the difficulties of obtaining funding, many projects have emerged to search for ways of establishing alternative funding sources, and offer help and advice for setting up projects. Projects often help each other informally, and some funding is shared from the project environment. Often money is donated, or borrowed from friends. However, social self-help groups are not usually in the position to be able to repay loans. On a more formal level, the Green Party has set up the "Ökofonds"(1979)². In Berlin this money is distributed mainly through "Netzwerk Selbsthilfe" (Network self-help), which

²*The alternative movement has agreed loosely to some form of equal wage, and Green MPs, receiving substantial salaries, are encouraged to pay excess income into a joint fund, which is made available to the alternative movement.*

was set up in 1978 to raise regular payments from those in employment in order to support initiatives started by those affected by the "Berufsverbot" (people in radical movements excluded from State employment). Some 36 decentralised Netzwerk offices existed in Germany (West) in 1991. From this emerged a women's funding network, Goldrausch, in 1982. The "Direktkreditvermittlung"/ Stattwerke" (direct credit agency) started operation in 1981 and offers the possibility for people to invest directly in projects of their choice, provides help and advice for groups and is a further development from the Netzwerk idea. The "Haftungsassoziaton" (liability association), started in 1985, uses its pool of collected money (usually donations) to provide a security for groups wanting to obtain bank loans. The "AK Staatsknete" (working group state loot) is an initiative that helps groups with obtaining state funding, and played a major part in the successful lobbying of the Senate for providing money for alternative projects, mainly for the self-help groups. A yet more formal channel is the Ökobank (1988) (ecological bank). From this we can see that the strength of the commitment to the alternative movement by a large number of individuals has facilitated the growth of funding mechanisms that are independent of the State and appropriate for the alternative economy.

For the employment and training projects, funding is available through several state and local authority programmes, as well as church organisations and charities. Lukas (1990) evaluating the programmes/funding sources of 34 groups in Berlin, established 16 different possible sources of funding. He found that, of the projects,

- 19% had 1 source
- 32% had 2 sources
- 16% had 3 sources
- 16% had 4-5 sources
- 16% had 6-10 sources.

Dealing with a number of funding sources places a big administrative burden on projects, as for each source detailed accounts have to be provided regularly. Also, the number of possible funding sources available, as well as new sources emerging and

others disappearing, make it difficult for projects to know what is available to them. Smaller projects especially do not have the necessary resources to keep informed about this.

"Knowledge of possible funding sources is a science in itself. Nobody, not even the project advice organisations..... who should be able to provide this information, have this knowledge."
(Arbeitsgemeinschaft Arbeit and Ausbildung, (c) 1991).

Often obtaining funding for projects depends on the ability of the management; some are skilled in obtaining funds and know the appropriate sources and the relevant contacts. There is, of course, some competition amongst the projects, especially due to changes in government programmes since re-unification, with new projects only being funded if directed to the former East Germany / Berlin. This policy benefits larger projects, which, having accepted more hierarchical structures than smaller projects, find it easier to expand. Projects may thus be forced to grow in size to survive, and this may account for the growth of the majority of projects.

Attempts by the Senate Departments to cut expenditure meant that projects received notice that they would be funded only for a further 3 months. This, of course was totally unacceptable, as it would have placed unworkable conditions on many projects. The networking organisation Arbeitsgemeinschaft Arbeit and Ausbildung (AAA) responded to this on behalf of its members by hiring an independent lawyer to establish whether this was legal procedure. It was found that it was not legal, and the authorities, confronted with legal actions taken against them, continued funding.

Networking organisations representing projects and which have not been initiated by the authorities, have no obvious sources for funding, i.e. no programmes or government / local authority department feels responsible for them.

The above highlights some of the weaknesses and strengths that arise from funding. Whilst employment and training projects are financially relatively secure (but, of course, always underfunded, according to project members), at times of political change (especially re-unification) they find their terms even more "dictated" to them by the funding sources. As government/local authority employment programmes change with

growing unemployment, it is numbers of (albeit temporary) workplaces created that count, and not quality of workplaces. While a number of projects see this as an opportunity to become more influential and financially secure, some projects are faced with a conflict: growth inevitably means a more hierarchical, formal internal structure, with less emphasis on democratic participation. However, the existence of AAA, representing its members, meant that it could fight for and ensure the survival of smaller projects.

Most projects generate some income through their work, some as much as 20% of their total income. While projects are allowed to do this, there remains some dispute as to what happens to this money. This seems largely to depend on the guidelines and interpretations of the individual funding sources. Projects may have their own income deducted from public funds, or they may use it for "non-profit making" purposes.

3.5. Forms of Organisation

Alternative Employment and Training initiatives are generally non-profit making organisations. The most widely used forms of legal registration are registered society (Eingetragener Verein; e.V.) and non-profit making limited liability company (gemeinnützige Gesellschaft mit beschränkter Haftung; gGmbH). The registered society is the least complicated form of registration, involving little bureaucracy. Advantages are that e.Vs have tax benefits. A big disadvantage, however, is that operating under this registration means that the project has very limited scope for generating its own income from sales if it does not want to lose its "non-profit making" status.

The gGmbH also has tax advantages and only has to pay and invoice 7% VAT. In addition, no personal liability exists for its members. However, to form a gGmbH requires all members to make a financial commitment. This may cause a problem due to shortage of funds. Many groups reject this on principle. The addition of new members is extremely complicated, as the member contract has to be changed for each new member (Schlegel and Schumacher, 1991).

A less used form of registration is that of "citizen right society" (Gesellschaft Bürgerlichen Rechts; GBR). It is very easy to set up and requires only one person. However, this form of registration involves personal liability for the founder.

This chapter has attempted to provide a general overview of the historical background of the alternative movement. The next chapter tries to address the question as to why alternative employment and qualification projects continue to be supported by the national and local governments.

4. CHAPTER FOUR: Political and Economic Background

Chapter Four looks at the political and economic background and the environment in which the self-help movement operates, and why the state has adopted work creation measures and qualification as a major part of employment policy. The question is raised as to why these groups continue to exist, and receive funding, irrespective of governments, taking into account the two principles of German basic law: social market economy and subsidiarity. This means a detour into traditional social provision, the independent welfare organisations, and their failure to meet new social needs. Also, it involves a general discussion of the debate of the first and second labour market. This chapter attempts to answer the question why alternative projects are allowed to exist and continue to be publicly financed. While there is not much detailed research and literature available on the individual sectors of self-help projects, much has been written about the reasons for the existence of this movement. Explanations range from "gaps in the official system of provision", "shortcomings of professional services", "crisis of the social state", "crisis of the work society" to "change of values" (Huber, 1987). In this research, I will be considering why these projects exist, the main emphasis being why they are allowed to exist and how they fit into current political thought.

4.1. Economic and political background

The CDU / FDP coalition government was confirmed in this position in the elections of 1983, after the FDP's split from the SPD coalition government had led to the FDP forming the new government with the CDU. This brought to an end the ten years of the SPD/FDP government. During the latter days of the SPD/FDP coalition in 1981, unemployment was growing at a faster rate than any of the OECD countries, and the SPD attempted an austerity programme. The results were massive demonstrations by the trade unions, a rare occurrence, especially against "their" party; and further alienation of the FDP. The break-up of the coalition caused a split within the FDP. During the 1983 elections, West Germany was faced with two main crises: economic downturn and the restructuring of the welfare state. While unemployment was around 4-5% during the late 70s, it started rising at an alarming level during the early 80s, from 6.5% in 1982 to 10.4% in 1983 to a total of well over two million unemployed (see Figure 1). Some reasons for this were that West Germany's mainly export oriented economy suffered due to global economic recession brought about by the second oil crisis in 1979. At the same time, the baby-boom generation of the late 50s was starting to enter the labour market, at a time of economic recession. The new CDU/FDP government adopted an "investment strategy" promoted by the CDU, i.e. a reduction of the public sector and stimulation of the market forces through less state interference to encourage private initiative. This path, it was hoped, would lead to increased profits, stimulate investment and bring about increased demand, leading to higher growth, which would reduce unemployment. The CDU rejected the FDP's calls for more substantial cuts in the welfare system.

"... [the CDU] decided to levy a non-refundable surcharge on especially high earners, thus trying to equalise at least in part the social costs of the collective burden imposed by an ailing economy... The FDP clearly regarded this CDU policy as having a crypto-social democratic bent which ... represents an undue interference with market forces."
(Markovits, 1983)

The SPD and trade Unions wanted more, rather than less state involvement, and asked for a reduction of working time, thereby hoping to create more employment.

4.2. Employment policy

From the post-war years to the present, Germany adopted three different labour market strategies. From post-war until 1965, it was reactive labour market policy, based on the idea that "economic policy is the best social policy" (Brödel et al, 1984). After a period of reconstruction, West Germany experienced a period of uninterrupted economic growth, the "economic miracle". Continuing training did not play any role in labour market policy. Further education during times of full employment was initiated by individuals, who wanted to improve their upward career movement. The mid-sixties saw a change to active labour market policy, in response to "occasional cyclical crises". This policy recognised that economic growth is not ensured by "the inherent dynamism of the economic system" (Brödel et al, 1984). Redundancies in declining sectors and increasing demand for labour in expanding sectors increased the need for government intervention to "co-ordinate the supply of labour" (Brödel et al, 1984). From the early to mid seventies, the government adopted an integrative labour market policy, in response to growing unemployment. It was realised that economic growth did not automatically involve an increase in employment, e.g. increased technical rationalisation often involves a reduction in the workforce. The "problem groups" identified from increases in unemployment and in particular increases in long-term unemployment were principally older people, people with disabilities, the unskilled and in particular youths without vocational training or work experience, which were targeted for national labour market and training measures. The majority of European Countries were experiencing similar problems, and responded to long-term unemployment with similar policies:

"Those countries which have relatively high levels of long-term unemployment compared to the other countries surveyed have established employment and training provision specially targeted at the long-term unemployed, or alternatively, give priority to the long-term unemployed on established provision open to all unemployed people. Most of these countries offer incentives to employers to recruit and train the long-term unemployed, while a minority put most of their efforts into training activities to help the long-term unemployed obtain work."

"In Germany, the proportion of long-term unemployed people has been around 1/3 of the total unemployed figure for the last couple of years, although the numbers of very long-term unemployed (2 years plus) has steadily increased and stood at 314.497 (16.7% of total unemployed) in September 1989. ... Long-term unemployment is heavily concentrated on older people with few qualifications,

some with health problems. Many have financial or social problems. A recent study of the unemployed showed that only a small proportion of long-term unemployed (around 15%) were not really looking for work."
(Council of Europe, 1992)

The main employment policies adopted by the German government were 1. work creation measures (Arbeitsbeschaffungsmaßnahmen:ABM) and 2. Qualification measures (Qualifizierungsmaßnahmen), with the aim to promote the re-integration of the long-term unemployed into employment. These policies operate either individually, or increasingly as combined work creation and qualification measures. Both policies provide the main sources of funding for alternative employment and qualification projects.

4.2.1. Work creation measures

"Work creation measures have been, and continue to be, an important instrument to relieve the strain on the labour market and to re-integrate the unemployed into work." (6)
(Raumordnungsbericht, 1990)

The "Allgemeinen Maßnahmen zur Arbeitsbeschaffung" (ABM; general work creation measures), are in accordance with the paragraphs 91-96 of the work promotion act (Arbeitsförderungsgesetz ; AFG;) of 25th June 1969.

The aim of work creation measures are first, re-integration of unemployed into the labour market: (according to paragraph 1 of ABM-regulation), and secondly, creation of long-term employment (according to paragraph 91, section 3.1 of the work promotion act.

Work creation measures are based on three basic conditions:

- "1. Additionality: only if the work is additional [and does not substitute or displace workers]. Therefore, only work which would otherwise not be carried out or only at a later date is eligible for aid. Excluded is work which would be immediately necessary.
2. Public interest: the work is in the public interest, if the result of the measure directly or indirectly serves society...
3. Effective for labour market policy: are measures which are used to focus on

problems within the regional and vocational parts of the labour market."

(Bundesanstalt für Arbeit, 1991) (7)

These stipulate that work creation measures can only be carried out within non-profit making organisations. The majority of work creation measures are carried out with local authorities or traditional welfare organisations. Only over the last 10 years or so have alternative groups been involved in running employment and qualification projects; this is due to some local governments (especially the Senate of Berlin) making available additional funding for the purchase of tools and equipment and running costs, to that provided by the national programmes, which is primarily for wages.

According to figures from the IABB in 1985 spending for unemployment was 25,000 million DM and the employment of two million unemployed would cost 28,000 million DM (Pawlik, 1988).

The argument put forward in support of work creation measures is that work creation measures fund themselves. This is supported by both the Federal Institute for Employment and by alternative projects. The ABM - brochure, produced by the Federal Institute for Employment claims that:

"The employment of unemployed persons in work creation measures is, looked at as a whole, not more expensive than forced idleness through unemployment. Through the promotion of ABM, a part of the contributions to the Federal Institute for Employment is used for useful and productive employment, which would otherwise be used to pay unemployment benefit or unemployment support. In addition, ABM employees... are able to pay taxes and social security contributions." (8)
(Bundesanstalt für Arbeit, 1991)

Similarly, Atlantis states that:

"The costs of unemployment have become an increasing burden for the economy. From 1987 to 1989, the direct costs trebled to 587,000 million DM (58.7 Mrd. DM) (unemployment benefit / support, social security, rent subsidy, health and pension insurance). Based on these figures, the cost of one unemployed person is 30,000 DM per year. In addition to this, indirect costs have also to be considered (income tax, indirect tax, contributions to the Federal Institute of Employment, insurance and pension contributions). " (9)
(Atlantis, 1991)

Between 1986 and 1989, job centres nationally placed over 500,000 unemployed people in work creation measures. In 1989, calculated for the whole of the FRG, 4.7% of unemployed were placed in a work creation measure, for regions of economic decline this placement could be as high as 18%, in Berlin the figure was around 7-8% (Raumordnungsbericht, 1990).

Berlin in particular has a long history of work creation measures, and the "emergency programme" ("Notstandsprogramm"), as it was called after the Second World War, contributed largely to the restructuring and rebuilding of Berlin. Indeed, the "emergency programme" was implemented in Berlin until 1971 (Kisker, 1987). From 1970-1975, work creation measures played only a marginal role within employment policy (under 1,000 people as opposed to 48,915 people in 1950), gaining increasing importance in mid-late seventies (approx. 2,000), and peaking in the early 1980s (approx. 5,500) (Statistisches Landesamt Berlin, 1990).

The main criticism of ABM is that it does not create employment, on the contrary, it is argued that it destroys employment. For example, the public sector makes job cuts, and then uses ABM workers to carry out the work. This means that local authorities effectively save money, as the wages for ABM are funded through the Federal Institute of Employment ("Bundesanstalt für Arbeit"), and not by the local authority.

The Berlin Senate tries to secure as much outside funding as possible:

"We will strive for the highest possible utilisation of funds from the Federal Institute for Employment and the European funds." (10)
(Senat Berlin, 1989)

4.2.2. Evaluation of Success of ABM

Re-integration into the labour market: One of the main aims of ABM is re-integration into employment, yet there is very little statistical evidence of what happens to people after they leave the work creation measures.

"The emphasis on positive outcomes and achieving quantitative goals in Germany can affect the amount of attention given to the long-term unemployed, who do not, in general, receive priority treatment. Time needed to help hard-to-place people is not adequately provided for in the staffing system. Existing delivery systems for employment and training are under permanent internal review and

also subject to the surveillance of an external body concerned with watching how public money is being spent. However, systematic evaluation of the placing services is not carried out regularly."
(Council of Europe, 1992)

When looking at the evidence for re-integration of unemployed people after work creation measures and training, no conclusive answers can be found. In November 1989, the then SPD / AL Senator for Employment acknowledged this, and promised to rectify the situation:

"Previous state employment policy consisted of a great number of uncoordinated individual projects and measures. These were often not geared towards re-integration into the first labour market. Taking into account our new aims, we will evaluate the effectiveness of the free agencies." (11)
(Senat Berlin, 1989)

Despite all this, some statistics exist for re-integration. These are compiled by the Federal Institute of Employment from information obtained from qualification agencies, who are obliged to provide their individual figures. However, the accuracy of these statistics must be questioned. When asked about figures for re-integration, I was told by Herr Müller of the County Labour Office (Landesarbeitsamt; LAA) Berlin that no possible way exists to measure success, as they do not have the capacity to follow up individuals. Once they have passed through the various measures, they disappear from their files (Müller, 1991). He told me that no statistics existed, only occasional case studies.

Employment and training projects questioned by me said that keeping records of what happens to individuals was impossible, that they did not in any way know what happened to individuals after they completed their period with them. They knew what people were doing only if they had kept in touch with members of the projects. They did not possess written statistics, as claimed above, but could only give a verbal account on some individuals.

So how is it that federal statistics are compiled on the basis of information provided by the agencies? One explanation expressed by a project is that, as required, they simply invent figures to satisfy the authorities, they just claim a certain percentage. It is in their

interest to provide positive figures to ensure future funding. Several projects even argued for further funding by claiming high re-integration rates.

Another explanation was given by a government official, who maintained that they did have detailed information. On further questioning, he said that they were allowed to breach the data protection act, and were thus able to obtain the individuals private addresses, to whom they then wrote and obtained the information directly.

Information obtained from the Institute for Labour Market and Vocational Research (Institut für Arbeitsmarkt und Berufsforschung) states that a first attempt to evaluate the effectiveness of ABM nationally was undertaken in 1974, and a second one in 1984, but these were largely based on estimates. It is only in the latest study in 1989, where for a sample group of approx. 2,700 people special permission was granted to override the data protection act, to have access to details about individuals drawing unemployment and other benefits (Spitznagel, 1989). This group consisted to 84% of "difficult to place" individuals, according to the guidelines of the work creation measures. The study suggests that 22.4% of the participants obtained employment after the work creation measure, of which 8.9% found employment with their placement organisation. A further 4.5% went on to embark on further training. 59.8% became unemployed, the remaining 13.3% "became ill, or could not be traced" (Spitznagel, 1989).

Creation of long-term employment: No national figures were available for this. The Senate for Employment provided the following figures for 1986 (Abgeordnetenhaus von Berlin (1986) according to their knowledge, of 20,000 ABM-workers for the period 1981-85 employed by the Senate, 74 people were offered permanent employment by the Land of Berlin. However, during this period, no ABM-places were transferred into full-time employment. This is justified by the assertion that

"ABM-places can not be transferred to permanent employment, because (ABM) can only be used for additional work areas, which are not part of the duties of the Land Berlin ... the general situation of the budget makes the funding of this impossible from the Land budget." (12)
(Senator für Wirtschaft, 1986, quoted in Mette, 1987)

On the contrary, it is often argued that ABM effectively destroys jobs. According to Mette (1987) the stipulation that through ABM no public sector employment should be lost, is constantly being violated in Berlin. The Land Berlin is the largest employer of people in work creation measures. In gardening and landscaping departments, for example, jobs were cut, and the subsequent work was done by people on work creation measures. So in effect, ABM does not create jobs, but it destroys jobs in the public sector.

ABM within the projects does not replace workers, because projects were set up specifically for this target group. Much of the work done by them would otherwise not be done at all. However, the question of "additional" comes to mind here: ABM work has to be additional, so as to not destroy work. Some of the work carried out by the majority of employment and training projects is on the whole not "additional", but also done by normal or alternative businesses. For example, normal building work, and even the installation of solar panels cannot be described as "additional". This is a contradiction inherent in the policy itself. As Herr Müller from the Landesarbeitsamt Berlin explains:

"On the one hand it is the aim of ABM to promote certain work and certain areas of work, i.e. to provide some initial funding, in the hope, that they would become independent, and generate their own income, which would lead to long-term employment and at the same time this creates a grey area, how far can we support with ABM, and when does it become critical, that we are subsidising the launching of new firms and thus create competition for others...at this point one has to be very careful." (13)
(Müller, 1991)

Many projects argue that the term "work creation measures" is misleading, as it assumes that work has to be "created". Work already exists, it just has to be organised, and work creation measures have to be made secure and long-term. Especially as has been argued before by the Federal Institute of Employment, that it is not more expensive to fund work creation measures than unemployment.

The argument that there is not enough work is easily refuted by people pleading for state-funded employment. As one unemployed teacher stated: "parents of children with learning difficulties had to wait three years for therapy in 1987, even though 3,676

psychologists and 27,802 teachers were unemployed at the end of September 1987." (Pawlik, 1988).

4.3. Employment and Qualification Projects within the "formal economy"

Through the employment policies adopted, namely ABM, subsidised employment is created, which is often called the "second labour market" Characteristics of this second labour market is employment on a limited time-scale. When trying to place the alternative employment and training initiatives within the economy and the labour market, it becomes apparent that this is no easy task.

A restructuring of the labour market since the economic crisis in the mid-seventies has brought about a continual decline of full employment, and increased long-term unemployment. As a response to increased long-term unemployment and cutting of welfare services many have discovered "niches" of employment in the welfare state, and have attempted to create their own employment.

These new developments are often described as the "dual economy", i.e., the formal sector has become increasingly highly industrialised, and hierarchically structured, providing employment for the majority of people, and the informal sector is regarded as embracing all other activities of individuals, normally unwaged, which are not included in the formal sector.

It is very difficult to place the alternative employment and training initiatives within this model of the "dual economy". Some writers locate them under the informal sector (e.g. Berger, 1982; Huber, 1984) whereas others (e.g. Wörle, 1984) under the formal sector. Others have abandoned the model of the "dual economy" and have instead placed the alternative projects between the formal and the informal sectors, in an intermediary sector (Teichert, 1986). This model is better, even though it does not directly take account of alternative employment and training initiatives. Teichert identifies under the intermediary sector only alternative businesses, and locates the self-help projects under the informal sector, together with any other groups that "work for themselves" and operate outside the formal economy. This may be due to the low number of

employment and training initiatives in 1986. I believe that these should also be located within the intermediary sector. Many employment and training initiatives work and produce for the market. They buy in the materials and tools necessary for this from the formal sector, and at the same time sell many of their goods and services to the workers of the formal sector. The workers in the intermediary sector pay taxes and national insurance contributions, and the projects pay taxes (e.g. V.A.T.). The experience of the case studies shows that employment and training projects generate about 20% of their total income. The rest it receives as subsidies from the government. The national subsidies are in the form of wage cost (for the work creation measures), to which all other non-profit making organisations also have access; in the form of rehabilitation and re-integration costs (for the "problem groups" of the labour market), which all other normal firms can also receive. The initial start-up capital for the setting up of the projects, as well as the running costs, are provided by the local government. The place of the alternative employment and training projects are depicted in Diagram 1, which shows its interaction with the state, private firms and private households. Usually, each economy has ascribed its own labour market (Diagram 2). Increasingly, we find in the intermediary sector those people, who are not able to obtain employment in the formal sector, or who prefer working in the intermediary sector. Employment in the "second labour market" is usually short-term, i.e. limited to two years for work creation measures.

Interaction of alternative employment and training projects
with the economy

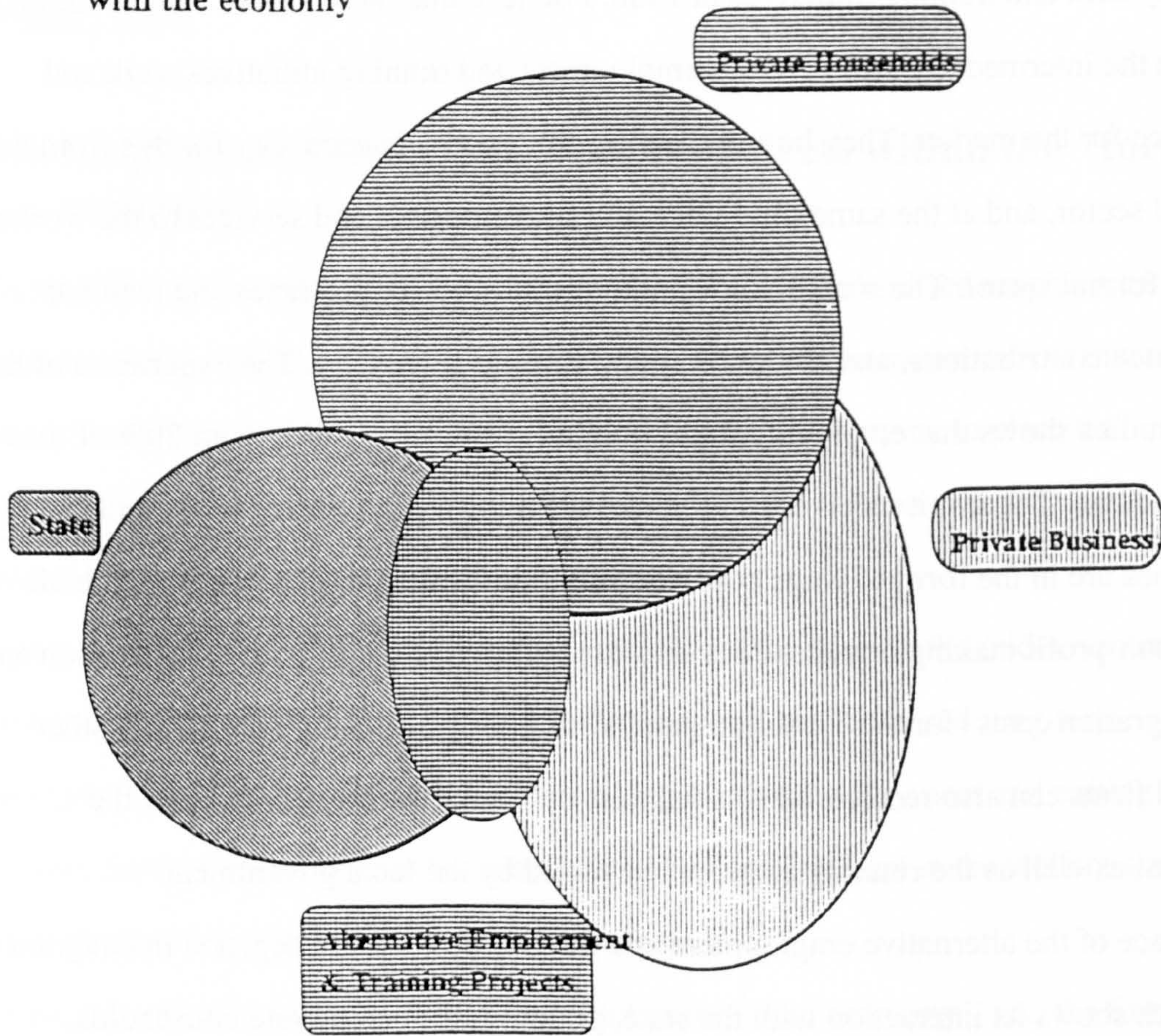


Diagram 1

The first and second labour market within the formal and intermediate sectors:

Formal sector: Industry, trade & services State organisations	Intermediary sector: alternative businesses, alternative employment and training projects	Informal sector: private households charities, self-help groups, political, social and ecological initiatives
classic capitalist labour market ("first labour market")	state subsidised labour market ("second labour market")	informal work

(Diagram 2, based on Teichert (1986), but with major amendments)

The terms "first" and "second" labour market have become much used in Germany. When talking about work creation measures, it is usually said that "employment has been created". This is indeed very confusing, because in reality, employment has not been created in the usual meaning of the word. Employment, yes, but artificial, short-term (usually two years) fully subsidised employment. This may be one reason that the term second labour market is being used so widely to differentiate between the different types of employment creation. Ideologically, these terms are fraught with problems. According to Uwe Gluntz, Managing Director of Atlantis, they (the projects) would never use this term. It is however, being used in "official politics". For him, unemployed people (and people in work creation measures etc.) also belong to the labour market: they are just being moved around, but they are still part of the labour market (Gluntz, 1991). But projects themselves talk about creating employment within their projects.

4.4. Qualification

Training as part of employment policy is not adopted by Germany only, but by most European countries.

"Those Countries which have relatively high levels of long-term unemployment ... have established employment and training provision specially targeted at the long term unemployed..."
(Council of Europe, 1992)

In Germany, vocational training has historically been a very important institution. The tradition of vocational training in Germany goes back to the Middle Ages. Until the beginning of the 19th Century, apprenticeship training was mainly confined to the craft and merchant trades. With the growth of industrialisation in the 19th Century apprenticeship training was introduced in most occupational areas. In 1869, the Trade and Craft Code was established to regulate apprenticeship training. General Education and commercial schools were developed. By the 20th Century, many of these commercial schools concentrated on training for a particular occupation. In 1938, the legal basis for apprenticeship education and training was established and all apprentices had to receive vocational education. In 1969, the Vocational Training Act was passed, thus providing a firm legal basis for vocational training. Today, there are 378 classified

occupations for which vocational training is available in Germany (HMI, Department of Education and Science, 1991).

The demand for "non-company based training" ("außerbetriebliche Ausbildung") has increased over the last ten years, partly due to the reduction in company-based training, and partly to cater for people who do not fit into the normal vocational training structures due to their individual problems, i.e. normal providers of vocational training (private sector) do not provide for individual problems, for this the free agencies are employed by the state.

4.4.1. Developing appropriate training for the long term unemployed

The "qualification offensive" was introduced in 1980. Reasons for the qualification offensive were:

"The continuing upswing in the economy and the steady improvement in the labour market must not be handicapped through a shortage of qualified workers. We therefore not only need investments in technology and equipment, but in the same way for vocational qualification. Vocational qualification is for the individual and for society one of the most prosperous and at the same time most humane future investments". (14)
(Franke, quoted in Heimann, 1987)

Between 1980 and 1985, the Federal budget for further vocational training and re-training doubled from 2,500 million DM to 5000 million DM per year, and the numbers rose from 246,975 participants in 1980 to 409,324 participants in 1985. Two-thirds of those were unemployed. 79% successfully completed their training in 1986, but the Federal Institute of Employment was "unable to say how many obtained employment" (Frankfurter Rundschau, 1986). The majority of those unemployed (60%) has vocational training and work experience. For 1985, the results of this qualification programme were summarised by the Federal Institute of Employment:

"It remains unchanged that unemployment for those successfully completing their qualification measures is 10 weeks less than for other unemployed." (15)
(Bundesanstalt für Arbeit, 1985, quoted in Frankfurter Rundschau, 1986)

The Senate for Employment (SPD, 7.11.89) linked Berlin's (pre-unification) weak economic performance to qualification deficits:

"The qualification structure of those working in Berlin is considerably worse than those of comparable regions within Germany. This deficit mirrors the existing structural weaknesses of industry and the service sector, and it reduces the possibilities to fundamentally improve Berlin's economic structure". (16)
(Senat Berlin, 1989)

What does this mean for the unemployed? The Senator for Employment states that:

"Many job vacancies in Berlin require special qualification and are open to Berlin's unemployed only through further education/training. Investments and settling of new businesses depend on the suitability of Berlin's workforce. The best argument for new employment should be the Berliners themselves... Berlin has good prerequisites for this: there exist more than 200 educational establishments with more than 10,000 courses yearly." (17)
(Pieroth, 1988)

Projects regard the aims of the state as transparent: They feel that the state does too little about unemployment, and that it defines unemployment as an individual problem, e.g. it is a reflection of some deficiency in the individual. With regard to qualifications, this means the individual has a qualification which is not demanded by the labour market. The logical implication of this argument is that if the individual received a qualification which was demanded by the labour market, then s/he would be employed. If they fail to get employment, then it is their fault. Projects say that this argument is flawed: the reason for unemployment is not wrong qualification, but due to economic and political reasons, there is not enough paid employment.

"Long-term unemployment is today on the increase among the technically and academically qualified, a fact which contradicts the official assertion that those with higher education are more "flexible" and therefore supposedly enjoy certain advantages when entering the job market. The reality is that education no longer guarantees employment."
(Birkhölzer, no date) [Academics and Unemployment]

The argument by projects that qualification does not guarantee employment, is supported by recent statistics of the Statistisches Landesamt (Statistisches Landesamt Berlin, 1990). In 1983, the majority of unemployed people (59.3%) had not completed any vocational training, compared to 40.7% who had either academic or vocational

qualification. This trend continued until 1988. In 1989, however, it reversed, when 50.2% of unemployed had recognised qualifications, and 49.8% of all unemployed did not. Often, those with qualifications tended to have several qualifications. A study of long term unemployed in Frankfurt showed, that the usual view of this groups of unemployed as "old, ill, without qualifications" is not supported by their evidence. 3/4 had Realschulabschluß (O'level equivalent), over half had A-levels and also completed vocational training. 38% even had a second completed vocational training/profession and could theoretically work in two areas. In addition, almost half of the long-term unemployed had obtained additional qualifications (foreign languages, computer skills, etc.). With regard to age, 70% were between 30-50 years old, and prior to unemployment, the majority were in long term employment, with 1/4 having had leading positions (Frankfurter Rundschau, 1991).

The Federal Institute for Employment in Nuremberg and the Institute for Labour Market and Vocational Research (as well as numerous institutes within universities) attempt to determine the future needs for qualification, to co-ordinate the provision of qualification. But projects claim that these forecasts, which are the basis for employment policies, have been wrong. They argue that need analysis can only be made with hindsight or based on the present demand, not on future projection. An example often used is the need for teachers: there was an immense shortage of teachers in the mid-seventies, and now there is a glut. It is therefore impossible to determine the future demand for qualifications.

It is today recognised that trying to predict future qualification needs is not working. There are different ways to react to this, for example to qualify in key / core qualifications, to which employers can add their specific training requirements. But it is the projects themselves who are basing their employment strategy on future employment needs / projections, such as ecological work, i.e. they train people for jobs that do not exist now or may never exist in the future. Their perspective is based on how society and work "should be" organised. However, projects themselves attempt to

qualify people for future jobs, in areas where they want to see growth. There is as yet little evidence that they can achieve this.

Alternative projects argue that the state spends vast sums of money on qualification, but it does not address economic change. Therefore, unemployment becomes personified. Qualification in this sense is seen as helping the worker top up his/her knowledge in order to give him/her more chances of entering the "marketplace for workers". Qualification is seen as something the employer requires, and for the individual obtaining it means increasing his/her value. Therefore, the workers are being re-trained in those areas where the supply of workers is seen not to meet the demand of the employer. This blanket form of training aims to redress the perceived temporary deficiencies of workers in certain areas. The lack of knowledge of the workers for changing demands is seen by the state as their shortcoming, it is their responsibility to make themselves more attractive to employers, unemployment is therefore their fault. This supposes that there is enough work for all, i.e. that the availability of jobs in new areas where skilled workers have not been found to take these, is as high as the workers out of work due to their skill mismatch.

"The higher education institutes fulfil ... -particularly in Berlin - a "buffer" role between the worlds of education and work, a role which has furthermore become increasingly indispensable to society and the employment market: second and third areas of study; unpaid re-training; various projects of all kinds; just hanging on to a familiar social milieu; all [these] ... contribute to relieving unemployment offices, social security departments and state institutions in general...Being a student has become a way of allowing society to put some of its problems comfortably "on the long finger."

(Birkhölzer, no date) [Academics and Unemployment]

4.4.2. ABM and Qualification policy

The employment policy, with its focus on work creation measures and qualification, does not create employment for the unemployed. At most it occupies people for two years. Those who have improved their qualifications may find that their employment chances are increased, but even if some individuals do get employment, at best it rotates the labour force, i.e. some gain employment, while others lose it. Some projects argued that even if re-integration were highly successful, it did not affect the overall

unemployment figures; at best, it "moved people around in the queue", as employment is static or declining. This argument is easily supported by employment statistics for Berlin (West), which show clearly that since 1979, the number of vacancies do not exceed the number of unemployed:

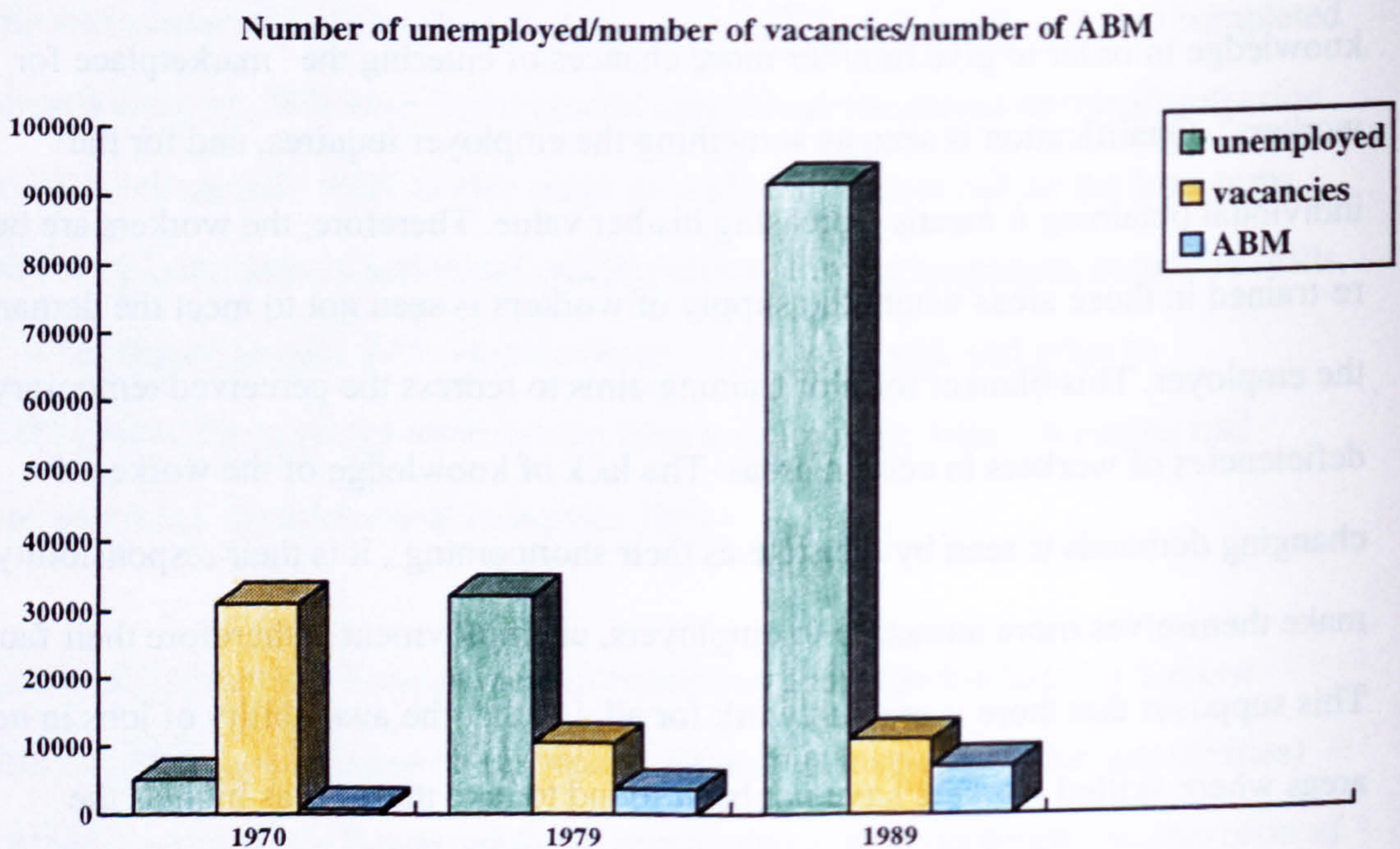


Figure 6 (figures from Statistisches Landesamt, 1990)

4.5. Social policy

The economic system in Germany is a "social market economy", which was developed and adopted in the late 1940s.

"Human beings are themselves primarily responsible for their lives, at the same time they have social responsibilities for their fellow man, the environment and the society." (18)
(Dollinger, 1989)

Included in the social market economy are the principles of subsidiarity, social responsibility, solidarity and individual freedom (Dollinger, 1989).

During its time of opposition, the Christian Democratic Party (CDU) under the direction of Richard von Weizäcker (now President of Germany), with contributions

from Biedenkopf, Geißler and the previous Berlin Social Senator Ulf Fink undertook a re-evaluation of social policy. They came to the conclusion that they needed to address the "new social question", as the "old social question", i.e. the conflict between capitalists and workers, was no longer valid, as workers no longer lived in poverty, were organised in and represented by trade unions and had established workers rights, which were ensured by various employment legislation.

"The powerful in society are no longer solely the owners of capital. Both owners of capital and workers are powerful. Both groups are today organised in strong associations. ... It is the non-organised: families with many children, single mothers, old people, those unable to work, the disabled. who are in a weaker position with regard to organised groups.... This is where the new social question lies." (19)
(Geißler, 1976)

The Green Party and the alternative movement also focused strongly on the lack of representation of disadvantaged groups, arguing that:

"The core problem is the one sided organisational power of the interests of employment as opposed to the interests of non-employment; environmental, health, ...youth interests, the interests of old people and ...unemployed, interests in nuclear disarmament are all outside the employment sector. The alternative movement is not least the counter movement of these organisational under-privileged." (20)
(Jänicke, 1982)

The CDU succeeded already in 1977 in presenting themselves and in being perceived by public opinion as the most efficient party with regard to social policy, which used to be the main domain of the SPD.

The "Wende" ("change of direction") adopted in 1982 by the Christian Democratic Party marked a clear change from the social policy of the Social Democrats. Many regarded it as a way of dismantling the social state, by giving more responsibility to the individual and by supporting families. Critics of this policy saw this as a way to create a "two-third society", or even creating ""British conditions", where social civil war is part of everyday life" (21) (Grottian et al, 1988).

"What is new about this policy is that it aims to organise in a new way social work with human beings. ... Those concerned are to organise themselves in self-help groups, those with a feeling of responsibility are to help on a voluntary basis." (22)

(Grottian et al, 1988)

4.5.1. Subsidiarity

The principle of subsidiarity makes possible a delegation of state performance / responsibility and at the same time the state and the communes/local authorities have encouraged the removal of public services from national agencies ("Entstaatlichung").

"The basic value governing the assignment of powers to the Bund and Länder is that of subsidiarity. ... In the Basic Law subsidiarity is expressed through the Länder being responsible for legislative powers other than those explicitly assigned to the federation. Moreover, the Länder have extensive responsibility for the administration of both federal and land law. In fact, some of these tasks are carried out in conjunction with the various local government authorities. The principle of subsidiarity thus extends downwards below the Länder, although the organisation of local government is the constitutional responsibility of the Länder."

(Bulmer, 1989)

A related principle is that of communal self-administration:

"...federalism is usually regarded as a two-tiered system of government that endows each level with independent responsibility for some policy areas, whilst others are shared between the two. In addition, the independence of the two levels is enshrined in the Basic Law, any disputes are umpired by the Federal Constitutional Court. "

(Bulmer, 1989)

The tasks to meet social needs are to be divided up as follows:

- "The market continues to produce the majority of products and social services.
- The state continues as guardian and protector of basic needs, and supports especially the coming together of those contributions and services, which would disappear under total individualisation.
- The free area of competing agencies, whether Welfare Organisations or self-help groups, deliver those direct, flexible and humane contributions and services (above what the market can deliver) mainly in the communal area, which the state and the market are unable to fulfil. For this, funding is available to them, ...
The free agencies have the task to increase the effectiveness of public contributions, by applying new methods... or appeal to new target groups, especially as they are usually better informed about human needs than the

experts in the public administration. In special situations and areas of conflict they carry out targeted tasks agreed by the local authority, for which they alone are then responsible." (23)
(Tschöpe, 1990)

The principle of self-help plays a major role within subsidiarity, and is today accepted by the majority of political parties, but is especially promoted by the CDU. It appears strange that the CDU has adopted this term of self-help, especially because of the tradition of self-help in Germany. The new self-help movement here is normally associated with left-wing protest groups and anti-state elements. Self-help, according to Ivan Illich, means

"... the independent enforcement of legal claims, if the statutory help cannot be obtained in time, "through by-passing or in opposition to the authorities'." (24)
(Illich, 1985)

The very different interpretations of subsidiarity as adopted by the state, and self-help as adopted by the alternative movement, can be seen in the quotes below:

"Through reductions of working hours the amount of free time has increased. The hitherto existing separation into working time and free time is to be replaced by a three-separation: wage labour time, social time and free time. Social time is the time in which we look after people, who need help and support. ... These social activities have to be integrated into the world of work in an imaginative building-block system of remuneration, social security and opening up of private initiatives." (25)
(Fink, 1989)

"The CDU claim that they, as the alternatives, are advocates of self-initiative of citizens. If one looks closely at how damning the Senate deals with citizens' opinions, citizens' initiatives, citizens' self-help, at removing squatters, demonstrations, etc., it becomes clear that for them self-initiative and self-help at most are seen as tender plants, which are allowed to bloom in small, state-controlled and state-allocated playing fields in the social and cultural areas. For the alternatives, self-help and self-initiative are overall democratic principles." (26)
(Arbeitskreis "Finanzierung von Selbsthilfeprojekten", 1982)

However, there appear to be similarities between alternative and conservative ideology, even though the alternatives would strongly reject this. Some writers even assert that "it is obvious that the new social movements stand for a re-vitalisation of conservative ideas... according to their ideas, the alternatives are neo-conservative" (Huber, 1987). Despite this, Huber (1987) argues, that the self-help movement is not popular with the

majority of the CDU, and that only the more modern element within the CDU has attempted to embrace the movement, and use it for its own purposes:

"... a mutual product can grow out of dissent as well as consent."
(Huber 1987)

Other writers argue, that there is an overall political consensus for the promotion of these projects:

"There exists a rare political consensus... that the promotion of the alternative sector as an "endogenous development potential" is useful and necessary. The socio-political discovery of the new self-help is not linked to any political party. To promote initiatives is no longer the domain and evidence of modernity of social-democratic local authorities..." (27)
(Bittscheid-Peters, 1990).

The Berlin Senator Ulf Fink justified his policies ("Fink Topf", see Chapter Three) in 1982 to his party (CDU) as follows:

"We did not only try to separate the extremist chaff from the alternative wheat, not only to help create understanding for the alternative criticism on the economic and growth society but also to reach a mutual agreement of important social-political principles of the CDU and the alternative movement." (28)
(Vilmar, 1986, quoting Fink)

The CDU see the alternative movement as showing up the limitations of the market and the State:

"The Senate sees as an appropriate political response to the challenges signalled by the alternative movement primarily in the further development / adjustment of the social market economy. This means, more "Freiräume" more autonomy, more self-reliance, more self-help within society." (29)
(Vilmar, 1986, quoting Fink)

It appears that the alternative movement and the CDU have the principles of self-help in common, the CDU locate it under their banner of subsidiarity, and the alternatives link it to their principle of grass-root democracy (Basis Demokratie).

4.6. Traditional social provision

4.6.1. The Tradition of free welfare agencies ("freie Wohlfahrtsverbände")

"the whole spectrum of social needs is covered by free welfare agencies." (30)
(Kaufman, 1991)

Projects from the alternative spectrum as well as self-help groups are often under the umbrella of free welfare agencies.

"Crucially, the subsidiarity principle enshrined in the constitution allocates to various citizen initiatives a primary role for many welfare functions, the public sector in these cases being the provider of last resort. These charitable and voluntary agencies - the so-called "free welfare agencies" - then administer many of West Germany's health and social services."
(Mangen, 1989)

There are five peak-lever organisations within the voluntary sector, under which the individual agencies are organised: two are denominational (Diakonisches Werk, Caritas Verband, one is tied to the trade unions (Arbeiterwohlfahrt), the German Red Cross, and the other an association of small agencies (Deutscher Paritätischer Wohlfahrtsverband- DPWV):

"Each agency negotiates operating fees with the social insurance schemes, and where necessary, social assistance... Planning by these agencies is largely dictated by the availability of funding, with the result that there is no overall planning strategy."
(Mangen, 1989)

Some free welfare agencies also increasingly provide training. While they are traditionally not engaged in this type of activity, they do not want to be left behind, i.e. if a market for this exists and funding is available, they provide training, if funding is cut, they stop it. It is done to expand their profile, and thus ensure their survival. The free welfare agencies were also a reason for the development of "new social movements" as they failed to provide for the new needs, i.e. they were bureaucratic and rigid in their approach, and did not change with changing needs. The emergence of new social movements was a reaction against this failure of provision. The free welfare agencies also saw the emergence of self-help groups, especially those under

investigation here, as a threat, as they were also now competing for funding, that had previously been almost exclusively reserved for them. Also, for the state to allow alternative groups on the platform, is some form of admission that the traditional "Freie Wohlfahrtsverbände" have failed, and that a closer, more basis orientated approach is needed, which the alternative projects were seen to possess, as they were physically, and mentally closer to the problem groups, which the traditional organisations could not deal with. However, the free welfare agencies also realised their ineffectiveness in certain areas, and tried to "soak up" the alternative projects (Knorr-Siedow, 1991). It is often argued that through social self-help groups, the provision of social services are even further down the road to being privatised.

4.7. Social Welfare Organisations - their failure

Social assistance ("Sozialhilfe") has traditionally been divided up between two providers: state agencies and large traditional free welfare agencies.

Increasingly, some new areas of social assistance have been opened up by self-help initiatives, such as:

- work with disabled
- development of alternatives to psychiatry
- welfare of unemployed
- organisation of new employment

(Bittscheid-Peters, 1990)

Welfare organisations are the classical intermediate sector for the provision of social services. Social self-help has established itself alongside traditional welfare agencies as an important contributor. The rise of self-help groups has to be viewed with regard to the classical provisions of social services. Social self-help has gained increasing political support, but critics point out, it must be considered that

"... through their promotion it is intended to compensate and hide the reality of already much reduced provisions, and increasing decline in the professional system." (31)
(Kardorff, von, 1989)

They see one reason for the rise of self-help projects in that the

"Welfare organisations have increasingly lost their legitimacy and plausibility for the public." (32)
(Kardorff, von, 1989)

The increased emergence of social friction, such as repeated rioting in Berlin Kreuzberg, and the squatter movement, left the traditional welfare organisations (state and free welfare agencies) unable to cope with this new problem group. Alternative projects, often working locally, were seen by the authorities as being closer to the problem and the problem groups, and therefore in a better position to be accepted by these groups.

It appears to be the case that whenever all other agencies fail to deal with a particular problem, the alternative projects are called in for help. This was also the case with unification, and the resulting mass unemployment in the former East Germany. No other organisation, private, public or free welfare agencies, would become involved, and the employment and training projects were called on to help to provide 30,000 work creation measure places in the former East Germany.

The alternative groups argue that this does not address the real problem of unemployment and environmental problems. Instead, they claim the programmes are aimed at increasing competition amongst workers. It is not intended to create extra jobs, it just replaces workers and rotates them, i.e. changing their place in the queue.

They argue that what is needed is a process which creates new areas of work. Qualification is seen as everything which surrounds production, as well as the development of new areas of work, thus including in the training organisational, economic, financial skills required to create new work. Karl Birkhölzer argues that:

"The alternative model of qualification attempts to combine qualification with job creation. It is qualification for innovation. ... Thus the ideological gap is between training as demanded by the employment market and qualification to create jobs"
(Birkhölzer, 1990)

However, it is important to stress at this point that there exist vast differences between the approaches adopted by "alternative" projects. They range from providing training (not unlike the state approach) on one side to qualification for job creation on the other.

There is general consensus about the existence and contribution of alternative self-help projects as an important expansion of the traditional welfare providers: the state and traditional large free welfare agencies. Their continued existence is virtually enshrined in the basic law through the principle of subsidiarity.

5. CHAPTER FIVE: Setting of the Case Study

Chapter Five comprises the setting of the case studies, and looks at the particular situation of a crisis region, Berlin, and why this was chosen as a framework for this study. It examines why the groups became involved in qualification and employment initiatives, and in which way the local government has supported this development, and what their relationship is. It further includes an outline of the projects aims and objectives, and areas of activities, focusing on the building sector as an example.

5.1. Why Berlin was chosen as a framework for this study

Berlin is not a typical German city. It was chosen for several reasons. The special geographical position ("island in a red sea"), its specific sociological structure, its character as spiritual and cultural centre have at all times been a fertile ground for innovations and societal developments, and especially youth protest. Societal problems, as shown up by the alternative movements, can be seen especially clearly in Berlin. The student movement of the 1960s had their origins in Berlin (Böhr/Busch (1984).

Governmental studies of the protest movement have also focused on Berlin:

"It became clear that in Berlin, where two different societies border on each other, social-critical tendencies and developments have always been voiced especially early on, so that here with seismographic sensitiveness protest waves of different motivations can be felt, long before they grow in intensity

and spread out to other federal constituent states." (33)
(Böhr/Busch, 1984)

When the Christian Democratic Union came to power in 1981 in Berlin, it saw it as the ideal place (large and active alternative movement), where it could try out its new social policy and thus demonstrate the modernisation of its party. It has become known as the "Berlin Model".

The case studies will focus on Berlin for several reasons:

- Berlin is seen as a trend-setter for the FRG, a place where new ideas start.
- Berlin is regarded as the most radical region of Germany, with a long tradition of self-help movement.
- It has high number of academics, research institutes, universities.
- Its previous unique geographical position.
- Berlin offered immunity from military conscription, and attracted many conscientious objectors.

The students, the womens movement and alternative projects made Berlin their centre. It has the highest concentration of projects in Germany.

Before the Second World War, Berlin was the capital of Germany (and is so again today). The government was located there, it was the centre of public and private administration, and was the largest manufacturing centre in Germany. However, post-war developments, e.g. Berlin's division into four zones, the blockade in 1948-49 and the building of the wall in 1961 have had several effects on its economic situation and labour force:

War damage to the industrial sector meant that 75% of its production base was destroyed (Burmeister and Canzler, 1988). Berlin became a limited geographical area, which meant that geographical expansion was not possible. The physical separation from West Germany also affected trade links. Since the end of the Second World War, and especially after 1961, Berlin has experienced a mass exodus of workers. The industrial base was sharply reduced, and industrial employment fell from 300,000 in 1962 to 160,000 in 1987 (Bahr, 1987).

Berlin has had particularly concentrated problems. It used to be a major industrial centre before the division of Germany, and has tried to maintain some kind of industrial base. Unemployment in Berlin (West) has consistently been 1% higher than in Germany (West), with 100 017 unemployed at 31st Jan. 1990. While the influx of immigrants and emigrants certainly plays a role in this figure, the structural reasons for unemployment are however indisputably increasing: 26% have been unemployed for more than one year. The number of unemployed people under 25 years also remains high, 16,725 people in 1988.

Berlin did not have a "peripheral buffer zone" (Huber, 1987) and was thus more likely to experience social conflicts earlier. Therefore, it had to try to find solutions to these earlier, i.e. things happen earlier in Berlin, and it can be regarded as a barometer of social change. This is not only made use of by launchers of new products to test the market response, but also by the CDU to test out their new social policy, the "Berlin Model".

The Berlin Senate has been trying to reduce unemployment with its "qualification offensive" ("Qualifizierungsoffensive"). It sees the reason for mass unemployment in the low qualification profile of the unemployed:

"The additionally created jobs can only be filled by Berliners, when they possess the necessary level of qualifications. Only when it is possible to improve the qualification level of Berliners workers in such a way, that Berliner firms can fill all additionally created vacancies with workers from Berlin... will it be possible to effectively reduce unemployment in Berlin."

(34)

(Senator für Wirtschaft und Arbeit, 1987)

However, according to Berlin's unemployment statistics, this is not true for any sector, not even for those for which apparently there exists demand. In no employment sector do the vacancies exceed the number of unemployed for each sector. Even for areas for which a shortage of skilled workers is said to exist, is this the case (see Kisker/Heine, 1987).

While the situation for self-help projects is far from perfect in Berlin, nonetheless compared to other (German) states, Berlin comes top with regard to financial provisions made for projects (Klingmüller, 1990).

The Senate of Berlin has provided substantial additional support for federal programmes, such as work creation measures (Arbeitsbeschaffungsmaßnahmen:ABM):

"The exemplary attempts of Berlin in the Work Creation Measures have led to the town, compared to all other federal states, drawing to a much larger extent on the ABM-subsidies provided by the Federal Institute of Employment, which means a substantial flow of external funds to Berlin."

(35)

(Abgeordnetenhaus von Berlin, 1983)

5.2. Aims of training and employment initiatives

Berlin experienced a dramatic increase in unemployment during the 1980s. Some groups within society were especially hard hit by this rise in unemployment, such as the unskilled, young people and older workers, but also academics and skilled workers experienced long-term unemployment. National and local measures, such as work creation measures and training to combat unemployment were considered insufficient by the alternative projects. Traditionally, these measures were carried out either at local government level, or with free agencies (non-governmental agencies). Alternative employment and training projects started to emerge in the mid-seventies, and by the early eighties, Berlin experienced a big increase in these projects. Unlike the other providers of work creation measures and training, the alternative employment and training projects under investigation have grown out of social concerns, and concerns for equality. What makes them different from training initiatives of state/local authority or large welfare organisations is that they attempt to combine training with employment, i.e. they do not simply focus on the provision of qualification / training, as they considered it inappropriate to simply train people without providing any real employment perspectives. Therefore, the projects aimed to:

- create employment for unemployed and socially disadvantaged groups
- develop employment-creating ecological areas of work,

- explore ecological market niches,
- provide ecologically orientated qualification for all its employees,
- humanise the work environment,
- develop and produce ecological products,
- use appropriate technology,
- become integrated into the local structures; e.g. informal and social sectors and small to medium sized companies,
- provide advice and further vocational training for other business or non-profit making initiatives to promote the above goals.

Projects particularly aimed to promote ecological work:

"Firstly, ecological work means every type of work, which contributes to the management of the ecological crisis. This can be done, as practised at Atlantis, through research of technologies / techniques for the production of renewable energy and through the manufacture of products, which use these energy most efficiently.

Secondly, we find under ecological work ecological forms of production and humane working conditions. Forms of production are ecological, when they make careful use of natural resources, i.e. air, water, energy, or even better, if they are supplied with renewable energy. Engagement for a "humanisation of work" is ecological, because also the physical, psychological and spiritual powers of human beings are part of the interrelationship between human beings and nature. More humane work conditions are, for example, the use of appropriate technologies, the transparency of internal work organisation and work routine, internal co-determination, possibilities for further education.

Thirdly, ecological work comprises all human work as part of the environment. The ecological understanding of human work goes beyond the economic sphere, which is mainly interested in the use of natural resources and the human labour. The term ecological work is an answer to the complex challenge posed by ecological consequences of human labour. It demands most of all political and administrative consequences, both on micro as well as macro and world economic levels." (36)

(Atlantis, 1991)

However, while embarking on carrying out their aims, projects were under no illusion as to what they could effectively contribute, and realised that while there is

"... a wide spectrum of people in this area searching for alternatives and ways out of the crisis, a potential nonetheless unplanned, uninvited and largely underestimated. These generally individualised experiments are not in the position to offer strategies for combating unemployment; rather they tend to involuntarily sharpen the process of competition and displacement."
(Birkhölzer, Academics and Unemployment, original in English)

"As unemployment is not an individual problem, there can be basically no individual solutions."
(Birkhölzer, Academics and Unemployment, original in English)

5.3. Local government support for the development of employment and qualification projects

The support offered to the self-help projects by the local government was largely influenced by wider concerns of the Christian Democratic Union to try out and implement its new social policies. Berlin was chosen because it appeared an ideal place for this. In the meantime, the "Berliner Modell", as it is called by the CDU, is recommended by them for imitation.

"In 1981, nearly two years before the "Bonner Wende" the modern part of the CDU took over power in Berlin under Weizäcker: against the background of a tired out SPD and the utopian excesses of a large and active alternative scene it was to be tried and shown, what social policy of a modernised CDU could look like." (37)
(Grottian, 1988)

"Berlin can become that city in Germany in which the principle of subsidiarity can display its changing power, thus giving people a feeling of security/safety and belonging." (38)
(Fink, 1983)

The process can be illustrated by looking at one area where projects were particularly active, i.e. the building sector. In 1991, a total of approx. 25 projects were involved in this sector. Several projects under investigation are also working in the building sector (Stattbau, LIST, GSE, Atlantis). The building sector is the largest area of alternative work in Berlin, and has its roots in the squatter movement. The squatter movement reached its height in the early eighties in Berlin Kreuzberg, and was co-ordinated by the citizens initiative SO36. The aim of the protest was to show the shortcomings of national housing policy. Particular criticism by the squatters were : slow bureaucratic processes and long periods of dwellings left empty, very high modernisation standards

pushing up rents to unaffordable levels, destruction of buildings and social structures through extensive demolition, the forcing out of small traders and enterprises, destruction of cheap housing, and state subsidy for the benefit of private enterprises. The fact that the squatter movement which started in the late 1970s / early 1980s had expanded considerably led the Senate government to attempt to find a solution to this "problem". By 1981, 167 houses had been occupied, at a time when approx. 10,000 unoccupied flats existed. The criticism of the squatters met with much approval, particularly amongst the younger population. The occupation of houses and subsequent police clearance led to much unrest within Berlin. In autumn 1981 after much violent confrontations when the police attempted to remove the squatters, the newly installed CDU, and the then mayor of Berlin, R. von Weizäcker called for a peace round, i.e. talks between political parties, representatives of church and trade unions, and other organisations to help solve the conflicts with regard to house squatting.

The squatting of property presented the local authorities with problems that would not go away through the use of force alone. Richard von Weizäcker, while stating that occupations of buildings are against the law, acknowledged that they showed up defects which were due to wrong political decisions. But, he argued, laws could only be changed by following the prescribed channels, and each violent attempt to change the law was illegitimate. The Senate felt that the solution to the squatter question could not be found in legal prosecutions, and attempted to come to some arrangement with the squatters through negotiations.

Eventually, talks between parish priests, church workers and squatters led to the demand for a new agency which was to act as mediator between both sides (squatters and authorities). This agency was to have no own interests, would represent the squatters and act on their behalf with the relevant local authorities. This presented some difficulties, as this agency would have to be respected and accepted by both sides. The Netzwerk Selbsthilfe (see Chapter Three) was approached due to their experience with alternative projects, but was only accepted by the Senate authorities after intervention of the church.

At the beginning of 1981, a newly organised Senate commission "for the solution to mismanagement in urban renewal policies and for securing law and order"

("Senatskommission zur Überwindung von Fehlentwicklungen in der Sanierungs- und Modernisierungspolitik und zur Sicherheit des Rechts- und Gemeinschaftsfriedens")

developed the "Berlin Line" ("Berliner Linie"), which since then has been the method adopted for dealing with squatters, and consists of the following main components:

- "Acts of violence will be opposed in a forcible, determined and sober manner with all the available state resources of power.
- Non-violent occupations of houses will be, wherever possible, be brought to an appropriate end through political solutions, based on the legal framework.
- Evictions by the policy will only be considered, if certain conditions are fulfilled."

(39)

(Böhr/Busch, 1984)

Netzwerk helped set up a new agency, Netzbau in 1982, which was accepted in autumn 1982 as a redevelopment / renovation trustee company of the Land Berlin

("Treuhandischer Sanierungsträger"). Negotiations started with the owners of the occupied houses. Clearing of houses, however, continued. The agency Netzbau was dissolved, because it was felt that because of the actions of the Senate, this agency could not operate successfully. After a year of individual negotiations, demands were once again raised for an independent agency. In 1983, the umbrella organisation "Leben im Stadtteil" ("living in the borough") was founded, which was made up of the Martinswerk, representatives of Protestant academics, social democrats, church workers and trade unionists. The church provided DM 30,000 towards the umbrella organisation. Soon after that, Stattbau GmbH, was established to take over representation of some of the occupied houses in 1983 and to renovate 13 houses in a redevelopment area of Kreuzberg (Block 103 and 104).

The houses were occupied by 40% tenants, and 60% squatters. For the squatters, Stattbau is a two-edged present: on the one hand, it means some form of legalisation

and the chance to develop this further, on the other, it represents an end to the squatter movement, integration through bureaucratic processes, and through public money. The recognition as a redevelopment / renovation trustee company of the Land Berlin has brought with it the commitment to "develop new instruments for the concept of careful urban renewal through self-help".

5.4. Focus of the projects

As we have seen, the building sector was one major focus for projects. The building sector was also recognised as an important area of work by Richard Fletcher and Roger Coleman:

"Building work in general, and rehabilitation/conservation in particular, constitute an important area of social need, and offer the possibility of socially useful work on a large scale, in which education/training can be extended both in terms of content and opportunities. Building has long been acknowledged as a relatively immediate, cost-effective means of stimulating the economy and creating employment."
(Fletcher and Coleman, 1983)

"The scale of the problem of unfit dwellings and dwellings which offer rehabilitation potential is enormous, as is the potential for employment and training in responding to this social need. "The 1981 English House Condition Survey" (DoE), identifies a 40% increase in unfit dwellings since 1976, to a current (1981) total of 1.1 million. A radical approach to the problem is required, providing for both stimulating and imaginative training programmes and long-term employment after training. A context in which appropriate technology could be applied to solving long-standing problems of damp, and energy control; and traditional building techniques abandoned by the "modern" building industry could be reassessed in the light of contemporary building failures; thus broadening the study-base of conventional trade apprenticeships"
(Fletcher and Coleman, 1983)

In their conclusion, Fletcher and Coleman state that:

"It is hoped that through careful planning and a constant emphasis on education/training and personal development, a socially responsible and efficient approach to building can be developed which will provide satisfying work and security of employment for an increasing work-force, while at the same time helping to solve in a systematic way the immense problems facing many housing authorities, particularly those in inner or urban areas"
(Fletcher and Coleman, 1983)

While the above quotations are based on assessment of the UK situation, it becomes clear that the arguments are similar to those adopted in Berlin: The boroughs where most of the projects are based are in close proximity to the (previous) Berlin wall, and, due to their then unattractive location, were very run down, with buildings in poor condition (especially Kreuzberg but also Wedding). The answer to housing needs by local planners was to destroy the existing housing stock (Wedding was known as the largest housing rebuilding area in Europe), thus destroying communities, their infrastructure, but most of all affordable housing. The squatter movement responded by occupying run-down houses, mainly in Kreuzberg ("Instandbesetzung"). Since 1982, the Senator for Construction and Housing has been subsidising the modernisation and restoration of buildings carried out through building self-help.

5.5. Projects strategy

Projects often run several sub-projects to have a firm basis in the form of one "safe" project, from which they can invest time and effort and money to set up the structures of a new project. For example, funding bodies usually only grant the money if something has already been set up, which shows the commitment of the projects. However, this of course brings with it certain risks for the projects, as they have to "invest" the money without guarantee that they will eventually receive funding. But projects work on the assumption that if they build up a large enough profile, and once they have eventually got through to local politicians and local authorities, they can almost certainly rely on funding. It is thus often a matter of breaking the ice with the relevant bodies.

**"But probably more important is to start setting up a project, that is to build an organisational structure, independent of initial funding, for purely political reasons, in order to create the necessary pressure. There are many people who want to take up initiatives, but their realisation is difficult due to political and financial problems. In more general terms, we have to have something to show, before anyone is willing to show any interest."
(Birkhölzer, 1988, transcribed in English)**

While the CDU Senate appears to be open to new ideas, and provides funding, projects interpret their motivation as follows:

"They have no political ideas, but have to be seen to be doing something. They react on pressure. For example, the self-help sector in Berlin demands funding. The CDU operates in a way that will exclude certain groups. They aim to split the movement by giving money to some groups, and not to others. Those who receive money are glad on the one hand, but this means that other projects have to do without. Also, projects worry about being dependent, and compromising their political ideals. But we also go this way. We simply try to create enough pressure, that they have to give us something as well. In the same way we got money from the Technical University. We told them that it was unfair for them to provide large amounts of funding into R and D which benefits industry, as well as technology transfer, and that we wanted something as well. They could not say anything against this argument. In this way our project workshops were funded: students created pressure. In a similar way, we hope to get more out of them yet."
(Birkhölzer, 1988, transcribed in English)

The specific strategy adopted by each group will obviously vary. In the chapters that follow we look at each group in turn, before moving on to a general analysis.

6. CHAPTER SIX: INTRODUCTION TO CASE STUDIES

6.1. Introduction

The individual cases were selected because they were all members of the Kooperationsverbund Entwicklungswerkstatt (co-operation combine development workshop) (see Table 2 for overview of case studies).

The Kooperationsverbund was established by the Technologie Netzwerk Berlin (technology network Berlin) and the Projekt für Arbeitslose und Lehrer der Arbeits- und Berufspädagogik (PAULA; Project for the unemployed and teachers of work and vocational pedagogy). PAULA is the "parent" project, out of which their other projects grew, and consists of a core group of about 10 people. They will be called the "initiators".

Through the Kooperationsverbund Entwicklungswerkstatt, it was attempted to set up structures in Berlin which were based on the model of the Greater London Council Technology Networks. The Kooperationsverbund was to act as a co-ordinating project to support the development of socially useful and environmentally sound technology (suest). Even though the Kooperationsverbund Entwicklungswerkstatt did not materialise in its intended form and did not proceed beyond recruitment and signing up of members, and obtaining verbal confirmation from the funding sources, it is

Table 2 Overview of Case Studies

	historical background	start	area of activity	size	target groups	aims	legal reg. /umbrella org.
Paula (Projekt f. Arbeitslose Akademiker)	unemployed academic self-help	1981	discussion meetings of members, development of projects to realise "local economy"	varies, core members 10-15 people	self-help (i.e. members work for themselves)	developing "local economy"	e.V. no umbrella organisation
Technologic Netzwerk Berlin	Paula, with student projects Techn. Univ.	1985	attempted to set up "Kooperationsverbund Entwicklungswerkstatt" based on GLC model	varies, large number of students, members of PAULA	self-help	"	"
Forschungsprojekt "Lokale Ökonomie"	Paula, Techn. Univ.	1988	Collecting and analysing local economic strategies in Europe	3-4 people	self-help	"	"
Projektentwicklungsgesellschaft	(Paula)	1991	project development /employment creation with unemployed East Berliners	20-30 people unemployed former East Germans	self-help	"	"
Kommunales Forum e.V.	Paula, with independent projects based in Wedding	1988	networking for local area Wedding, deficit & resource analysis of Wedding	core group 3 people, 20 local projects	self-help	"	"
Atlantis gGmbH	grew out of allgemeine Jugendberatung (ajb), advice centre for young disadvantaged unemployed	1988 (ajb 1976)	developing and installing solar techn. windenergy, ecological refurbishment, landscaping, administration, PR	11 core workers / 137 ABM workers	young unemployed with & without vocational training, unempl. academics, long-term unemployed older skilled workers	create employment through development of alternative technology, establish businesses from various departments	umbrella organisation ajb & Deutscher Paritätischer Wohlfahrtsverband (large nat. independent welfare organisation); gGmbH
GSE: Gesellschaft zur Stadtentwicklung mbH	grew out of Arbeiterwohlfahrt (national worker welfare organisation) and Sozialpäd. Institut	1988 (SPI 1951)	neighbourhood workshops, Building sector: ecological refurbishing & modernisation, research into ecol. building	55 ABM workers (1989) 188 ABM workers (1991)	largely older skilled workers, long term unemployed	create affordable housing, train to help re-integration into employment	Arbeiterwohlfahrt and Sozialpädagogisches Institut; mbH

GFBA: Gesellschaft zur Förderung berufsspez. Ausbildung e.V. (*)	national organisation, with 15 centres.	1980 (Berlin)	development & building of bicycles for handicapped, development workshop, bicycle hire	national: 600 core workers / 4,300 people Berlin: 180 ABM workers (1991)	unemployed youths and young adults	production of bicycles for special needs, helping integration of disadvantaged	eingetragener Verein
Projektverbund Zukunft Bauen e.V.	squatter movement, legalised; youth-self-help in Berlin Wedding	1980	building self-help, external building contracts cafes, creche,	59 core workers; 105 ABM workers (1991)	young unemployed, homeless, single parents	creating affordable housing, independent employment	Zukunft Bauen e.V. (Umbrella org.) Zukunftsbau gGmbH, LIST gGmbH
Therapeutische Tagesstätte "Theta Wedding e.V.	based on idea of several psychologists, to set up alternative rehabilitation for psychologically ill people	1979	several workshops, integration firms, wholefood shop and restaurants, etc.	120 reha - workers (1991)	psychologically ill people	re-integration of target group, providing employment	Umbrella organisation Deutscher Paritätischer Wohlfahrtsverband; eingetragener Verein.
Weiterbildungszentrum Arbeits-Umwelt u. Naturschutz GmbH	national trade union training organisation,	1988	ecological training, ABM placements with projects outside	36 core workers; 180 trainees (Nov.90)	graduate engineers and scientists, skilled workers, young unemployed	help trainees gain employment; see need in qualified environmentalist	mit beschränkter Haftung (mbH)
Werkstattzentr. Schöneberg, Leben & Arbeiten e.V.	one-man project, grew out of interest in & affiliation to PAULA	1988	rolling workshop, metal, wood workshops, development workshop, 3 self-administered businesses	5 core workers 17 ABM workers 11 jobs created	young unemployed, majority with vocational qualification but no work experience	creating employment through setting up independent businesses	Gesellschaft bürgerlichen Rechts, i.e. Project leader personally liable
Stattbau mbH (*)	squatter movement, legalised	1982	building self-help, external building contracts, development of various ecol. building technology.	73 core workers, 192 ABM workers (1991)	young unemployed, homeless, tenants	creating affordable housing, developing ecological housing technology, create employment	gGmbH

(*) These two case-studies are not included since they duplicate the case material. They are available as a TPG working paper

nonetheless important to investigate how the projects, who pursue the development of suest, proceeded to do this with already existing, more informal links.

6.2. Initiators

This chapter will start by giving a detailed description of the initiators, PAULA and how they came to adopt their strategy, before going on to describe the independent eight member projects of the Kooperationsverbund Entwicklungswerkstatt.

The projects who grew out of PAULA are:

- Technologie Netzwerk Berlin
- Forschungsprojekt Lokale Ökonomie (LFP; Research Project "Local economy")
- Kommunales Forum Wedding (local forum Wedding)
- Projektentwicklungsagentur (PEA; Project development agency)

Another project which was closely working with PAULA was the Projektwerkstätten (student project workshops) at the Technical University Berlin.

The reason for the existence of these 5 projects is, that each one is regarded as a "component part", i.e. each project has a different role to play within the overall strategy. Another reason is that of survival: by running all those projects, (based on public funding) PAULA's aims can be continued, even if some projects no longer receive funding. However, even though the initiators are really only one project, I will describe each sub-project individually to define their separate tasks.

The most important difference between the initiator project and the members of the development workshop is that PAULA is an unemployment self-help group, that is, the members are all unemployed themselves, and try to find ways of providing employment for themselves, and any other unemployed individuals who want to join them. All the other employment and qualification projects under investigation provide a service for unemployed people. However, because of their commitment to each other within PAULA, the number of people that can belong to this group is very limited.

PAULA started by researching the issues surrounding unemployment and looking for attempted solutions of initiatives elsewhere. The practises adopted by the Greater London Council made a big impression, and PAULA has subsequently attempted to

promote this strategy. The Kooperationsverbund Entwicklungswerkstatt was established to take over the function of the London Technology Networks. The implementation did not materialise for a variety of reasons, but mainly because the funding could not be obtained due to changes in Berlin's political environment.

The following chapters, the case studies, address the questions:

1. The reasons for PAULA attempting to establish the Kooperationsverbund and their change in strategy once this had failed.
2. Why other projects wanted to become members of the Kooperationsverbund, what they hoped to gain and how they are realising their goals without a formal network.

6.3. Members Development workshop

I have concentrated on eight independent alternative projects, who had committed themselves as members to the Kooperationsverbund. These vary considerably in a number of ways:

Size: the largest project consists of about 500, the smallest of approx. 20 people.

Years in existence: some project go back 10 years, others have only existed for 2-3 years.

Historical background: they all have different starting points.

Aims: these also vary considerably, and range from providing training for new areas of work to providing employment through the development of suest. The common core aim is to provide alternatives to traditional organisations providing training and employment.

Target groups: there are large variations, from young unemployed without basic school-leaving certificates, older long-term unemployed, physically and psychologically impaired, ex- addicts, etc. (This is the main difference to PAULA: all other projects start with a specific target group and try to provide a service for them).

Funding: great variation of sources of funding ranging from 1-20 funding bodies.

The member groups are very varied in character. What united them was their wish to participate in the co-operative development workshop, and thus to attempt to create employment, directly or indirectly, for their target groups. They have acknowledged the need to go further than just providing qualification for its own sake. This is in marked contrast to other qualification organisations (state, local authorities, private and free agencies), who focus solely on qualification.

6.3.1. PAULA

(Project for the unemployed and teachers of work and vocational pedagogy)

PAULA, has existed since 1981. It can be regarded as the "think tank" of its associated groups, and regularly meets every week to discuss their work. The most active of its associated projects at the time of my visit were the research project "local economy" based at the Technical University Berlin, and the Kommunales Forum Wedding, who had their offices in a disused factory in Wedding.

Contact between all members of PAULA was very close, and I was able to use all their resources at both offices, as well as having my own office at the Kommunales Forum.

Having my working base at the Kommunales Forum provided me with valuable insights into their day-to-day work, and made me feel, at times, more like a project member than an observer.

In addition, I took part at the weekly PAULA meetings. Interviews were conducted with the project leader, Karl Birkhölzer, Günther Lorenz of the Interdisciplinary Research Project "Local Economy", and Willy Achter, Hans-Georg Rennert and Rainer Illoff of the Kommunales Forum.

I had the longest and closest contact with this group, going back to my undergraduate work (final year project) and my placement at the Network for Alternative Technology and Technology assessment (NATTA) based at the Open University, Milton Keynes.

I was greatly welcomed at this group, as they felt contact between them and groups in the UK were mainly "one way", i.e. Karl Birkhölzer, leader of the group, frequently

stated that they are trying to learn and familiarise themselves with the situation in England, and that this interest was not always reciprocated.

6.3.2. Atlantis GmbH

This was one of the major groups I looked at, as they appeared to resemble closest the goals set out by the Technology Netzwerk. They were also one of the largest independent groups, comprising 5 areas of work: wind energy, solar and photo voltaic, building work, landscape gardening, administration and public relations.

The project Atlantis started operation in 1988/89, and is one of the most recent employment and qualification projects. At the time of my visit in 1991, they were just approaching the end of their first work creation measures, that is the first workers were approaching the end of their two-years with Atlantis.

After my first contact with individuals at the wind department and introduction to the managing director, it was decided that I should conduct English lessons as "a way in", for an absent teacher, after attending several English lessons. This gave me valuable insight into teaching methods used and meant that informal contact could be established with the trainees. I was based at the public relations department to help me gain an overview of their organisation, and was asked to translate their just completed brochure. I took part in weekly meetings of the public relations department.

In addition, I took part regularly at the weekly wind department meetings, and the weekly management and departmental leaders meeting, also I attended regular meetings of the educational group as well as the social workers meetings.

Interviews were conducted with both managing directors, Uwe Gluntz und Uschi Blankenberg, the head of the wind department, Jochen Twele, the head of the solar department, Dieter Uh, Edith Schneider from the administration department, and Ulla Warendorf from the education department.

6.3.3. Gesellschaft zur Förderung Berufsspezifischer Ausbildung (GFBA)

(Society for the promotion of occupational training)

GFBA is an "established" traditional qualification organisation. It is a nation-wide organisation providing mainly qualification, but the Berlin site is very different from the rest of locations, as it also provides work creation measures. It is viewed with suspicion by alternative employment and qualification initiatives and generally shunned because of its size and origin, but the director, Louis Kaufman, is much respected.

The project in 1991 operated from two main sites in Kreuzberg. The VELOQUENT project which designs and builds transportation / mobility aids for the disabled occupies one floor in an old factory shared with other projects. The administrative and management departments were located about 1/2 mile away in an old factory. The basement had been given over to another project, and houses a cafe and restaurant. This project will not be included, since it duplicates the case material. It is available as a TPG working paper.

My first contact was with Dieter Burmeister, project leader of VELOQUENT, who showed me their workshops, and with whom several informal interviews were conducted. I also conducted one focused interview with the director, Louis Kaufmann.

6.3.4. Gesellschaft für Stadtentwicklung gGmbH (GSE)

(Society for urban development)

This is part of the Sozialpädagogisches Institut Berlin (SPI; Social-educational Institute) set up by the SPD and the workers welfare organisation, and therefore not strictly an "alternative" independent group.

GSE was established in 1988, as part of SPI's department for urban development "Ausnahme und Regel". "Ausnahme und Regel" is one of the three redevelopment / renovation trustee companies of the Land Berlin (also LIST as part of the Projekteverbund Zukunft Bauen; and Stattbau; see below). It is based in a large old factory in Wedding, with SPI occupying the top floors.

The initial informal interview was with Michael Beckmann, public relations. The focused interview was conducted with Peter Haas, director and Jörg Depta, project leader. I also conducted a focused interview with Dieter Harm, of the SPI.

6.3.5. Projekteverbund Zukunft Bauen e.V.

(Project Combine building futures)

The project combine started operation in 1980 with a youth self-help project and consists today of several employment and qualification measures: the project Zukunftsbau (future build), a building project; two cafes / restaurants, "essbar and kiebiss"; it also runs crèches and women's shelter, and its project "Lösungen im Stadtteil" (LIST, solution in the district), which is a redevelopment / renovation trustee company of the Land Berlin

All projects are based in Wedding.

I visited this project several times, and conducted one focused interview with Thomas Knorr-Siedow, director.

6.3.6. Stattbau Stadtentwicklungsgesellschaft mbH

(Stattbau Urban development society)

Stattbau is the third renovation trustee company of the Land Berlin, and started its work in 1982. It is based in Berlin Kreuzberg, and occupies a large old factory. Stattbau grew out of the negotiations between squatters and the Berlin Senate, and organises and executes the refurbishment of blocks of flats in Berlin. Since 1989, Stattbau also runs its own employment and qualification measures within its area of work.

I made several informal visits and had informal discussions with Ralph Döring, member of the project "Rat und Tat" (for unemployed academics). An informal interview was conducted with Gisela Sommer, director, and one focused interview with Karl-Heinz Riedel, Public Relations. This project will not included, since it duplicates the case material. It is available as a TPG working paper.

6.3.7. Therapeutische Tagesstätte für Psychisch Leidende (Theta Wedding e.V.)

(Therapeutic Day centre for psychologically ill people)

Theta was established in 1979, and is based in Wedding. Their work is concerned with the rehabilitation of psychologically ill people.

It runs several projects for psychologically ill people: a drop-in day centre, several workshops (carpentry, painting and decorating, printing shop, tailoring and dressmaking), meal services and restaurants, and wholefood shops. In addition, it provides psycho-social support services. Out of the workshops, Theta has developed several integration firms to provide further employment opportunities for its clientele.

I made several informal visits, and conducted a focused interview with Jörg Mewes, director, and with H. Knist, social worker.

6.3.8. Weiterbildungszentrum Arbeits- Umwelt- und Naturschutz des Berufsbildungswerk des Deutschen Gewerkschaftsbundes

**(Centre for further education for the protection of the environment and nature,
and health and safety at work of the Organisation for further vocational training
of the German Federation of Trade Unions)**

The Weiterbildungszentrum is part of the Berufsbildungswerk and is a trade union initiative. It started operation in 1988. Their work is mainly concerned with providing qualification, they do not run their own work creation measures.

Their main site is located in a central part of Berlin, in close proximity to the Technical University Berlin.

Contact with this project consisted of a preliminary interview with Frau Wölfling, and a focused interview with Herr Borchert, project manager.

6.3.9. Werkstattzentrum Schöneberg, Zweckbetrieb des Vereins Leben und Arbeiten in Schöneberg

(Workshop centre Schöneberg, project of the registered society Living and Working in Schöneberg)

Rainer Milletat, who set up this project virtually single-handed in 1988, was one of the original participants of research trips to London in 1985, organised by PAULA. His is the only project which has been able to create "independent" firms after the 2-year period of their employment and qualification measure.

The project consists of a mobile workshop, which is run as an employment and qualification measure, and the now independently working carpentry, metalworking and electrical firms. It is based in Neukölln, and uses an old factory site. Two focused interviews were conducted with Rainer Milletat, overall project leader, and one focused interview with Thorsten Gruhl, project adviser.

6.4. Overview Chapter seven - thirteen : Case Studies

The following chapters comprise the case studies. The projects examined were:

PAULA

- Projektwerkstätten
- Technet Berlin
- Kooperationsverbund Entwicklungswerkstatt
- Bildungsstätte für ökonomische Selbsthilfe
- Projektentwicklungsagentur
- Interdisziplinäres Forschungsprojekt "Lokale Ökonomie"
- Kommunales Forum

Atlantis gGmbH

Gesellschaft für Stadtentwicklung mbH

Projekterverbund Zukunft Bauen e.V.

Therapeutische Tagesstätte e.V.

Weiterbildungszentrum Arbeits-, Umwelt- und Naturschutz

Werkstattzentrum Schöneberg e.V.

7. CHAPTER SEVEN: INITIATORS: Projekt für Arbeitslose und Lehrer der Arbeits- und Berufspädagogik e.V. (PAULA)

At the end of 1982, approx. 40 academics, graduates and students of the Institute für Arbeits- und Berufspädagogik of the Free University formed the unemployment self-help project PAULA ("Projekt für Arbeitslose und Lehrer der Arbeits- und Berufspädagogik"). Some were already unemployed, others were facing unemployment. At that time, there was an enormous increase in academic unemployment generally. The project PAULA was established to address several key problems associated with unemployment or threatened unemployment. One of the most debilitating experiences of unemployment is isolation, and through PAULA a mutual meeting ground was created for contacts and discussions. Another difficulty unemployed people face is that of maintaining, and even expanding, their qualifications and PAULA provided valuable help for people in this respect. Finally, the aim of PAULA was to provide an environment for the mutual development of employment perspectives. For some people, the project offered stability during times of unemployment, in that they were a group with similar problems, meeting regularly. It enabled them to think about new areas of work for themselves.

Whilst many left PAULA when they had found work, others stayed on with the aim of researching unemployment and its wider implications for society.

"Left were those who said "well, that can't be it, simply to create employment for ourselves, we have to do something about the structural weaknesses of the [vocational training] system."
(Lorenz, 1991, transcribed in English)

The first projects started by PAULA were the contact and advice centre (Kontakt- und Beratungsstelle) and an independent research project dealing initially with unemployment of academics, which was later extended to unemployment in general. They were supported from October 1982 until September 1989 by the Free University Berlin, who provided offices and running costs. (Since July 1990 PAULA has been based at the former Rotaprint site (an old, abandoned factory) and funded by the Senate Department for Social Affairs).

PAULA was started as a self-help project. Its members have been meeting regularly every week for the past 10 years. It is the core project and "germ-cell" ("Keimzelle") for all the projects that are described below. It sees itself today as an independent, self-administered "think tank" within its social environment (Birkhölzer, 1991).

"We don't feel like rats leaving the sinking ship, rather like frogs that have fallen into milk, we struggle, and eventually we stand on butter."
(Birkhölzer, in conversation)

Initially, PAULA focused on the structure and purpose of education and vocational training in Germany. They argued that, historically, the German vocational training system has its origins in very reactionary theory (i.e. Kerschen-Steiner), which sees vocational training as primarily the socialisation of working class youths. The majority of the core PAULA members were trained vocational school teachers. They also started to question the purpose of vocational training, given that an increasing number of people would never work in the occupation in which they were trained.

"[Our aim was] to question during the training process "What are you trained for, what will you actually be doing in your later profession, will you even practise this profession, if yes, how will you practise it". ... (for example, we read that a number of bakers ended up on a Ford-production line, doing something totally different because bakers were not in demand)... it would mean analysing the content of work ... and a rejection of the old teaching methods, "funnel learning" [i.e. an empty vessel to be filled] ("Trichterlernen") in favour of "problem and project related" learning, and learning-by-doing. Because only by asking those questions can you begin to think about alternatives, and maybe help develop them."
(Lorenz, 1991, transcribed in English)

They felt the same was true for academic education:

"The current extent of registered unemployment already casts doubt on the justification for, and sense of, large areas of academic education... One must also see those people as potential unemployed who have begun to question the meaning of their own training. To this group belong the technical school teachers, who are supposed to teach yet more potential unemployed, those in the caring professions who are confronted with the consequences of unemployment, engineers and scientists who despair of the destructive effects of their products on the environment."
(Birkhölzer, Academics and Unemployment, no date)

After discussing technology and unemployment and the resulting lack of perspectives for themselves and unemployed youths, they read a paper by Titus Alexander. Günther Lorenz:

"This paper said: "Training for jobs which do not exist is demoralising". That means for the content of training that we do not consider it to be training if the unemployed end up in "a kind of temporary stacking loop" ("Warteschleifen") if there is no perspective for the youths. We prefer to talk to them about their prospects, we find this more realistic. We felt that training had to go towards ... creating new areas of work which would be useful. And as most of the type of work we know is destructive and often useless, we found that they would have to work with new content and new forms, starting with the social problems facing us now, such as environmental destruction. ... Training people for jobs they cannot carry out, is an enormous waste economically."
(Lorenz, 1991, transcribed in English)

Another important part of their work was to learn about strategies adopted elsewhere. PAULA organised excursions and took part in Europe-wide conferences etc. in order to study and evaluate attempts in West European crisis regions to combat long term and mass unemployment. The aim was then to develop strategies and mechanisms, which

could be applied to Berlin. Out of this self-organised research the realisation grew, that even in highly developed West European industrial states there are increasingly areas which are no longer fully economically active. The much used formula "Local authorities provide investment incentives \Rightarrow firms invest = firms provide employment and income" is faulty.

"That is why we feel it necessary, to initiate employment which focuses on the internal market, rather than the world market. That is why it is important to examine in which areas no work is done." (40)
(PAULA, 1991)

They attempted to get to work on this theme by trying to get funding for research projects. The major theme which ran throughout was "how can we create future prospects for ourselves".

"It became clear to us that the reason for the lack of motivation [of unemployed youths] was the lack of real opportunity for finding employment."
(Lorenz, 1991, transcribed in English)

Instead of just concentrating on the effects of unemployment, PAULA decided to deal with unemployment in a conscious and productive way:

"We wanted and want not simply to accept the contradiction between unemployment on the one hand, and fallow work on the other (i.e. in the area of maintaining our basic living conditions, reduction of refuse/waste, providing (social) services), but want to create socially and ecologically useful work." (41)
(PAULA, 1991)

7.0.1. Framework conditions

PAULA and its projects have found it extremely difficult to obtain funding. Their work is unique in that it does not fit in to the guidelines of any available programmes (see Chapter 7.3, Kooperationsverbund Entwicklungswerkstatt). They have arrived at a strategy which they feel is worth pursuing. This strategy is an attempt to convince people, other projects and government officials, of their vision for Berlin, not just their

own organisation. An integral part of this strategy is publicity. They go about this in a number of ways, for example by organising public meetings, conferences and seeking audiences with influential government officials. Karl Birkhölzer argues that they of course orientate themselves on the available framework conditions and act on them. But at the same time, they have to remember their basic intentions and aims. They work on the principles of task analysis, i.e. all their aims are broken down into "building blocks", which they juggle around, and then try to fit them into different programmes to try to realise them under the present available conditions. But they always have the overall picture in mind "It is a constant undermining, constant pressure in different directions, to try to keep the whole thing going." (Birkhölzer, in conversation).

The employment and training projects, on the other hand, find it easier to obtain funding, because they tend to mould their aims around the criteria set down for funding. For example, their target group of unemployed people is the same as that identified by the government. Also, they accept the time limit of two years imposed by the ABM regulations, albeit grudgingly, which means that they are sacrificing their aims of creating employment for the sake of obtaining funding. All employment and training projects aiming to create employment for their target group have realised that they cannot fulfil their aims of creating employment within this time frame, but they still continue their work.

Commenting on the way PAULA operates, Karl Birkhölzer stated that they start many different projects in the hope that eventually one will succeed. Also, it means that they apply for a whole range of funding from a wide range of sources, and that if one fails they can still keep going. He said that when local government officials visit their projects, they are surprised at how PAULA manages to finance itself. He believes that people who fund them think that they are totally dependent on them, and can't do anything without them. PAULA has proved extremely resourceful in keeping going for so long.

7.0.2. General comments

When asked whether a large contributory factor for their survival had been their working base at the Technical University (through the research project and the Projektwerkstätten), Karl Birkhölzer argued that they had always stressed to people looking to them for help that they have to become active in the environment in which they find themselves. The members of PAULA had become unemployed within the University and thus had struggled to continue using the resources of the University. Without a fight, they would not have received anything from the University. They argued that the University "owed us something, because it is also their responsibility that we are now unemployed. We won't simply go away, we have also contributed to this University, and we at least want some support from them while we are trying to get ourselves sorted out, find a new orientation, perspective." (Birkhölzer, 1991).

The projects PAULA developed, either independently or with others, will be presented below, and their functions are outlined according to the Technologie Netzwerk Task list. Below is an overview of the developmental phases of PAULA, which then leads to a description of the actual projects.

7.0.3. The developmental history of PAULA and its projects: an overview

1981 - 1985: Orientation phase

Setting up of self-administered and self-directed research project looking at causes and effects of unemployment, surveying available literature; research provided theoretical overview of different strategies adopted in Europe (e.g. Lucas plan).

1985 - 1987: Looking for new strategies and evaluation for implementation phase

Made contact with initiatives and projects which had developed local strategies to overcome the structural crisis within urban and rural regions in Germany and Europe together with other interested groups and individuals (e.g. Rainer Milletat, students at the Technical University).

Sept. 1985 Information visit to London (GLC / technets) organised by students, PAULA and other academics. Identified GLC strategy as an important policy to combat unemployment.

1985 Students at the Technical University started setting up the **Projektwerkstätten für sozial- und umweltverträgliches Denken und Handeln** (Project workshops for socially and environmentally sound

thought and action) at the Technische Universität Berlin. Karl Birkhölzer became supervisor and co-ordinator of the project workshops.

Realisation that students were looking for the same things as PAULA.

Set about writing a strategy for a Berlin Technet with students, and organised public meetings to promote these ideas. Public meeting in 1987 with 2-300 people, with huge response and interest from Trade unions, academics, projects and other interested people.

1987: Second excursion to London, organised by technet and excursion to West Germany and Holland.

1987- present Implementation / Project development phase

Feb. 1987 The interest generated led to the foundation of the **Berlin Technologie Netzwerk (technet; technology network)** (by PAULA and the Projektwerkstätten). They identified five goals and tasks to achieve their aim of developing an "integrated, need-oriented, local and regional economic employment policy":

1. Conduct research into the communal self-help sector and other strategies to fight unemployment.
2. Exchange ideas with similar groups on a local, national and international level.
3. Develop new forms of planning, i.e. "popular planning":
 - a) to involve local people and groups in plans for the area's development,
 - b) to create meaningful local work "local production for local need".
4. Promote product development, with the resources of the University.
5. Provide qualification and vocational training.

1988-1992 **Interdisziplinäres Forschungsprojekt "Lokale Ökonomie"** (IFP, interdisciplinary research project "local economy") to conduct research into the communal self-help sector and other strategies and exchange ideas with similar local, national and international groups (technet tasks 1 and 2).

1988 **Kommunales Forum Wedding** (local forum in the district of Wedding) to develop new forms of planning, i.e. "popular planning" (technet task 3) (also, the Werkstattverbund Leben und Arbeiten in Schöneberg was set up independently, roughly covering tasks 3 - 5).

1989 - 1990 **Kooperationsverbund Entwicklungswerkstatt** (co-operation combine development workshop) to promote product-development, with 9 member projects (technet task 4). This project, although set up, did not actually start operation due to lack of funding.

Implementation of "emergency programme"; switch from product development to project and service development, and qualification.

- 1991 **Bildungsstätte für ökonomische Selbsthilfe** (education centre for economic self-help) to provide qualification and vocational training (technet task 5).
- 1991 **Projektentwicklungsagentur** (project development agency) as a workable substitute for the Kooperationsverbund Entwicklungswerkstatt, i.e. development of projects and services instead of products.

7.1. Projektwerkstätten für sozial- und umweltverträgliches Denken und Handeln at the Technische Universität Berlin

The project workshops (project workshops for socially and environmentally sound thought and action) are not directly linked to PAULA, and were not set up by them. However, Karl Birkhölzer, a founder member of PAULA, was appointed by the Technical University to act as co-ordinator for the project workshops. Many of the students within the project workshops have been closely involved in the work of PAULA and its projects. The Technologie Netzwerk, which was based at the Technical University, was jointly set up by PAULA and the project workshops, and several students are closely linked to the Kommunales Forum.

"Project workshops for socially and environmentally sound thought and action" were started in 1985 by students of the Technical University, in response to a perceived lack of critical content within their conventional study. It was an attempt by the students to determine for themselves the direction and content of their studies. Project workshops are an attempt to complement the conventional courses by trying to adopt an interdisciplinary approach, through questioning the practical application of their studies and through trying to work on alternatives:

"The project workshops are concerned with two pedagogic-didactic aims: the acquisition of abilities for practical, innovative work, and the acquisition of an attitude to work which is determined by self-motivation instead of external motivation.

According to these aims, the project workshops are in their form, their aims and their practice to be determined by the participants, the students themselves... (self-determined learning); who determine the content, choose and design their own project (a practical or theoretical product) according to their own ideas, and plan and execute it (learning-by-doing). In addition, the

chosen projects should highlight a concrete shortcoming or a deficit within the qualification structure of the university departments, and orientate themselves on [the model of] a socially useful and environmentally sound technology and "Wissenschaft" [knowledge / science]." (42)
(Birkhölzer, 1989)

The project workshops were initially recognised and funded as a model experiment ("Modellversuch") for 3 years. Since then, a total of 14 project workshops have been active within the areas Environment and Energy, Technology and Society, Women, Third World and Urban Planning. The project workshops now have been formally accepted and are funded by the Technical University on a long-term basis.

Students see project workshops as an important "free space" ("Freiraum") for themselves, in order to experiment with new forms of learning and to determine their own subject matter (Projektwerkstätten, 1989).

Through Karl Birkhölzer and other members of PAULA, the students were introduced to the work of PAULA. Their work was met with much interest by the students.

Several students helped organise the information visit to London / GLC, and took part in the trips. They were particularly impressed by the Technology Networks in London, and subsequently the project workshops tried to incorporate their ideas:

"Especially the question as to the possibility of setting up a development workshop within the project workshops together with other people and initiatives, was and is interesting for us." (43)
(Projektwerkstätten, 1989)

Within some project workshops, students attempt to develop alternative technology as student projects within their course, to incorporate the different aspects. For example, there is the energy seminar which was the first project workshop. Here, a whole range of very concrete alternative technical products were developed and constructed.

The project workshops are regarded by PAULA as an important basis for student qualification in the area of socially useful and environmentally sound technology. The work within the project workshops is seen as a form of qualification (see technet task

list 5) for the development of future areas of work. Many students, before and after graduation, are actively involved with PAULA and its projects, or working in other employment and qualification projects, such as the Technologie Netzwerk Berlin, the Kommunales Forum Wedding, Statbau, the Werkstattverein Leben und Arbeiten, Atlantis, etc.

The project workshops have established close working relationships with other projects. For example, the energy workshop has worked closely with Atlantis.

7.2. Technologie Netzwerk Berlin

The Technologie Netzwerk Berlin (technology network) was jointly set up by PAULA and the Projektwerkstätten für sozial- und umweltverträgliches Denken und Handeln, in February 1987, after a visit to London to study the technology networks and other GLC initiatives by members of PAULA and students. Much publicity for the Technologie Netzwerk was created at the inaugural meeting, which was attended by more than 100 people, including many from employment and training projects. This meeting generated much interest in the concept of Technology Networks. The Technologie Netzwerk provided the initial platform from which to formulate their strategy to fight unemployment, and served as a basis from which to promote their ideas and those of the GLC technology networks.

The technology network Berlin is a loose association of individuals from a variety of backgrounds, such as trade unions, universities, projects and initiatives, who met regularly to exchange ideas (PAULA, 1989).

Together with other groups and interested parties, the Technet "Goal and task list" was formulated :

1. "Assessment of the "London Model"
 - a research project to evaluate and to determine the transferability of the English experience onto the Berlin context
 - the organising of a programme of co-operation and exchange for students and scientists / academics on the development of socially useful production (with the London Innovation network and other bodies)

- a group visit to the UK (Sept. 1987) to ascertain what effects the dissolution of the Metropolitan Councils has had.
2. Exchange with and evaluation of communal development and / or employment initiatives in West Germany:
 - discussing experiences of "Development Workshops for Socially Useful Production" (in the form of conferences, exhibitions, excursions and subsequent published reports etc.);
 - public seminars on the theme of local and regional economic and employment policies.
 3. Promotion of "popular planning" in Berlin. The initiative "Kiezplanung von unten" has two aims:
 - to stimulate individuals and groups in local areas to produce their own plans for the areas' development;
 - to create meaningful work in local areas with "local production for local needs".
 Initial attempts are being made in the boroughs of Schöneberg and Tiergarten.
 4. The construction of an open workshop for product development. This workshop, as the physical and intellectual centre of the network, should serve a number of functions:
 - a critical forum for science and technology (public meetings, interdisciplinary projects, cultural events);
 - a workshop for developing prototypes of socially useful products and services, in collaboration with students (project workshops), scientists/technicians, "inventors, trade union and residents campaigns and others;
 - a germ cell for developing local plans for the redesigning of Berlin as a city to live and work in.
 5. Promotion of project workshops in education and science:
 - support for the project workshops already in existence at the Technical University Berlin in the framework of the "tutor programme for technical and didactic reform in undergraduate studies";
 - promotion of the programme and the project workshop idea in other disciplines and educational institutions;
 - promotion of direct, practical co-operation between third-level students/teaching staff and the "ordinary citizen" with a view to improving living and working conditions in the city...;
 - the creation of "workshops for learning" outside the normal third level educational system, where people of all ages can combine study/training and work in the context of socially useful production."

(Technet, no date, original in English)

This task list has been and still is the basis for PAULA's work, albeit slightly amended (see PAULA), and each task is considered a building block to achieve their overall aim, the "development of socially useful production in Berlin" (Technet, no date). According to the task list, subsequent projects were set up to fulfil the different tasks.

The Technologie Netzwerk, while adopting many of the original concepts of the GLC, sees its role primarily in raising awareness of the politics of technological development. PAULA, as an unemployment project, very much started from the perspective of being affected by unemployment:

"We as a self-help project started with ourselves. [When we looked at different strategies], we always asked ourselves: How does that help the unemployed, how does it help us? How is this useful for us, and how can we apply that to ourselves? That is why we have attracted groups who also start from this position. We are trying to create a basis ("Basis") for this, and from this we try to get to products, different forms of employment and firms. It is that way round. That is the point where we differ from the UK technet concept. We are a long way away from simply wanting to copy this idea. We have thought the idea was good and promoted it, but always had problems at this point, where we thought we have to do this differently here." (44)
(Birkhölzer, 1991)

They felt it was more important to focus on development processes, rather than products. That is, to highlight the many different ways of producing products, and to draw attention to the politics of technology and to increase public awareness. And this, it was thought, could be demonstrated practically, not through products, but by "showing that things can be done differently" (Birkhölzer, 1988). They believed they had to concentrate more on processes, rather than products, because they had to be realistic in what they could achieve. It was argued that even if they were able to develop alternative products, these were unlikely to create an impact. In addition, the development process is relatively long, and it would be wrong to expect quick results. Therefore, processes were seen as a better way to create an impression and mobilise people, as it draws people into the discussion in a different way. Also, the Technologie Netzwerk in Berlin had to operate in a totally different environment to the technology

networks of the GLC, and could not rely on the support of the local authorities.

Therefore, their emphasis had to be on creating public support:

"The technology-critical forum is developing... We don't want our development workshop to be solely product development orientated, but rather feel that general technology critical discussions have to take place. We believe this to be of vital importance. One of our criticisms of the London technets is that they are too product orientated, and that the necessary discussions and campaigns to create public awareness and involvement was neglected due to the effort to produce products to win peoples approval. Mike Cooley has always said that the best propaganda is an alternative product. Even if this was true, it can not be easily achieved, because the products that can be developed may not always have this striking character. And we feel it would be more interesting to focus on the development processes themselves."

(Birkhölzer, 1988, transcribed in English)

In order to address the task list No. 4, product development, the Technologie Netzwerk set about establishing the Kooperationsverbund Entwicklungswerkstatt.

The Technet was to be responsible for the organisation and consisted of a core group of activists. The policy for the Kooperationsverbund Entwicklungswerkstatt was written by PAULA/technet and a group of members. The third group consisted of sympathisers, which included the major employment and training projects, who took part in some of the discussions and were to become the members of the Kooperationsverbund. Much time was spent writing the concept, and when they felt close to realisation, they formed the Kooperationsverbund Entwicklungswerkstatt (co-operation combine development workshop).

The Technologie Netzwerk did not exist unchanged over any period of time. The main problem was the continuity of its core group. They had adopted several solutions for keeping the core group going: first it was an office financed by ASTA (students society at the Technical University) and largely manned by students from the Projektwerkstätten, as well as two PAULA members for 3/4 year, funded through a "Streikgeldfond" (money that had become available from a student-tutor strike). Then the research project took on the administration. During the planning of the development workshop, the technet had its most active phase, and regularly published a newsletter.

They have now reached a point, as the research project is more or less finished, where they have to find another group who could take this over. But somehow the technet has now become obsolete for the time being, especially as PAULA no longer sees the development of alternative products as playing an important role in the near future (Birkhölzer, 1991).

7.3. Kooperationsverbund Entwicklungswerkstatt

The Kooperationsverbund Entwicklungswerkstatt (co-operation combine development workshop) was founded in March 1990 by the Technologie Netzwerk Berlin e.V, and consisted of eight member projects. It was intended to be an instrument for opening up new and useful areas of work through the development of new products and services.

The technology network in Berlin set up the Kooperationsverbund Entwicklungswerkstatt as a managing body, and not as a development workshop as was the case with the London technet. The member projects came from the group of sympathisers. As Karl Birkhölzer stated:

"The concept of development workshops here is slightly different from the classical model. Within the development workshops, we do not want to make independent developments, we want to work on a multiplier principle, and the developments shall take place within the framework of the Kooperationsverbund everywhere, where the conditions exist. We take as a basis that there are many workshops in Berlin, many scientific institutions, we do not need to create these, we just need some kind of agency and project management, which ensures that projects of this type exist. We are in the process of developing an organisational structure. In this way, the development workshop is more a co-ordinating and managing body for project development, and not execution." (45)
(Birkhölzer, 1990)

The idea was that as projects already had workshops, what they needed was a co-ordinating agency to which they could turn for support and for help with technical problems and to put them in touch with available help, possibly from other projects. Therefore, the execution of product development was to be at the training and employment projects themselves, and not at a separate development workshop. The most important training and employment initiatives in Berlin were represented in

the Kooperationsverbund. They are all either alternative or other organisations from the voluntary sector, and not state organisations. The target groups are those identified by the work creation measures as "difficult to place unemployed" and the member projects had a total of about 1,500 people (in 1990).

The Berlin Technet applied to the Senate for funding for a five year model phase, in the hope that it would become established as a service provider within the sector of employment. It has always been difficult to obtain funding from the Senate for intermediary organisations ("Trägerübergreifende Maßnahmen"), as no allowance for this is made in the various Senate programmes. However, the then recently elected red-green Senate had agreed to provide funding for intermediary organisations through its programme "Arbeit 90" ("Work 90").

Asked what they would do if the Senate did refuse funding, Karl Birkhölzer said:

"We don't know. Well, they would not have political reasons for refusing, because we have a government which theoretically supports this kind of project. If it does not happen, it is because of the unclear situation after the opening of the wall. The biggest danger for us is if the Senate does not feel responsible any longer, and does not want to make active employment policy, until a new government is in place. ... If we do not get funds, there are still alternatives. The members of the Kooperationsverbund will not stop functioning, their existence is relatively secure. They have been officially funded for the last 5-6 years, and are established projects which nobody would want to miss, because of their real contribution. We want to offer them a service to improve their work." (46)
(Birkhölzer, 1990)

The Kooperationsverbund had obtained verbal confirmation for funding from the Senate. However, this funding, whilst not withdrawn, was "shelved" for the foreseeable future, due to the opening of the Berlin Wall and preparation for unification. This meant that although all the preliminary work had been completed, with contracts between the members drawn up and signed, the Kooperationsverbund never became operational.

Whilst many employment and training projects had been very keen to join the Kooperationsverbund, and had hoped that it would greatly facilitate their work and lead to more organised co-operation, they were still able to function without it and continued to co-operate on an informal level .

With time, PAULA started to concentrate more on its other projects, and the securing

of funding for its core members. This meant that the "building block of socially useful and environmentally sound production" was beginning to be pushed aside. It was argued by members of PAULA that they were not prepared to start the development workshop unless some basic conditions were met, such as secured funding for five years, with staff employed for five years. It was suggested to them by the local government departments that they could run their development workshop under the existing programmes of work creation measures and qualification. But they maintained that they would not be prepared to embark on this within the two-year time frame of work creation measures.

"If we were to embark in these two years on new product development, we would not have anything to show for it after two years. ...Within two years, you cannot do certain technical developments. ... We have always said we need at least five years. If someone was to offer us [funding for] five years, then we would do it." (47)
(Birkhölzer, 1991)

Karl Birkhölzer argued that as this could not be realised at the present time, and that product development had to be shelved for the time being.

However, it became clear during discussions that PAULA and its members were no longer interested in pursuing this further.

"I do not want it at any cost. If the conditions are not such that they are our responsibility, then this is untenable. ...If we really tried hard, we would probably be able to get some money, but with conditions and stipulations ... we would enter a situation, which would be out of our hands. Then the whole thing would become something, which we do not want." (48)
(Birkhölzer, 1991)

PAULA did not want totally to abandon the idea of the product development workshop, but wanted to wait until better conditions existed to make this a more feasible undertaking. They decided that they had to do something which they could achieve within the two-year framework of work creation measures. In the meantime, PAULA had begun to focus more on people and qualification and the development of services. This, they argued, would be more achievable as it would not involve so much development and they would not need a development workshop for this.

Qualification was to be organised in a project development agency. The project development agency was considered a more realisable first step in the direction of an eventual development workshop. Qualification for project development was something that they felt could be achieved within the funding frameworks available to them. But they still consider the idea of Kooperationsverbund and development workshop as useful, and worth pursuing.

7.4. Bildungsstätte für ökonomische Selbsthilfe

The "Bildungsstätte" (education centre for economic self-help) was set up in 1991 by PAULA e.V. and the Kommunales Forum e.V. and sees itself as a centre where unemployed people are able to educate themselves for economic self-help, rather than go through fast training courses, which are supposed to make them acceptable in the labour market.

The Bildungsstätte attempts to provide qualification and education for specific needs, i.e. for people to try through self-help to find new employment perspectives. It tries to support or stimulate initiatives by organising an educational process which enables individuals to obtain the necessary self-confidence and helps them re-evaluate their previous qualifications and experiences. In addition to economic self-organisation, the Bildungsstätte tries to be a place where mutual reflection of the work can take place, either project-related or inter-project (PAULA, 1991). Another aim is to make available the various experiences gained with regard to economic self-help for all interested individuals or groups, and help establish co-operation between the initiatives. The practical work was to be carried out within the Projektentwicklungsagentur (PEA; product development agency).

7.5. Projektentwicklungsagentur

The Projektentwicklungsagentur (PEA; project development agency) started operation in September 1991. It was established by PAULA e.V. and the Kommunales Forum

e.V. as a "work creation measure" for unemployed people from East Berlin.

PEA is essentially a shift away from product development to project development.

"Aim of the project development agency is to enable its participants to help themselves, that is, for actively dealing with their own abilities and potentials. Through the process of mutual discussions, future areas of work will be determined, and at the same time the preparation of these project ideas for realisation." (49)
(PAULA, 1992)

PEA "employs" approx. 30 people, who have decided to try out practical economic self-help. Like all other work creation measures, it will run for two years, during which time attempts will be made to realise new areas of work and new employment perspectives. These new perspectives will be in areas generally neglected by the "market", but based on social and ecological needs within the town/locality. By involving local people, the aim is to establish which needs are not wholly met, and to try and find new solutions together. These solutions can, at least partly, be translated into project ideas, which can then be taken up by the members of the PEA, and supported by various organisations and individuals, such as the Technical University Berlin, project-members of the Kommunales Forum etc. to be developed into projects.

The employment perspectives for the members of PEA are at least two-fold: they can either develop and build up their own projects, where they can find employment after the two years of ABM, or they can use their qualification as "project-developer" to, for example, work for "Employment- and Qualification Societies" as advisers to help with the development and realisation of project ideas.

PEA started operation at the end of the field trip in 1991, and no further details were then available.

7.6. Interdisziplinäres Forschungsprojekt "Lokale Ökonomie"

The Interdisziplinäres Forschungsprojekt "Lokale Ökonomie" (IFP; interdisciplinary research project "Local Economy") started its work at the Technical University in September 1988 and was to run for a period of four years, until August 1992. The IFP was the first project of PAULA for which they received funding (from the Technical

University for two researchers and two tutors, running cost and travelling costs).

The preparations for this research project were made by a group of unemployed academics, trade unionists, students and members of local initiatives, which had been working together in the Technologie Netzwerk Berlin since February 1987. The guiding principle for the research project was, according to Karl Birkhölzer,

"... that technology has to be more decentralised... You have to apply this also to the situation of a small village: the inhabitants of small villages should also have access to the means of production, which belong to them, which are controlled by them, which they understand, and which can be used in emergencies as a substitute, if the larger supplies fail, they have to be in a position to be able to provide for themselves." (50)
(Birkhölzer, 1991)

The long-term goal of the research project itself is the establishment of a new interdisciplinary research area "local economy". Basis for this was the lack of interdisciplinary research in general, but especially with regard to "local economy" at West Germany's Universities. At most, universities had only been addressing individual aspects within the the local economy.

"We are aiming to evaluate experiences from abroad, not just the UK but also Austria and Holland. There is still a need for an organisation which has information about all this, and is able to make it available. We are already being approached by many groups, who want to know more about this. Initially, we want to provide a service aiming to increase awareness, and of course gain support. But we don't just want to evaluate experiences from elsewhere, we want to establish the conditions for a practical approach to the local economy here in Berlin. This means that we have to look at all the various initiatives which exist in Berlin, establish links and see what potential there is, and then to formulate proposals."
(Birkhölzer, 1988, transcribed in English)

The IFP was to "explore, document and analyse local economic strategies in West Europe". Within the overall PAULA strategy, the IFP was to provide accompanying research of their work and address the first two points of the Technologie Netzwerk task list, namely (1) research about the sector communal self-help against unemployment; and (2) exchange with similar local, national and international groups. It was essentially set up to evaluate the material and documentation gathered so far during their previous excursions. Also, the IFP fulfilled an important function with regard to mobilisation, i.e. spreading their message, through organising seminars, meeting,

conferences, and exchange. In addition, the IFP was the contact point for many individuals and projects, also from the former East Germany, who turned to them for advice and help.

Within the context of the overall work of PAULA, the IFP provided an important basis from which to organise their work. They had rooms at the Technical University, and resources paid for by the Technical University. It meant that several of its core members were employed with income for 4 years. In addition, they could fund research trips, purchase books and meet all their running costs. It meant that while funding for other projects was not obtained, PAULA had through IFP a guaranteed continuity for their work, a time during which their other projects could be placed on a more firmer footing.

7.6.1. Research

The IFP planned its research in 4 stages:

- Documentation and evaluation of material collected during their excursions to the United Kingdom and other West European countries (Austria and Holland).
- Conduct comparative evaluation of the case studies.
- Development of a model concept for local economic strategies.

(Interdisziplinäres Forschungsprojekt, 1989)

7.6.2. Presentation of their research findings: development of a model concept for a local economic strategies

The IFP has identified the following as being the "ingredients" for a model concept for a local economic strategy, and these findings are presented briefly below:

1. Analysis of the local economic and social structure to determine needs, deficits and resources. This could be done by using deficit and resource analysis, feasibility studies, something like the London Industrial Strategy by the GLC.
2. Mobilising planning by and with those affected, through peoples plans, community planning, local forum.
3. Establishment of decentralised institutions for promotion and support, i.e. resource and support centres, co-operative development agencies, local and regional offices, societies for the promotion of independent regional development.

4. Promotion of decentralised networking organisations, such as neighbourhood partnerships, community associations, Technologie Netzwerk Berlin, Müllnetz.
5. Targeted advice and qualification measures for the promotion of self initiative and self-organisation through for example small enterprise agencies, early warning systems, urban studies centres, unemployment action centres, education centres for economic self-help.
6. Public development workshops for product and service development and innovation, through London Innovation Network, Centre for Product Development Services, project development agencies.
7. Social and ecological orientation of products and services, through social marketing, New Consumer Movements.
8. Promotion of non-profit organisations and co-operative companies, through community businesses, local exchange and trading systems.
9. Establishment of special funding instruments, such as community banking, socially responsible investment.

(Interdisziplinäres Forschungsprojekt, 1990; PAULA e.V. 1992)

The research project ran out in 1992. They were able to keep the offices at the Technical University. It is still unclear whether they will be able to obtain further funding or whether they will have to abandon the research for the time being. Those who had been funded by the Research Project, are now working in the Project development agency.

7.7. Kommunales Forum Wedding

While PAULA based a major part of its work on establishing local co-operation, they felt that on a practical level they could not work together with the local authorities, because these were not seen to be actively involved in employment policies. Instead, they were looking towards support from partners working in local areas to help conduct a deficit and resource analysis. One of the major co-operative links in the local area was that of "Kommunale Foren" (local forum). In 1986/87, PAULA tried to promote its aim of popular planning (technet task list No. 3) by helping to establish several Kommunale Foren, in the Berlin districts of Tiergarten, Schöneberg and Wedding. This failed in Tiergarten, but was adopted in Schöneberg through the setting up of *Leben und Arbeiten* in Schöneberg, albeit in a very different form than intended (see case study

Werkstattzentrum Schöneberg) and the Kommunales Forum Wedding (Local forum Wedding).

The Kommunales Forum Wedding started operation in 1988:

"The aim is to initiate practical steps for the reduction of unemployment, together with improvements for the living and working conditions in the district." (51)

(Selbstdarstellung, undated)

The Kommunales Forum Wedding sees itself initially as a co-ordination agency for a wide range of projects, institutions and firms (employment and training projects, institutions for the disabled, children and youths, parishes, cultural projects, unemployed projects, psycho-social advice centres, different departments of the local authority, environmental groups, firms), and to organise monthly meetings on a range of topics or problems. It aims to carry out a local systematic deficit and resource analysis to determine needs, as a decentralised basis to determine new areas of work and employment. The Kommunales Forum started this by attempting to work out an exemplary user plan for the factory site abandoned by the company Rotaprint in Berlin Wedding, where they are also located. It was hoped that by involving the local community and future users employment would be created through the expansion of existing, and the establishment of new companies.

The Kommunales Forum started its work in 1988, by developing a strategy and trying to publicise its work locally by organising public meetings. Participants grew rapidly, and approx. 100 projects and/or interested individuals were reached in a relatively short space of time. While the Kommunales Forum was to be an open forum for all local people, the reality was that it attracted largely other projects and organisations. What it showed was, however, that this was an area in which many people and projects were interested. Very early on it became clear that the workload of the representatives of projects made it difficult for them to participate regularly. It was felt that the meetings should not be an additional time burden, but should have direct benefits for the participating projects. It was agreed to hold monthly two-hour meetings.

In 1989, the Kommunales Forum was focusing on beginning a resource and deficit

analysis. Attempts were made to gather together the "knowledge" of the groups and individuals working in Wedding via presentations, discussions and individual meetings. The aim was gradually to build up a documentation of the deficits in Wedding, on the basis of which a local development plan was to be assembled. To facilitate this process, a working group was set up consisting of Wedding-Experts, who were to divide the area into smaller local areas ("Kiezstrukturen"). These separate areas would then be "filled with quantitative data".

It became clear how much work would be involved in this. "We can hardly do this during one-monthly meetings...and have to think about more suitable forms of working". (Kommunales Forum, 1989). At the same time, the pressure grew for direct action on behalf of the associated projects.

Given that the Kommunales Forum did not have a regular funding source, and only had 2 full-time staff funded on a "shoestring", it could hardly be expected to deal with the vast range of problems identified by projects working in this area. It was hoped in 1989 that the SPD/AL Senate would provide funding, and confirmation was given that they would receive funding for 1 full time and 1 part time worker, but this was later withdrawn (Rennert, 1991). Some money was later obtained to put together a deficit and resource analysis by the Senate Department for Employment, and this was the main funding source for the Kommunales Forum.

8. CHAPTER EIGHT: Atlantis gGmbH

8.1. Historical Development

The origins of Atlantis can be traced back to several projects, which in the early 1970's began work in the area of providing alternative advice and support for working class youths. These projects aimed to "improve the social and subjective situation of working class youths..... and to help them to develop their full potential." (Harris D. et al, 1988). One of those projects was the "Konflikt- und Bildungsberatung für die Westberliner Arbeiterjugend" (KBB; conflict and educational advice for the West Berlin working class youths) which started in 1974 in Kreuzberg. It aimed to advise working class youths on all areas where they might be experiencing problems, such as family life, accommodation, school-leaving and further education, changes in vocational training and/or employment, exams and conflicts in their workplace (Gluntz et al, 1974). The project "allgemeine jugendberatung" (ajb; general youth advice) was set up in 1977 and started in 1981 to focus on the psychological effects of unemployment by providing activities for vocational rehabilitation. Working with young unemployed people had shown that unemployment and a general lack of future prospects led to considerable psychological problems. At a time of rising unemployment, the emerging question: how can young people be re-integrated into employment? became a major concern. Several other projects were created by ajb to deal with the rehabilitation of young, mentally ill

people. After eight years, ajb had set up 11 sub-projects in the area of Kreuzberg and Charlottenburg and several rehabilitation workshops, such as the "Werkstatt für angepasste Technologie" (W.A.T.; workshop for appropriate technology). W.A.T. worked in the areas wind and solar energy, and landscape gardening, which were to form the basis for Atlantis's workshops. ajb primarily provided vocational orientation and advice, and offered a work environment and some training through their workshops. However, to enable the youths to gain further qualification and employment experience and stabilisation after their time with ajb, a follow-on project was regarded as necessary to help their future employment prospects.

In 1987/88 ajb, with the Deutscher Paritätischer Wohlfahrtsverband (DPWV), started preparation for the project Atlantis to provide a work opportunity for young unemployed people after their period of rehabilitation, and qualification "which is oriented to the needs of a future ecological market" (Atlantis, 1991). In June 1989, Atlantis was established under the organisational umbrella of ajb and the DPWV.

One of the initiators of KBB was Dr. Uwe Gluntz, who consequently helped set up ajb and Atlantis, and is presently one of the directors of Atlantis.

8.2. Aims and Objectives

The aims of Atlantis can be summed up as follows:

1. To fight against structural reasons for unemployment by opening up new socially useful and ecologically sound areas of work, and thus directly create employment.
2. To deal with the individual qualificational and other deficits of the unemployed to promote long term stabilisation, by providing choice, decentralisation, accompanied by social and educational guidance, to lead to better chances for re-integration into employment.

These aims were to be achieved through:

- The creation of employment for the unemployed and socially disadvantaged groups in society,
- opening up labour intensive ecological areas of work,
- exploration of ecological market niches,

- providing qualification opportunities for all its workers,
- embark on humanisation of the working environment,
- focus on the development and production of ecological products,
- use of appropriate technology,
- integration into regional informal, social and business structures,
- make available advice and qualification for other businesses or non-profit making organisations to achieve the above goals.

(Atlantis, 1989 and 1991)

8.3. Target Group

Atlantis' target groups encompass all the target groups as identified by the government as difficult to place unemployed people:

1. Unskilled and long-term unemployed youths and young adults.

The youths often have no school-leaving certificates, or certificates with low grades. Atlantis sees it as unlikely that they will be able to go on to vocational qualification. Basic courses in mathematics, German and English are offered to help those without school leaving certificates. In addition, courses specific to their areas of employment are offered. For this group, learning basic skills through their work experience is seen as improving their chances of finding employment. Atlantis does not provide vocational training courses, and does not issue any leaving certificates.

2. Young unemployed skilled workers, who have completed or broken off their vocational training.

This group, though having some qualification, usually does not have any work experience. This gives them the chance to apply what they have learnt in a routine work environment. In addition, they are able to learn new skills.

3. Older unemployed skilled workers between 50 - 60 years.

For the older target group, it is assumed that they have several years of work experience in one or more vocations, before becoming unemployed. It is especially difficult for the over 50 year old to obtain employment. Also, they may be reluctant

to learning more skills. They are regarded as having much experience in their areas of work, but are usually unfamiliar with new technologies.

4. Academics with a technical, commercial or psychological-educational qualification.

The unemployed academics are thought to have high qualification in their area, but have little or no work experience. This makes it difficult to obtain employment.

Work experience and more specialised qualification are intended to increase their chances on the labour market.

5. Previously mentally ill people, after rehabilitation.

These are seen as the core group. Atlantis aims to provide further stabilisation, and specific social and qualificational support.

(Atlantis, 1989 and 1991)

In 1991, Atlantis had a total of 137 workers, with 11 core workers (long-term employment), and 126 workers on work creation measures (temporary employment).

With regard to skill background, 48 were unskilled, 36 were skilled, 6 were social workers, 47 were academics. 18 had a background of psychological problems, 11 were ex-drug users, and 6 had a physical disability.

8.3.1. Questionnaire Solar/Photovoltaic department

Due to the problems of obtaining direct access to ordinary workers (see Chapter Two) I could only gain some insights into their assessment of Atlantis from a questionnaire conducted by a social worker / teacher in the solar/photovoltaic departments, with a sample of 30 people, (10 unqualified workers, 11 skilled workers, 9 academics) who had been working at Atlantis for the last 1 1/2 years. Asked what their reasons were for working with Atlantis, 26 mentioned ecological interest, earning money and obtaining qualification as the main motivating factors. Only 1 person felt pressured by their unemployment office to work at a project. The learning of co-operative forms of work and learning to solve internal conflicts was confirmed by 10 people, whereas general education came last (6 replies). For about half of those questioned (16) the qualification offered was not satisfactory. The unskilled workers found the qualification on offer

beneficial, but wanted the possibility of vocational training at Atlantis. Skilled workers and academics were not happy with what was on offer (no formal qualification is arranged for these workers, they have to arrange their own training). Asked whether they liked coming to work 20 liked it most of the time, 8 sometimes liked coming to work. 22 from 28 felt that they were doing useful and important work at Atlantis. Over half (18) felt adequately stretched (unskilled and academics) whereas skilled workers felt dissatisfied. 10 felt that their employment prospects had improved, while 13 felt they were clearer in what they wanted to do. 21 wanted to work for Atlantis on a permanent basis. When asked what they disliked most about Atlantis, many people said unclear decision-making processes and lack of transparency of structures. What people liked most about Atlantis was nice helpful colleagues, a good working environment and independent working.

While the above statistics can not be regarded as representative evidence for the whole of Atlantis (let alone all projects), it does give some insight into the level of satisfaction of the workers, albeit in departments which were regarded as being most successful.

8.4. Areas of work

Atlantis was organised in 3 phases: its first measure in June 1989 was for the wind workshop, landscape gardening, interior and passive solar architecture and the development workshop. In October the second measure started for solar technologies, public relations and wing construction. In February 1990 the third measure for administration commenced. According to Uwe Gluntz (director) leaving the administration until last was a mistake as the setting up of measures required vast administrative work, which meant that the applications had to be processed in addition to the actual setting up of the various departments.

In June 1990, after the first measure had run out, application for its extension as well as for each individual's work status working there had to be submitted to the relevant authorities. This imposed an enormous administrative burden, as the same process has to be repeated for each measure.

8.4.1. Wind workshop

The wind workshop consists of a metal workshop, an electronic workshop and administration. It has a total of 30 staff (10 unskilled youths, 10 skilled workers, 10 engineers / academics / social workers).

8.4.1.1. Products

In co-operation with the Technical University Berlin, they have developed a 300 and 600 W battery charger. This is being produced in their workshops and a market for this has been identified.

The wind department is also involved in developing a hybrid-system, where wind turbines are used in conjunction with photovoltaic, and are used, for example, to provide the energy supply of environmental testing stations. The hybrid systems were developed together with the Technical University and MAN. The prototypes had been tested by the wind workshops at Atlantis and were considered suitable to go into production. Together with the Technical University, wind driven circular pumps and wind-pump systems were developed. The wind workshops also work in the restoration of old windmills with the museum for transport and technology.

This department had identified a marketable product, for which a demand had also been identified (Twele, 1991).

Linked to the wind workshop is the wing construction department. This consisted of 6 people in 1991. It develops wings for the wind department. Here, prototypes are developed for use with various applications.

8.4.2. Solar technology

The department of solar technology consists of solar heating and photovoltaic solar sections, with a total of 40 people, 28 working in solar heating area and 12 in the photovoltaic area.

8.4.3. Landscape gardening

The landscape gardening department employs some 15 people, the majority of whom are unskilled. In addition, there are 4 instructors. Their main work is the maintenance of communal gardens and areas, but they also do some landscaping. Most of their orders come from the Berlin Senate or developers. The landscape gardening department aimed to set up its own independent business. This looked a realistic prospect at one time, when order books were full, but this has now changed, and the creation of an independent firm was no longer an option in July 1991.

8.4.4. Interior and passive solar architecture

In this department, 12 people are employed. Their main work so far has been to renovate, build and develop more than 1,000 m² of old factory space into offices and production areas for Atlantis's requirements.

8.4.5. Public relations

This department employs 10 people, and deals with all public relations matters, such as organising conferences and exhibitions and producing brochures, leaflets etc.

8.4.6. Administration and management

Three people are concerned with management. These were the initiators of the project Atlantis and had worked within ajb. They were involved with writing the curricula, applying for funding and organising the establishment of the project Atlantis. They are largely engaged in obtaining funding and maintaining contact with various local government officials and planning new projects.

The administration department employs 8 people, who are dealing with personnel administration, central administration of invoices, ordering materials etc. (Schneider, 1991).

8.5. Funding

Strict rules apply as to how much money a project can obtain from subsidies and this is very tightly calculated on the basis of the number of people employed.

Most of the workers with temporary employment contracts were funded through work creation measures (ABM), 20 received their wages via social security legislation (BSHG), 2 via a special Senate programme "501", and 2 via a programme for older unemployed people, 11 staff are funded by wage allowances for core workers to run the project. Normally, a project will receive funding on a ratio of 1 core worker : 15 workers. However, projects complain that this is not enough, as the groups they deal with need more help and support. Any additional long term staff can only be funded through generation of their own income. Also, no provision is made for continual funding for administrative staff and department leaders, who are often also employed on work creation measures. This poses a problem as it leads to a lack of continuity of work, i.e. administrative staff on two-year work creation contracts have to leave by the time they have established a working department. New staff means a never-ending time of re-adjustment for all concerned. One reason given for the reliance of core staff funding through work creation measures was that Atlantis try to obtain as much public funding as possible. Any additional staff can only be employed through extra income generated. However, even this is not exactly clear-cut, as projects are then usually liable to have their generated income deducted from subsidies.

The problem of lack of permanent core staff became apparent when Atlantis started: they had set up the other departments prior to the administration department and left administrative matters to be dealt with as they arose. This negligence of the administrative side early on meant that Atlantis was continually struggling in this area; as the organisation grew, the need for administrative back-up became apparent, such as applying for funding, liaising with Senate departments and other funding organisations, to obtain money and to keep things going. Projects generally have to deal with a massive amount of bureaucracy, filling out applications forms, keeping records of expenses, etc. This is further exacerbated by the amount of funding organisations they have to deal with, even one full time permanent worker is hard pushed to keep an

overview of all the things that need to be done in order to keep things going.

The yearly income of Atlantis in 1991 was DM 8 million, of which 80 % was subsidised income.

Atlantis has a number of different funding sources: wages are funded through the Senate Department for Social Affairs (for BSHG) and the county labour office (Landesarbeitsamt, for ABM) through national employment programmes. Usually the programmes are for wages only, and are geared towards already existing public employers or welfare organisations. The Berlin Senate, in order to enable alternative projects to set up and run employment and training projects, has made available additional funds through its "Labour Policy Framework Programme" ("Arbeitsmarktpolitisches Rahmenprogramm"). Thus, Atlantis (and other employment and training projects) in 1991, received the following:

Wages for core staff	DM 2.50 - 4.50 / participant/month
Running costs	DM 380 / participant / month
Investment/establishment of work place	DM 11,700 / participant (one-off-payment)
Qualification:	DM 3.50 / participant / hour.

8.5.1. Earned income

The issue of whether projects can or cannot use income generated by them or whether this has to be deducted from the subsidies, has not been clearly resolved. According to Uschi Blankenberg (director), the future of earned income has to be discussed very early on with the relevant Senate departments. Atlantis has to provide an estimated funding plan for the coming year, which has to include estimates of anticipated generated income. This plan has to be approved by the Senate departments. Atlantis has to re-negotiate the use of any additional income obtained above that estimated for internal purposes. If this is not approved, any earned income will be deducted from the subsidised income. As a general guideline, projects are allowed to earn up to 10% of their annual turnover and use this for internal purposes, but this still needs the approval

of the relevant Senate departments. In view of the difficulty in estimating future income, it is equally difficult to make employment commitments for the future based on this. The same applies to investments (Blankenberg, 1991).

8.5.2. Subsidised Income

The main bulk of subsidised income is in the form of wages. The size of the wages depends on the funding source (BSHG, ABM), the local authority where the project is based and the hours of training allocated to each individual. It is sometimes the case that skilled workers employed in a multi-functional role earn less than unskilled workers. Atlantis tries to avoid possible social friction by balancing this out financially. There is no clear structure on how money is allocated and given to each department. While each measure has a set amount allocated to it based on the figures given above, this is administered centrally, and departments have no own budgets. Some departments are kept totally unaware of their share of funding, i.e. teaching and public relations, and do not receive money allocated to them by the funding sources. The management often gives "their" money to other departments as the need arises.

The central administration and the management have no continual overview of income and expenditure, which is said to be due to the late establishment of the administration department. This led to Atlantis becoming virtually bankrupt once, but it was not realised at the time due to incomplete central accounting. A serious shortage of money was also being experienced in August 1991, when there were insufficient funds to pay the workers wages (Atlantis was DM 750,000 in arrears). Reason given was the transition period from individual measures to combined measures. Also, it was due to money having been used to start new projects in the East, for which no official funding had at that time been received. Atlantis, in line with other projects, is expected to start measures prior to receiving funding. They therefore have to obtain loans to cover this period. This incurs interest which is not covered by the funding. They are not allowed to use subsidised income for loan repayments. Projects often complain of this problem, as they are expected to have the projects up and running, sometimes several months before they receive official funding.

8.6. Production versus qualification

As outlined in the initial curricula in 1988 (Atlantis, 1988), the focus was to be on training and product development to avoid pressures of production. The arguments for favouring training and product development to production were:

- Production would be too much pressure to handle for individuals.
- Through focus on production, training aspect becomes non-existent, people do repetitive, unskilled work.
- More training-intensive if people can be involved in product development.
- Jobs created through production are very few, they often do not benefit the workers involved in helping create the jobs.
- Atlantis was set up to be essentially a qualification project. This does not mean that production should be excluded in the future, but there have to be clearer division marks.
- Some departments will never be able to make money, e.g. administration, public relations.

This position has now somewhat changed and, after many internal discussions and debates, there has been a shift from the focus on qualification to the focus on production. This may be due to trying to realise another one of its aims, which is employment creation. The arguments put forward by those favouring production over qualification are:

- With time, there is an increase in expertise and skills within some departments, which are able to earn money from products thus promoting longer term employment.
- It is positive to have a real working environment.

While both arguments present valid points with regard to achieving their aims, the practical realisation brings a problem of identity.

There are those who believe that Atlantis is essentially a qualification project and should

primarily act as such, while others believe that it is only through focusing on production that employment can eventually be created. These conflicting views show the dilemma faced by Atlantis in trying to achieve two aims: production to create employment and qualification to improve the individual's chance of obtaining employment.

Several departments focus on production to such an extent that they cannot afford to have people absent for training. This poses a basic conflict, as there is a pressure for departments to become independent and while they are experiencing full order books, they need the workers because otherwise they could not "bolt things together if they are educating themselves." (52) (Warendorf, 1991).

8.7. Training / Teaching

Despite the shift to production, qualification is still a major part of Atlantis, not least due to the fact that they receive the bulk of their funding from national and local programmes for this. Depending on the individuals background and needs, and the local authority they are dealing with, individuals are allocated training time. The ratio of work / training could vary from 10 hours training / 30 hours work to 0 hours training / 40 hours work.

The whole area of training/teaching was developed as a concept only. Teachers were to provide general education, and instructors more specific vocational skills. One of the directors, who had previously been a teacher and had worked at ajb, was to initiate, coordinate and support the qualification structure. However, she pointed out that she was not really interested in this, as she had tried to get away from teaching due to the high pressures and for personal reasons, and that she found it more stimulating to work on the management side. Also, she has little time for helping with the implementation of training due to her other responsibilities as a director.

She was involved in the initial setting-up, but left it to the teachers and instructors to establish their own working structure. Given the emerging conflicting interests of the teachers and instructors, this was a hit and miss operation, depending on the individual engagement of persons involved. Apart from general and vocational qualification, much emphasis was put on learning-by-doing. For all working areas, the groups were to be

put together in such a way that learning from each other would be facilitated. The emphasis was very much on group learning, with everyone within a group intended to be involved in all stages of project completion.

There was little or no co-ordination between teachers and instructors. Teachers were expected to help instructors (who may have been experts in their field, but often did not have any teaching skills) with teaching aspects, but they felt rejected by the instructors because they were regarded as not being familiar with their subject matter. Instructors were expected to help trainees establish their training needs, but this often did not work in practice due to work pressures and lack of teaching skills. Instructors were left alone to cope and did not have support facilities, often not accepting help offered by some teachers for the reasons mentioned above. Also, instructors were expected to carry out several roles: that of teaching, monitoring social development of individuals with social workers and production.

The intended structure was for departmental leaders to train the instructors together with social workers. Often departmental leaders are on work creation measures themselves and are unable to train, often in need of training and social support themselves.

This meant that for departmental leaders, instructors and teachers, a number of needs were not met, which in turn had a negative effect on the needs of the workers.

The only functioning liaison mentioned was that between (the only qualified) instructor, a social worker, the head of department and a teacher, all of whom worked in the area of administration. They who monitored each individual's development, and discussed various options open to them after their time at Atlantis.

Teachers of general subjects found that their work was not recognised by departmental leaders or instructors, they felt a nuisance trying to establish a time frame for teaching and had to battle to allocate time for workers for education. Departmental heads were often more concerned with production and did not see any value in education.

Teachers experienced difficulties in having their work recognised by the other departments. No clear guidelines for teaching existed. It was left to the individuals to

create their own space, and find out what the individual needs were for which they were to provide. This was a difficult task as the background of individuals was very different, ranging from non-completion of basic schooling ("Hauptschule"; completion of "Hauptschule" is vitally important, as it is a precondition of starting a vocational training course), to academics and highly skilled workers, such as engineers.

In addition to establishing educational needs, teachers found it difficult to allocate times for study that would fit around the working needs of the various departments.

Departmental leaders, faced with their own working pressures, found it difficult to organise their work with a majority of their workers being away for any length of time.

They were thus reluctant to grant this, arguing that the concept of Atlantis was that people would "learn by doing". The concept of "learning by doing", according to several teachers, was greatly misunderstood and misused.

"Some productive workshops think that repetitive work over several weeks means learning by doing ... it would only be learning by doing, if it was a completed project, with a beginning and an end." (53)
(Warendorf, 1991)

Whilst teachers accepted the principles of this form of learning, they argued that the workers were only doing repetitive tasks, and that not all practical work done could be regarded as learning by doing.

To overcome the problem of allocating time, two days were allotted to basic teaching: Thursdays and Fridays, but this was sometimes difficult to realise.

8.8. Organisation of instructors and departmental leaders

One major complaint by those in "leading" positions was that no job description existed. Thus no clear guidelines existed as to what their work entailed and what was expected of them. People were left to find their own way and to create their own job description. In addition, management was also unable to provide any help when asked, and relied totally on the determination and vision of those appointed. The roles of the individuals were not defined, and this led to conflicts as they were trying to establish what the job was and how they could best realise it, and how to interact with other departments. This

problem was especially acute for positions which had to deal with all or a majority of the departments, such as teachers, social workers, public relations workers and administrative workers. For example, providing individual support for the social needs was regarded as the task of social workers, however, they were often not aware of these needs, unless they were directly working with these individuals, and thus relied on departmental leaders to co-operate with them.

The expectations of Atlantis of departmental leaders in particular, was enormous. They were often employed in multi-roles, acting as departmental leaders, instructors, social workers, and were expected to have an interest in and knowledge of ecology for their field. Atlantis attempted to cross-link roles. For example, social workers were not to be simply social workers, but were expected to work within the departments.

Departmental leaders often were instructors. Thus, individuals employed had to be multi-skilled.

Clashes became apparent between different target groups. This was largely due to different work experiences. Some of the younger people had no organised work experience while others had been for long periods in employment in large, hierarchically structured organisations.

The latter found it especially difficult to adjust to the unclear hierarchical structures at Atlantis, and often said that they would prefer more clearly defined roles for themselves, and also more clearly defined roles for other workers. Essentially, it was a problem of responsibility. Often not in the sense that no one felt responsible, but the reverse, where people felt responsible for everything. Under this working structure, some people were taking on enormous tasks.

8.9. Management and decision-making

There was some confusion as to where decisions were actually taken. It was assumed that decisions concerning the whole of Atlantis were taken during the weekly GmbH-meetings. These were attended by the management, and one or two representatives from each department, usually the departmental leaders. When talking to individuals, it

became apparent that they generally did not believe that decisions were made there. Usually, the procedure is that management informs participants of new ways of funding new projects ¹. It is very confusing to have a variety of possible projects, often at that time linked to projects in other European countries, which sound exciting, but by the time the next meeting comes around, they have been dropped, and new ones appear. This presents a problem for departmental representatives, which are often accused by members of their department of not passing on information. Departmental leaders often are reluctant to pass on information about possible future projects as it raises hopes within departments, and they may not materialise. However, if representatives do not pass things on immediately, and a project gets funding, members of the department feel overrun and not consulted, and get the feeling that it is a closed shop, that they have no influence on any decisions, and that they are just expected to provide the necessary input to make these projects work. Or worse, one representative passes on information to his department, and then other department members hear it second-hand, and often distorted, and feel even more overrun because they never know what is going on. In one example it was decided to establish the training sector as an independent business (commercial, to form an economic company to sell training outside): this was seen as a way to secure additional income. The people who were to do it, i.e. the teachers, felt that they had not been consulted. They also did not agree with the principle, and argued that they had to get the training aspect on a sound footing within Atlantis first, and make sure that people internally would not continue to lose out before they went off and provided training to the highest bidder.

Thus, the management expects people to participate without proper consultation. While there was a conflict of not telling people too much too soon, there was a need for a more co-ordinated way of passing on information. The main aim of the directors of

¹*In order to secure future funding, something which is done by a large number of projects, often in conjunction with exploring new programmes and funding associated with it, the management make applications for a variety of projects, in the hope that one will materialise.*

Atlantis was to secure the projects survival, and thus channel energy into securing future funding. It was felt that this should also be the aim of everybody else, to put Atlantis's needs before their own. Decisions were usually made on the basis of whether they received funding or not.

It was generally accepted that the lack of transparency in decision-making at management level led to frustration and the "Atlantis syndrome": people start highly motivated and burn themselves out.

On the departmental level, decisions were supposed to be made within the departments, according to their own structure, but they were limited by the financial plan set up by departments (or rather the management when applying for funding) and had little scope. Often, the departmental budgets were not used for that department alone, but the total of all budgets was seen as being generally available for pressing needs.

Also, with regard to the working structures within departments, no clear guidelines exist. It was expected that structures would be developed by the departmental leaders and instructors, but this was often difficult to achieve:

"We have no authority to make decisions, even though we are the only ones who are involved in the work and are responsible for it." (54)
(Warendorf, 1991)

8.10. Employment creation

One strategy adopted by Atlantis to create employment was to help departments become independent, generating their own income and thus creating long term, non-subsidised employment. While this was difficult to achieve for all departments, for some this would be virtually impossible. For example, a number of departments have a "subservient" and supportive role to other departments, such as the building department. Theoretically, it could become a business in its own right, but those working there for the first two years have been largely employed completing Atlantis's own building requirements, refurbishment of buildings for the various departments. The same is true for the public relations department. It was generally accepted that the PR department would never be able to operate independently of Atlantis. Its main task is that of providing PR material in the forms of brochures, exhibition stands, organising

exhibitions, etc. It has the task of obtaining information from the various departments on their work. Their experience has shown that this is extremely difficult, because no-one in the departments feels responsible or able to provide them with the information they require. The PR department has no core staff, hence has no continuity. The administrative department has similar tasks, that of providing internal support, and is therefore unlikely to become an independent business.

The expectations individuals had of their work within Atlantis, with regard to the long term, were that there was a good chance to remain with Atlantis permanently.

This assumption was based on what they had actually been told. Uwe Gluntz, one of the Managing Directors, made a prediction of what happens to people after their time with Atlantis:

"This varies quite a lot. A large proportion we keep, they will be offered long-term employment here. Not all have to leave after 2 years. About one third we could surely keep working for us, or secure long-term employment for them outside. Another third has a definite re-training or vocational training place when they leave here. Basically, about 75% of people are secure in these ways, the remaining 35% are varied, one might have a baby, yes this is possible." (55)
(Gluntz, 1991)

This statement is clearly nothing more than a public relations exercise, and does not bear any relationship to the reality.

"In the last two years the people could have been informed about this, that we are not expanding [with regard to full-time employment], we are expanding but only on an ABM basis, as before, we continue to act as a transitory channel ("Durchlauferhitze"). Only for very few people the real possibility exists ... to be taken over, and those will in no case be the unskilled people, they would only be the instructors or departmental leaders, because only for those it would make economic sense creating employment is more a hope than a reality."

"In the end, they are only creating employment for themselves." (56)
(Warendorf, 1991)

Common expectations to all therefore, were the hope that they would be "taken over" after their two years and that somehow Atlantis would provide them with a permanent prospective. These expectations were raised at initial job interviews where this possibility was stated, and it was explicitly mentioned in the Atlantis brochure. The

point of "official" and "unofficial" aims comes to mind here. At several times (usually during GmbH meetings) it was pointed out that when people referred to this aim, they were told that this was the "official aim", i.e. what was written in order to get funding from official sources.

"I made the mistake at one GmbH-meeting to refer to an early paper of Atlantis, and I was laughed at. That was only meant as a paper for the job centre or wherever the applications go to. It was only a paper, I had noticed that myself in the meantime, but that it was like this, I found terrible, that I had been right. Because of this no feed-back was possible, because they didn't mean what they said in the first place." (57)
(Warendorf, 1991)

But this is indeed a problem: obviously, the application form and curricula for the funding sources could be argued to be solely for "official" use, and indeed was not generally accessible to individuals of Atlantis. But the official brochure produced by the PR department was widely accessible (and indeed looked upon with pride by the individuals belonging to this project) and contained these messages of "future prospects within Atlantis". Also, during initial interviews, individuals were told about this. In addition, it was maintained during working days, that if they performed well, they would be able to become fully employed by Atlantis. It became clear after the first two years that this goal, official or unofficial, was not achieved. Atlantis had not provided any permanent employment prospects.

The problems regarding integration into the first labour market were addressed by a departmental leader in the photovoltaic department (these problems also apply to all other departments):

"The difficult thing is the following: the first labour market does not provide enough in this area [photovoltaic], which sometimes reduces the value of the qualification. It is a qualification, but always with a view to the future. The difficulty is for people after the two years to find an area for them to work in, even if they have increased their knowledge, and if we cannot take them over. I am pretty sure that over the next few years there will be more opportunities, no question. The photovoltaic market will be more expanded in the next three years, and then engineers and skilled workers are needed to install the systems." (58) (Uh, 1991)

One area, where the setting up of an independent business had become feasible for about 10 people, was in the wind department. In summer 1991, the two year period for the first ABM-workers came to an end in the wind department. It became clear during the weekly meetings that many had assumed that they would be able to stay on, and few had prepared for life outside Atlantis. Discussions in the wind department a year prior to this were about whether or not to go into production. When asked then whether they wanted to go into production of a more or less established product which had been developed, and for which the departmental leader had established contacts with a prospective buyer and had done a feasibility study of how many people this could support, workers did not want to embark on this. Reasons given were that they preferred to work on the development of products, rather than the production of products. However, funding for the development of products was and is not available. So workers voted on this themselves. They had the opportunity to pursue independent production but turned it down. Even though the product and a buyer existed, and Atlantis had promised administrative and other support, workers felt unable to pursue this. A possible explanation for this might be that even though they were familiar with the production side, they lacked all the other necessary skills to go into business themselves. All they felt able to do was to work on product development within a relatively non-pressured environment. In addition, they did not have a suitable production site, i.e. their workshop did not have the facilities to go into production. However, the main problem was the fact that no one was prepared to take on this responsibility:

"The problem is the responsibility, nobody is prepared to say that they will take on this responsibility ... and to organise this. No one or very few people would be in the position to continually and regularly work under the pressure, and to guarantee that they could produce a certain amount of systems." (59)
(Twele, 1991)

Based on the example of the wind workshop, the problems with regard to employment creation and integration into the first labour market can be summed up as follows:

- Workers did not want to commit themselves to forming a company and decided

not to go into production. They chose product development, but for this no money was available.

- Qualification gained at Atlantis is not usually enough to get employment outside.
- Older workers have even less chance due to age.
- During the initial interview people are given false expectations, i.e. employment with Atlantis after two years of training, which did not materialise.
- Conflict: Atlantis structure is not efficient enough to prepare people for employment outside, or for creating long-term employment internally.

This contrasts with the experiences of one project, the Werkstattzentrum Schöneberg, where workers had obtained the skills to start their own businesses. This project was much smaller, consisting of 1 project leader and 15 workers (see case study Werkstattzentrum Schöneberg).

A major reason for Atlantis' lack of success in creating full-time employment and recognised qualifications is due to the fact that it has a very high number of its departmental leaders and instructors employed on ABM. This means that they are faced with constant fluctuations, which affects both production and qualification. On the production side:

"Due to the whole ABM-construction, this will be a problem in the long term, because always a lot of skill and knowledge is lost, which on the one hand is good and part of our aim, but on the other hand a real loss, because we have trained those people, and we have our own projects running where we need certain skills ... when those simply disappear because a date has been reached, practically break out of a structure which we have laboriously built up over the time." (60)
(Uh, 1991)

On the qualification side, while realising that proof of qualification is important to obtain employment in Germany, Atlantis does not provide this. There have been many internal discussions whether to provide certificates. But the question was what this certificate should be, so that it would be recognised by potential future employers. Atlantis does not provide vocational training, and does not intend to:

"We can not afford this neither from out instructors nor from the structure of the firm, we would need instructors who would be exclusively looking after the unskilled ... we would also have to have certain equipment, in order to be recognised [as a vocational training place]. I don't think you can achieve this with people on work creation measures, who are only here for two years."

(61)

(Warendorf, 1991)

8.11. Co-operation with other projects

Atlantis has established close working links with other projects and organisations. They work closely with about 15 other projects, and have established working relationships with small companies who are working in their areas. In addition, they work with independent engineers. They aim not to compete but rather to co-operate with other projects and firms.

In November 1992, Atlantis (Wind and Solar energy) was in the process of setting up "Consortium EEE Berlin" (Ecology, Energy, Economy) with three other projects, Stattbau GmbH, GFBA e.V. (metalwork training and ecologically sound interior construction) and "understandingbus" (European languages and cultural exchange) to establish closer links with partner groups in Ireland, Spain, Greece and Portugal. The EEE consortium has set itself the aim of establishing a European co-operation network for the creation and safeguarding of employment and qualification programmes with an ecologically sound orientation.

8.12. Relationship with the Senate

The relationship with the local government is regarded as good. After initial struggles, Atlantis is now a firmly established employment and training project. Atlantis attaches much value to maintaining close working relationships with the various Senate departments and the job centre, and does not feel their work is influenced by changes in local government.

"Apart from the fact that we receive 80% subsidies, such as wages and investment, the contacts to Senate and local departments are important. And it really does not make any difference whether they are CDU, SPD or AL."

(62)

(Gluntz, 1991)

When asked why they thought that they were so successful in obtaining funding, Uwe Gluntz said:

"We simply combined these two questions. We tried to combine the creation of employment with the solution of the ecological question. And politically, this cannot be disproved. Even if they know that we have a fairly socialist perspective, they can't dismiss this thought. We can sit down with CDU-politicians and ask them in open discussions, if they disagree with anything we do. And they usually can't think of any argument. Even if fundamentally they would prefer to give this to more reactionary organisations. But these cannot solve the ecological question, i.e. the inner ecological, the social question, there is no comparable organisation in the conservative area which is dealing with these two questions together." (63)
(Gluntz, 1991)

Other projects often complain that they have to deal with too many different Senate departments, and often feel that they are being referred from one to the other. Uwe Gluntz agrees with this, but argues that they overcome this problem:

"We invite everyone around one table and say: now lets look at this together. The week before last we had the leadership of the employment administration here and the Senate for social affairs and the Senate for employment, which was a good basis for reaching decisions." (64)
(Gluntz, 1991)

This strategy appears to be working, and Atlantis enjoys a relatively secure position.

8.13. Conclusion

Clearly, Atlantis are working under extremely difficult external conditions. But there are also internal problems. In any human enterprise there will always be people who are dissatisfied and whose personal goals do not meet the collective goals. The reality seems to be a lack of clear goals and lack of purpose. Where the collective goal is unclear or confused, the potential for internal conflict is even greater. But certainly many people within Atlantis have expressed concerns. They were particularly concerned by being left to their own devices in trying to create the project Atlantis not only without clear guidelines, but also without a suitable mechanism to develop concrete working environments. There was very little interest in feed-back from the departmental leaders and analysis of the overall operation by management, and attempts by

individuals to liaise closer with management on problems experienced were often rejected. This led to the general feeling of "muddling through", with reactions only when things "exploded" and complaints about a lack of structure within Atlantis. Because of this, there was no continuity on a daily level, with constant restructuring of work. Frictions often emerged between different target groups due to differences in experiences, expectations, working and social habits of individuals, and this was not suitably addressed. In addition, no co-ordinated provision was made for the individual problems of the target groups, e.g. debts and addictions. Atlantis experienced high levels of absenteeism (illness or lack of motivation), and this posed another burden for the core workers to attempt to provide production, qualification and rehabilitation. Many workers felt their needs and interests were not voiced strongly enough at weekly GmbH meetings, which led to a "sit in" by workers, and demands for trade union representation and the establishment official structures for representation. This was strongly rejected by the management, who see Atlantis as a "family", and who clearly attached more importance to the survival of Atlantis as a projects than to meeting its aims as outlined in its brochures and the needs and expectations of its workers. Atlantis suffered several external problems, such as chronic shortages of funds, several postponements of their starting date, buildings not ready for occupation as well as dealing with changes in governments and individuals in authorities, and these played also an important part in trying to establish suitable working practices. However, one of the major problems were the co-ordination of different levels of qualification amongst the workers, as well as lack of required qualifications within the different departments and an overestimation of the workers abilities. Therefore, there is a need to develop aims and a realistic time frame based on the availability of people, available qualifications, individuals pressure levels instead of making aims and deadlines theoretically and then finding suitable people.

9. CHAPTER NINE: Gesellschaft für Stadtentwicklung mbH (GSE) (Society for Urban Development)

9.1. Historical Background

The Sozialpädagogisches Institut (SPI) (social-educational institute) is the parent organisation of the Gesellschaft für Stadtentwicklung (GSE), and belongs to the type of organisation which developed out of, and has its roots in, a traditional welfare organisation, the Arbeiterwohlfahrt (Workers Welfare, see Chapter 4.7), who established the predecessor of the SPI, the "Wohlfahrtsschule" ("Welfare School") in 1928.

In 1928, the Arbeiterwohlfahrt tried to realise one of its aims, which was the democratisation of the welfare administration, through the setting up of the Wohlfahrtsschule, to provide alternative, worker orientated, training to existing training facilities for welfare workers. Traditionally, welfare training was done through denominational welfare organisations or "the middle-class /bourgeois women's movement" (Buschfort, 1988). The worker movement and its ideology of socialism felt under-represented within the prevailing view of welfare:

"Welfare was taught as the means to fight social poverty and neglected any analysis of the social failings which were the reasons for social poverty, and in no way were political changes discussed in these schools." (65)
(Buschfort, 1988)

In 1933, the Wohlfahrtsschule was closed down by the National Socialists, and was re-opened in 1951 as the Sozialpädagogische Institut (SPI). The SPI is a charitable foundation of the Arbeiterwohlfahrt. The main work of the SPI was to train social workers, until in 1978, an academic advisory council was added to help develop social work theory and practice.

During the late seventies, at the height of the squatter movement the SPI decided to expand its working area to combine social self-help with building self-help (Kern et al, 1988). In 1981, the SPI was recognised as a redevelopment / renovation trustee company of the Land Berlin ("Treuhänderischer Sanierungsträger des Landes Berlin"), and started working in the 4 areas: training, research, further education/training and urban development / renewal. Both the Arbeiterwohlfahrt and SPI, once seen as "alternative" organisations are now regarded as traditional by the new social movements.

9.2. Aims

9.2.1. SPI

The aims of the SPI are to act as mediator between traditional social administration and new organisations of social work and through its work, new ideas about social work become generally known and translated into practice. The main aims are "to develop or organise opportunities, which help secure the basic living conditions of human beings, like accommodation, training, and employment, which are the pre-conditions for a self-determined way of life." (66) (Kern et al, 1988).

9.2.2. GSE

The project under investigation here, GSE, is located under the working area "Urban Development" (Geschäftsbereich Stadtentwicklung, Ausnahme und Regel, 1981) one of the four working areas of SPI. GSE was formed in 1987/8, with the aim to link together the until then separately operating areas of urban renewal, supply of housing and business space, social and cultural measures for the infrastructure, employment and

work activities. GSE operates as a separate gGmbH, and started its work in 1989.

The main functions of GSE within Ausnahme und Regel are:

1. "Procuring and administration of housing and utility rooms for youth work, socially disadvantaged tenants, youth, social and cultural projects as well as the organisation and execution of advice and support.
2. The organisation, advice, execution and the supervision of building measures, including the improvement of the living environment, within the framework of the socially orientated urban development, with special consideration towards promoting self-help in building and social areas.
3. The employment and vocational qualification of groups of persons working in the area of youth support and problem groups within the labour market with the aim of continuous social and vocational integration into the community and the labour market." (67)

(GSE, (a) 1991)

9.3. Target group

GSE is not a youth project. It deals with all age groups: 70% are over 30 years old, (37% are 30-40, 22% are between 40 and 50, and 11% are over 50 years) and only 30% are between 20-30 years.

The majority of workers have a vocational training qualification, and several years of work experience. The target groups are the so-called long term unemployed and workers have increasingly come from East Germany, before and after the demolition of the Berlin wall.

Many of the workers have, due to long spells of unemployment, no confidence in their abilities. Many have problems associated with long-term unemployment, such as alcohol and drug abuse, debts and relationship problems. Those from the former East Germany have the additional problem of no suitable accommodation, often they share a room with 6 others. ("They often come just to get out of their room"). For the older workers, the realisation that they have really no chance ever to get employment again is a major

handicap for motivation. (However, for the older workers, there exists a possibility to be taken on full time by the project through a wage-subsidy programme for older people).

These factors are all seen as detrimental to stable working practices. That is why one of the major aims is to give them some kind of feeling of self-worth, of feeling that they are doing something useful, to be able to cope with being in a "kind of temporary stacking loop" ("Warteschleifen").

Several of the instructors are also employed via ABM.

9.4. Areas of Work GSE

The work of GSE is divided into 2 main areas:

1. Providing advice and support for socially disadvantaged tenants, and youth, social and cultural projects.
2. Nachbarschaftswerkstätten /NSB (neighbourhood workshops). They are the focus of the case study.

Recently, GSE has added on new working areas, the latest two being the GSE Recycling Project in spring 1991, and GSE Consulting und Qualifizierung, the latter being the only GmbH, i.e. a profit-making company.

9.4.1. GSE Wohnraumverwaltung (Housing maintenance)

In co-operation with the SPI, GSE administers several houses, which on average contain 100 flats each. Their task is to advise the tenants and carry out maintenance and repair services. In addition, together with the gardeners of the neighbourhood workshops, they look after the communal areas.

9.4.2. GSE Nachbarschaftswerkstätten (neighbourhood workshops)

The neighbourhood workshops are divided into the following trades: woodworking, painting, metal working, gardening and maintenance of local communal green areas and building work.

They work in the areas of refurbishment and modernisation of a large variety of

buildings, i.e. flats, shops and workshops, and undertake renovation of industrial sites to cultural and communal areas. They attempt to include ecological aspects in all areas of their work.

GSE works exclusively for non-profit making organisations. Larger contracts are often carried out in conjunction with traditional Berlin firms. This is seen as an important way of helping the re-integration into the first labour market, and "in this way, several ABM-workers have obtained first labour market employment." (Haas/Depta, 1991).

9.4.3. GSE Recycling-Project BauElementeLager (BEL) (storage and recycling of building materials)

This is their latest project, and started in spring 1991. The aim here is to store used building materials from demolition and refurbishment, i.e. old doors, anything that can be used again.

9.4.4. GSE Consulting and qualification GmbH

This is the commercial part of GSE, i.e. it is registered as a GmbH (not common use), and functions as a normal business. Here, they offer their services to projects on how to set up and run employment and training initiatives. Also, they provide help with and organise qualifications. They use the experiences learned within their project to sell these to outside organisations. However, while the qualification is very much based on the materials and expertise gathered during their time as a qualification project, it is offered in a different form. It is not available to people internally.

They set up this commercial area to be able to operate commercially. Whereas in their other work, they are very much more restricted in who they can work for (usually only for other non-profit making organisations). Their motivation to try to generate their own income is very much dampened by the fact that they have to declare this extra income, which in turn is deducted from their outside funding. On the other hand, they know that they can only survive if they are able to generate some additional income (especially as they expect there to be cuts in funding for running costs), which is independent from Senate scrutiny and applies to non-profit making organisations.

"It is always the case with non-profit making organisations, that they develop a commercial outlet in order to escape the constraints imposed by the laws of public finance... It is not possible for people from the non-profit making sector to work in the commercial sector. But you can pass on know-how and expertise ... this commercial outlet was set up to advise and support other projects, and to finally have the opportunity to sell on the market the results of years of working within the non-profit making GSE." (68)
(Haas/Depta, 1991)

The selling of advice and training is adopted by several projects, as a means of generating income, for example Atlantis. There is a big new market opening up for exactly this type of work: East Berlin and East Germany.

9.5. Number of participants

GSE has grown fairly rapidly, from 55 ABM placements in 1989, with an additional 62 placements in 1990, and a further 71 placements in 1991, bringing the total to 188 participants. In addition to the ABM placements a further 2 people are funded through BSHG and 5 older people are funded through a wage supplement programme. GSE core workers make up approx. 7% of total workers. This brings the total to approx. 200 people. GSE eventually expect to create 1,000 ABM places.

During the time of its foundation, (demolition of Berlin wall) it was argued by the Senate that what they wanted now were large projects, with around 200 people or more, as they felt that small projects with around 20 or so participants, could no longer absorb the problem groups of the labour market. (This was also the case with Atlantis and other projects). However, GSE felt that with too large a project the structures would become uncontrollable:

"Because the workshops have to be controllable [with regard to size], but these can hardly be financed as a whole project, and the Senate then said "you simply have to become large agencies which employ more people, we do not want to spend so much money on small cosy projects, where 20 people are employed." (69)
(Haas/Depta, 1991)

9.6. Training

Up to 20% of working time is allocated to qualification. Qualification is organised partly through external and partly through internal instructors. GSE tries to organise

qualification in conjunction with particularly interesting work orders, and allow the time for the workers to think the work through. Past experiences in qualifying people has shown that most people prefer to be taught in the fashion learning by doing rather than through theoretical teaching, which is often rejected.

The qualification they provide on the whole is additional qualification ("Zusatzausbildung"), but they also aim to update existing skills that have become dormant. Over half of the qualification is concerned with ecological products, ecological materials and techniques.

For example, they experimented with introducing alternatives to traditional insulation materials to introduce the workers to other possible building materials, which are better for the environment and are less hazardous to the workers and users. In this way it is hoped that attitudes are changed, and that they will eventually pass on this knowledge to any future employment situation, where they will be more in a position to argue for better alternatives. The aim here is to increase workers awareness which is usually lacking as normally they are used to doing just what they are told to do. They also are often unused to considering health hazards and the risks to which they are exposed at their place of work. The second labour market is seen as a place where workers can learn ways to assert their mutual interests as well as their personal interests.

To promote different building materials, they work together with a supplier of ecological building materials, who also send people to hold seminars. This co-operation does not only help GSE, but also the suppliers to promote their materials. Recently, they have experimented with mud-building (Lehmbau).

Workers are often sceptical about using different building materials. Many have worked in their field for a great number of years, and they are extremely reluctant to be taught different ways of doing things. GSE find it extremely difficult to communicate the purpose of the ecological aspect.

Another aim of GSE is to pass on environmental knowledge to their workers, as they feel that being an employment project, they have the suitable conditions for this. In

traditional firms, this is often not possible, because their hierarchy is too strong, they do not have the space to talk about things like this, or even run a seminar to explain different ecological materials. This is only possible within organisations such as GSE. In addition, it is hoped that, once they succeed in obtaining employment, the workers will take their different attitudes to the first labour market.

9.7. Problems mentioned

9.7.1. Instructors

Some of the instructors are fully employed, some work via work creation measures (ABM). They need instructors and master craftsmen who possess a great deal of idealism and who are interested in social processes. They cannot be solely interested in completing orders.

They say that it is often difficult to obtain suitable instructors. For example, those on full-time employment, they advertise for in the normal press. But increased demand for skilled instructors generally means that there is a shortage of instructors (they have to be multi-skilled, accept less money and more difficult and demanding working conditions). Due to shortage of funding for core staff, they get a number of instructors via ABM through the job centre. Here, of course they have very little choice, they have to take what is available, and can not really turn people down, because the nature of their project means that they exist precisely to provide work and qualification for the long-term unemployed. To get good instructors via ABM is often a "stroke of good luck". For example, they started working with mud construction, and got someone referred to them by the job centre, a political refugee from Afghanistan, who had much skill and experience working with mud. This helped them enormously, as they themselves had no suitably qualified personnel for this.

The present ratio of core workers to ABM-workers is about 1: 10 . They feel that a better ratio of instructors / workers would be immensely important. Also, those instructors employed via ABM leave after 2 years, which means disruption to their work, and loss of stability.

The lack of more and better instructors is regarded as one of the internal reasons for hindering work. But they do not feel necessarily that being able to offer higher wages would mean that this situation would be rectified. They feel much more is involved in attracting suitable instructors. People are needed who will not just consider the wages but also look at the internal structures, and at the possibilities and working conditions within GSE. But GSE admit that the structures are not always easy because the fluctuation of ABM-instructors and workers means that there is constant movement, and many feel that at the end of two years of having worked in a team, they have to start all over again. Also, the work with this particular target group is very demanding.

9.7.2. Social workers

GSE very much regret the funding arrangement of social workers through ABM. They have two social workers employed through ABM, and one employed on a permanent basis. The social workers usually build up a feeling of trust in the first year, and then have to leave again. This also affects the continuity of their work.

Their tasks are to provide support and help to the individual, monitor their attendance, and follow up those people who have left and try to make contact with them.

The social workers work closely with the instructors. They put a lot of emphasis on social work not leading to control as this can destroy confidence.

9.8. Funding

The funding for running the projects is made up of various sources, such as the Federal Institute of Employment, EEC money, and BSHG.

The funding conditions for developing products are seen as extremely bad. They feel it can be done, but regard the funding situation as not sufficient. Many of the already existing programmes have been cut, such as the urban landscaping programme ("Hofbegrünungsprogramm"). This, they argue, is less to do with change in governments, rather than with the unification process. The argument of the authorities is that the problems in the East are so enormous they are no longer able to fund projects

regarded as "playing ecological games" (Haas/Depta, 1991).

They have managed to obtain funding for technology promotion for their recycling project for building materials from a European programme. The programme normally applies to small and medium sized companies, and they argued that even though they are a non-profit making organisation, they received this money because their size and structure is similar to a small company.

"It is very difficult, and is always very labour intensive, one has to invest an enormous amount of energy into securing funding." (70)
(Haas/Depta, 1991)

They are largely restricted to working for the public service area and other non-profit making organisations.

9.9. Development of products

They are presently working on three product ideas. An ecological allotment shed ("Gartenlaube") has been developed and built. This could be developed to the stage of a module system which could then be given out to production, either to a company they set up for this purpose, or to an existing business, which is traditionally producing allotment sheds.

Another idea is that of an ecological office partition, which provides protection from sound and light, and is made up of plants. Also they are working on safe disposal of paints and varnishes, which would be done through a relatively simple device, which separates the solvent from the solids without much technical complication.

The ideas for products can come from anyone within the project. Anyone can make suggestions. For example, the idea for an ecological office partition came from people working in their offices (Haas/Depta, 1991).

9.10. Kooperationsverbund Entwicklungswerkstatt

The reasons for joining the Kooperationsverbund are similar to that of other projects, namely to obtain support with the development of products which could suitably be used for production within their neighbourhood workshops, or even to develop them

internally, and give them to an internal company for production.

They feel it is particularly difficult for them to work innovatively on their own, and this is why they felt the Kooperationsverbund would have been a very useful organisation for them.

Firstly, for supporting the co-operation between projects, and secondly, for the establishment of close working links with universities and research institutes. Mr. Haas was a very strong supporter of the idea of Kooperationsverbund, and he particularly felt let down, because he had invested a lot of his own personal time. He argued that with determination, this project could have been pushed through successfully, and that the necessary funding would have eventually become available.

GSE see their internal innovation potential as very limited as they do not possess the necessary technical and scientific facilities to carry out real development work. They employ development engineers via ABM, but they need additional support from outside co-operating institutions. The development engineers are unemployed engineers. They do not work separately in their own offices, but work within the workshops because an important part in the development of products is to work closely with the other workers, in order to convince these workers of the usefulness of the whole thing. Thus they put a lot of emphasis on explaining to the workers what their work is all about and involving them in the process so that they do not carry out their tasks anonymously.

In addition, the function of the Kooperationsverbund as they saw it was to help with the co-ordination and organisation of the normal co-operation between projects. They argue that they find it difficult to maintain working links with other projects, on top of all their other work.

9.11. Clashes of traditional with new work organisation/methods

It is very difficult, especially when working with qualified people, who have been working for a number of years, to introduce them to new working practices. For example, to introduce brick-layers to the method of mud-building (Lehmbauten). They

are often stuck in their traditional way of thinking and doing things, "they have so many prejudices, it is difficult to get them to do thing differently." (i.e. "we have been doing this for years like this, why should we suddenly do it differently").

9.12. Realisation of aims

9.12.1. Re-integration into first labour market

One explicit aim of GSE is the re-integration of its participants into the first labour market. GSE is one of the few projects who provide some figures with regard to re-integration. In their evaluation in April 1991 (GSE, (a)1991), they state that 18 people had left their employment before the intended time, to take up outside employment with trade firms. This was described as due to the "effort of the individual or the good relationship of GSE with trade firms". Another 4 people were offered full time, unlimited employment with GSE. This means that out of 200 people, 22 were successful in finding permanent employment, which is approx. 10%.

9.12.2. Employment creation through setting up own businesses

GSE, like the majority of the other projects, generate some earned income. But they feel that they do not want to build on this with the aim of eventually starting up new businesses as they argue that for this they would need to change their target group, and that would mean once again "a selection process according to ability". They work for non-profit making organisations; work which they argue would not be done otherwise because these organisations would not be able to afford to pay for this normally. In this way, they are not in competition with other small and medium sized firms, on the contrary, they often include other firms in their contracts, and thus provide work for them, which they would otherwise not have had.

9.13. Relationship with the Senate

GSE is an organisation which was founded by SPI. The relationship with the Senate is regarded as relatively good by GSE, and good contacts exist. Especially since the

demolition of the Berlin wall, the Senate is interested in larger projects, which have experiences in certain areas, such as employment, qualification and work in the communal areas, which have the ability to employ certain target groups in a useful way. The SPI has this experience, especially in the area of self-help projects (modernising houses). GSE felt it was only natural for the Senate to turn to them to help the Senate find suitable employment for people in the East.

But they feel that in order to work more effectively, they would need a more long term planning of orders, and larger orders in general. GSE had hoped that the Senate would have clearer priorities in allocating work to them, as they argued for 15% of public orders to go to employment projects, but this had not happened. This would have given them the chance to carry out larger orders, which they feel would have been more interesting for them to do. It was GSE's aim to renovate / modernise (sanieren) whole houses, and they had hoped to get support from the Senate to achieve this. Instead, they carry out jobs on a smaller scale, such as installing heating systems, etc.

9.13.1. Changes in governments

Generally, there are no notable changes through changes in government, as the present employment policies are a major priority of all main political parties. However, each new government brings with it new priorities within the employment programmes, and usually some adjustments are made to existing programmes, with some taken out and new additional programmes added.

9.14. Relationship with other projects

Other, more grass-root orientated projects view GSE with suspicion, particularly because they are linked to the SPI. The SPI is represented in the Senate committee, which makes decisions about granting funding to projects. Other projects accuse GSE, due to its links with the Senate through SPI, of receiving favourable treatment (and accuse them of "stealing" houses for refurbishment from them). GSE argue that they are not in competition with other projects, such as L.I.S.T. and Stattbau, as they do large

scale renovation, whereas GSE only do smaller-scale building work. In addition, they are rejected by other projects because they have not grown out of their local environment.

10. CHAPTER TEN: Projekteverbund Zukunft Bauen (Project Combine Building Futures)

10.1. Historical Background

The Projekteverbund Zukunft Bauen e.V. (Project combine Building Futures) is a project which is based and works in one local area, the district of Wedding. The origins of Zukunft Bauen go back to 1981, to the idea of an educationalist responding to high youth unemployment, the increased de-skilling of vocational training, and the existence of many unoccupied houses in need of renovation (Depil and Baumhoff, 1991).

The original aim was to provide a new type of youth work project for a small group of young unemployed who had dropped out of school and/or vocational training and who had been in care. The intention was to convert an old house with qualified guidance to create long-term low cost housing for themselves. Also, it was hoped that through the work experience and skills learned, the participants would have a better chance of obtaining employment.

At the end of 1983, the youth self help project started with 15 youths, after obtaining minimum levels of funding. This covered daily care rates for the instructors, social security as income for the youths, and funds from the promotion of urban restructuring programmes for building costs. The first house was successfully completed in 1986, and 9 youths occupied their own flats.

It became clear to those running the self-help project after the first 3 years, that technical skills could be learned during this time, but what was lacking was personal stability. This lack of personal stability was seen to be due to the social environment in which the youths lived:

"As a rule, those youths in our care are the only socially protected people within their circle of friends who are unemployed, at risk from alcohol and drug abuse, homeless." (71)
(Depil and Baumhoff, 1991)

With the realisation that the members of the youth self-help projects were still unable to find work, given that employers "did not employ people like that", it was regarded as vitally important to set up a follow-on project, the Zukunftsbau gGmbH to provide further employment prospects for their target group.

The Projekteverbund Zukunft Bauen e.V. thus set out to offer effective solutions to the diverse problems experienced by the long term unemployed and those on social welfare. The main focus is on social education and communal living, life planning and career choice, affordable housing and income stability and of course employment. The organisation attempts to give its participants the skills to be able to improve their own housing and living environment. It provides employment experience with standard wages, leading to eventual career possibilities in housing refurbishment. This is supported by the government and the community as it helps the rebuilding of inner city areas and attempts to stop the local area becoming a slum. The organisation claims success in that it has proved that these so called problem groups have, after a period of practice and learning indeed become achievers and have a place within "normal" society. The Projekteverbund Zukunft Bauen e.V. today consists of the projects Zukunftsbau gGmbH (Future Build) and L.I.S.T. gGmbH (Lösungen im Stadtteil; Solutions for the district), as well as additional social projects, such as crèches, advice centres, and women's refuge flats.

10.2. Aims

Zukunft Bauen attempts to provide solutions for what it regards as the two main problems of unemployed youths: finding work and affordable housing (Knorr-Siedow, 1991).

There exist, however, more specific aims for the different areas of work, and these are outlined within the description of the areas of work.

10.3. Target group

The target group consists of "unqualified social security recipients from the district of Wedding" (72) (Zukunft Bauen, 1992). As Thomas Knorr-Siedow put it "We really try to start at the bottom" (1991). The organisation's target group is what they themselves term a "written off" group of the population of Wedding. It includes long-term unemployed aged between 16-25, ex-convicts, drug addicts, alcoholics and single mothers. Many lack basic schooling and/or vocational training.

Out of the total of 52 youths who had participated in the three youth self-help projects, only 7 had a basic school leaving certificate; 2 had started vocational training, but not completed it. Many of the youths had been in other "measures", usually with local authority gardening departments ("Gartenbauämtern") or hospitals, but had not completed them.

43 of the youths had spent several years in various care institutions from the ages of 12-13, and some had spent their early childhood in foster homes. Prior to starting with the project, 1/3 were threatened with homelessness, and a large number of those were involved in drug abuse, crime and prostitution. Their ages ranges from 14 to 20 years.

Zukunftsbaus was to provide further employment and qualification opportunities for those who had completed the youth self-help projects. The target group was expanded to include other youths and young adults who are classed as long-term unemployed and on social security benefit. The vast majority (over 80%) have no school-leaving certificate (Depil and Baumhoff, 1991).

The project is intended for 16 years to 30 years olds, but most people are between 20

and 25 years. Due to the particular target groups, there is a lot of fluctuation. For many people, even a project such as this, seems to be too much to handle (see Depil and Baumhoff, 1991).

At the beginning of 1991, the Projekteverbund consisted of 167 people (87 women, 80 men). 73 of those are employed via BSHG and ABM and 94 are core workers.

10.4. Qualification

The Projekteverbund is not primarily concerned with providing formal qualification, general education or vocational qualifications. Rather, the initial aim is to train individuals sufficiently to obtain work outside the project. Any additional training is encouraged, but organised on a strictly voluntary basis.

They have to finance their own general teacher, as they do not receive official funding for her, although some contributions are made by the Protestant church. Different qualification opportunities are offered to its different target groups. For the youth self-help project, general education is provided to enable individuals to prepare for their basic schooling certificate. For those working at Zukunftsbau, in addition to help with basic school leaving certificates, help is provided to go on to vocational training courses for those who want it.

Unlike other work creation measure projects, the youths within the Projekteverbund are on a scheme (BSHG), which does not qualify them for the usual training benefits. No official time is allocated for education, it is done in the spare time of the youths (usually Fridays, when they finish work at noon). Overall, 1/5 take part in the lessons (11 people). So far, no one has yet completed their basic school leaving certificate. For 7 people vocational training places have been obtained, and about half of those have successfully completed these.

10.5. Areas of work

The Projekteverbund Zukunft Bauen e.V. consists of Zukunftsbau gGmbH (Future Build), L.I.S.T. gGmbH (Lösungen im Stadtteil; Solutions for the district), the third

youth self-help project, two restaurants / cafes "essbar" and "kiebiss", a crèche and a women's refuge and advice centre.

10.5.1. Youth self-help projects

The aims of the youth self-help projects for its target group are the:

- "Creation of long-term, low cost fully renovated housing.
- Provision of useful employment and skills.
- Improvement of their chances for employment.
- Achievement of personal and social stability." (73)

(Zukunft Bauen, 1992)

From 1986 - 1989, the second youth self help project ran. Much had been learnt from the first youth self-help project. The problems experienced were similar, i.e. drug and alcohol abuse, absenteeism, etc. About half the participants were women. The main motivation for the youths is the creation of their own flat. Whilst most of the men went to work at Zukunftsbaus or started an apprenticeship after completion of their flats, the majority of women became unemployed.

In 1989 the number of employed increased from 15 to 34. All jobs were funded through BSHG (Depil and Baumhoff, 1991).

The third youth self-help project ran from 1989-92.

10.5.2. Zukunftsbaus gGmbH

Zukunftsbaus is a non-profit making redevelopment company and was founded in 1985/86 to provide further work opportunity for 15 unemployed youths and the necessary stability.

"The aim of Zukunftsbaus is to prepare its employees for the integration back into the normal employment and training market." (74)
(Zukunft Bauen, 1992)

It was planned to offer reconstruction work in building and ancillary areas, such as brick-laying, masonry, carpentry, painting and decorating. From very early on, much effort was put into getting larger contracts for its building firm, to ensure regular work

for its employees and thus to secure its future. This was seen as vital in order to provide the "conditions for a real social integration of the workers". This aim was realised in 1987/88 when Zukunftsbaue managed to secure a major renovation contract and successfully completed it (Depil and Baumhoff, 1991). On the basis of this, Zukunftsbaue had a full order book for the next two years. Zukunftsbaue tenders for work in the commercial market place like any other normal building company. They are registered as a normal construction company. However, the difference to other construction companies is that Zukunftsbaue is a non-profit making organisation. Also, it needs to employ one third more people to be able to work competitively. It is these one third additional workers that are effectively financed by public sources.

It was realised that women gradually withdrew from the building work, as they could see no long-term future prospect for themselves within the building sector. Preparations for a women's project began, finally leading to the setting up of a women's project.

10.5.3. Women's projects

Nine women started renovation work for a restaurant / cafe "essbar", which opened in May 1989. The reasons for this were three-fold: to enable women (especially those with children) to find work that suits them, to provide a meeting place for the existing projects and to provide wholesome food. For the women's project the above aims of Zukunftsbaue also apply. However, as the majority of the women (14 out of 19 women) were single parents, this meant additional problems of re-integration into the labour market or vocational and further training measures, due to the lack of affordable crèches.

The restaurant is run as a qualification project. It quickly became very popular with project members as well as local people. This led to another project in the same year, a crèche, "Ableger" for the women working at the restaurant, as well as for other women in the project, which caters for 12 children. In 1990, a second restaurant / cafe opened (Kiebiss).

Also in 1989, a women's refuge flat and social advice centre opened, called Frauenort (women's place) (Depil and Baumhoff, 1991).

10.5.4. L.I.S.T

In autumn 1989, L.I.S.T. was created by Zukunft Bauen in order to put the work of their building company on a more professional and secure footing (Zukunft Bauen, 1992), to meet the increasing housing needs of the project members and to have more influence in the shaping of its local environment. Recognition by the Berlin Senate was a long and painful process, and the final trustee contract was signed in 1990.

L.I.S.T.'s aims are to:

- Help secure the accommodation requirement of its target group.
- Support order acquisition for the construction company Zukunftsbau.
- Provide support for other social projects.- Become involved in the local district.
- Manage flats (presently 70 flats).
- Plan and accompany building projects for third parties.

With the unification of Berlin, the Projekteverbund realised that its original plan to concentrate on the north of Berlin, specifically the district of Wedding, had to be readjusted to include the Eastern part of Berlin.

10.6. Internal structure and decision-making

Unlike other projects in Berlin, where professionals themselves are employed on a work creation measure, Zukunftsbau Projekteverbund has 2/3 of full-time professionals, and only 1/3 on work creation schemes (Knorr-Siedow, 1991).

There is a lot of fluctuation amongst the core workers, as their work is described as very strenuous. They have to adopt multi-roles, i.e. act as social workers and instructors while working on building sites. They tend to leave after two-three years. It is increasingly difficult to find people willing to work on this basis, especially as in the "normal" labour market, wages are much higher.

The non-professional workers in the beginning have ordinary worker roles. However, with developing confidence on their part they become increasingly involved in the decision making process. This is done by means of a workers council, which meets weekly. The most important decisions are made by the core group, which is made up of

association members and one representative from each area of production. A full assembly meets once a year which serves as a project parliament. This makes decisions on all basic issues like the budget.

10.7. Funding

The finances come from a number of different sources. The Projekteverbund generated a turnover of over DM 6 million in 1990 (compared to DM 3 million in 1989). About one third of the finances are self generated through the restaurant and the construction company. The other two thirds come from a number of organisations:

- The state of Berlin
- The Robert Bosch Foundation Ltd in Stuttgart
- The registered foundation "Deutsche Jugendmarke" in Bonn
- The Lutheran church in Berlin
- Schering, Berlin (a joint stock company)
- The city savings bank, Berlin
- The foundation "Deutsche Klassenlotterie" (a lottery foundation in Berlin)

The total number of funding sources are as many as 18 (Knorr-Siedow, 1991).

10.8. Environmental Considerations

The Projekteverbund tries to integrate environmental concerns into their daily work and has very high ecological minimum standards. They attempt to use the available ecological building materials, and feel they have good knowledge of working in the area of ecological interior building. For their restaurants / cafes, they try to purchase organically grown produce when possible.

With regard to environmental practices, they feel that this has to be acceptable to their clients, who have to be able and willing to use it. For example, the separation of household waste within their flats is limited to glass and does not include organic household waste (for compost). Although it is not perfect, getting people to separate out their glass is a start, as "the people with whom we work, when they come to us they

throw their rubbish out of the window" (Knorr-Siedow, 1991). Overall they try to encourage user friendly ecological technologies, where this is realisable.

10.9. Kooperationsverbund Entwicklungswerkstatt

The Projekteverbund became a member of the Kooperationsverbund because they often felt confronted with technical problems in their daily work. To purchase the solutions commercially is too expensive for them.

They have gained a lot of experience in creating natural habitats for wildlife on roofs (roof landscaping). They are at the forefront of research in this area and they could share their expertise with other projects. On the other hand, they have only limited knowledge about heating systems, and often come across problems here. They believe that being part of an existing network, like the Kooperationsverbund, would make it easier to access information.

Through their memberships of the Arbeitsgemeinschaft Arbeit und Ausbildung and links with other projects, they have some contacts with regard to help with technical problems, but the Kooperationsverbund would have put this on a more secure and permanent footing.

The Projekteverbund actively works together with a number of other employment projects on a daily basis. It is a member of AAA, as well as the Kommunales Forum Wedding. It is a founder member of the national "Bundesverband sozialer Erwerbsbetriebe" ("Federal Institution of Social Firms").

10.10. Evaluation of their work

Through proving themselves as reliable contractors, Zukunft Bauen is increasing its workload. The income that is thus generated, enables them to employ further instructors. Also, all previous ABM-placements are eventually turned into full-time, long term employment. This is seen as a vital step in providing a more stable working environment, as only permanently employed instructors (as opposed to ABM-instructors) are in any position to deal with the often unreliable target group. Zukunft

Bauen is one of the few projects who have produced in-depth self-evaluation of their work. The figures and data presented below are largely taken from their study.

10.10.1. Youth self-help projects

Figures for the first two completed projects show that out of a total of 38 youths, 17 completed the duration of the project. Reasons for people leaving were continued use of drugs, alcoholism, dismissal due to continual absenteeism, mental illness, pregnancy and changed circumstances.

Of those who successfully completed the youth self-help projects, 11 were employed with Zukunftsbau, 1 started vocational training, 5 were unemployed. Of those who were employed with Zukunftsbau, a "large proportion had either found regular employment outside or started vocational or further training." (Depil and Baumhoff, 1991).

Overall, it was concluded that a time period of at least 5 years was necessary to achieve the necessary stability of individuals to obtain real employment or embark on vocational / further training courses. The youth self-help projects and the follow-on project Zukunftsbau aim to complement each other to provide this framework, and this approach is regarded as successful by them.

10.10.2. Zukunftsbau

Out of 112 people employed at Zukunftsbau from its formation in October 1986 until March 1991, 71 people had left the project prematurely. Each person on average stayed between 10 months and 16 months. It was noted in their self-evaluation study, that the time individuals stayed at the project was longest when Zukunftsbau started and had the lowest number of participants.

With regard to what people do after their time at Zukunftsbau, the study found that of the 71 people who left, 15 were in employment or further training. Overall, the study states that out of the 71 people, one third "have achieved a social integration." (Depil and Baumhoff, 1991). With regard to the future prospects of both those who left and those who remained with Zukunftsbau, the study concludes that:

"... between one third to half could be successfully integrated into society

and into the normal labour market." (75)
(Depil and Baumhoff, 1991)

Zukunft Bauen argue that those that work at Zukunftsbaun can regard themselves as "normal workers... they can show the results of their work." (76) (Depil and Baumhoff, 1991).

For Zukunftsbaun, where 85% of the participants have no basic schooling certificates or vocational training, it is considered a success that 40% of workers are directly integrated into employment, vocational training or further training measures (Zukunft Bauen, 1992). No figures were available for the women projects.

Overall, the Projekteverbund sees its work as successful, and states that:

"...the intended long term integration of the target group has been very successful. Particularly the integration into the normal labour market, the long-term commitment to their flats and personal stability has been remarkably successful. This is to be valued highly, particularly in view of their background, i.e. low educational achievements and considerable social and personal deficits." (77)
(Zukunft Bauen, 1992)

10.11. External Constraints

Thomas Knorr-Siedow believes that the conditions for their work are becoming increasingly difficult, especially with regard to funding. They are largely dependent on public funds for the renovation and building work, which so far had been secured due to the Berlin Senate's policy with regard to social and ecological urban renewal. However, with Berlin becoming the capital of a united Germany, the trend now appears to go in the direction of economic urban renewal, as Berlin increasingly attracts property speculators.

One of the major constraints on their work is that they have to obtain their funding from so many different funding sources. This takes up a lot of administrative time and means that they often cannot work with continuity. They do not complain about lack of money, but rather the continual uncertainty of getting it. It is unacceptable to them that they are unable to make long-term plans, and would like a five-year funding period for

their projects. For their purely social projects (crèche, advice centre, women's refuge) they are expected to cover a large part of their expenses, before they can receive public money (Zukunft Bauen, 1992).

10.12. Relationship with the Senate

They maintain intensive contacts with their funding sources within the Senate. With regard to changes in government, they argue that they are usually better off just before an election than after it. Generally, Thomas Knorr-Siedow maintains that they are not so much dependent on political parties, but rather the administrative departments. Policies that affect them are handled by administrative departments, and not by the politicians. He states that there is always a part of the administrative department that works against the Senate. As they are a project that acts, rather than reacts, they believe that they are sometimes despised by the administration departments. Overall, they feel that their relationship has reached its lowest point ever in 1991.

11. CHAPTER ELEVEN: Therapeutische Tagesstätte "THETA Wedding" (Therapeutic Day Centre)

11.1. Historical background

The "Gesellschaft für soziale Psychotherapie und Beratung e.V." (GSPB; Society for Social Psychotherapy and Advice) had been looking at the problems associated with rehabilitation of psychologically ill people, after their discharge from clinics. A working group of GSPB in 1977 conducted extensive research into this area, and came to the conclusion that the existing provision for rehabilitation did not meet the needs of the individuals, and that more specific, targeted help was required. They proposed a therapeutic day centre ("Therapeutische Tagesstätte", THETA) and training workshops, where adequate support could be provided, to attempt to enable the users to learn the necessary skills and social competencies.

THETA was the first organisation in Berlin / West Germany which differentiated between psychologically, mentally and physically disabled people, and tried to provide a rehabilitation framework specifically for psychologically disabled people. This was a criticism of existing strategy, which provided little rehabilitation outside the clinics, and the rehabilitation that was available was usually workshops for all types of disabled people. The group of psychologically disabled people was regarded as too small to justify separate institutions

THETA was set up as a model project to address the problems mentioned above, and started its work with a day centre in 1979.

The provision of sheltered workshops had been included in the original concept, but could not be put into practice immediately within the existing legal framework for sheltered workshops. Their main funding source, the Senate for Sozial Affairs, refused to fund what they termed "vocational rehabilitation". The agency responsible for rehabilitation is primarily the job centre (Arbeitsamt). The institutional framework for rehabilitation are recognised sheltered workshops (Werkstatt für Behinderte). Once recognised as such, funding is guaranteed.

THETA felt that it was important to help people to participate in normal life through work. It became clear that this could not be realised within a day centre. They then decided to set up a sheltered workshop, based on their dissatisfaction with traditional workshops.

In order to gain official recognition as a sheltered workshop, a concept had to be worked out and submitted to the Federal Institute for Employment (Bundesanstalt für Arbeit), which then decides if the criteria are met. They received funding for the first 3 years as a "model project" through BSHG.

The officially recognised sheltered workshops started operation in 1983.

11.2. Aims

THETA's primary function is to give psychologically ill people the chance to be reintegrated into employment, and they aim to create "workplaces with tariff wages" ("tariflich bezahlte Arbeitsplätze"). The sheltered workshops were set up with the idea that there had to be something else beyond this. For this reason, out of the sheltered workshops, so called integration firms have been developed.

11.3. Difference to traditional sheltered workshops

THETA deals with psychologically ill people, and this target group has very distinct features. The majority of its target groups is subsidised by the job centre, with the main aim being re-integration into the first labour market; failing that, into an integration firm

or a sheltered workshop. THETA have established their own integration firms as a logical continuation of the rehabilitation process.

Traditional sheltered workshops tend to focus on largely industrial production, and aim to provide "employment for life". This is thought to be due to their historical development, and their established links with industry. The work within the traditional sheltered workshops is simple assembly, packing etc. They are often treated favourably by public orders.

THETA is not primarily geared towards production but rather towards training and rehabilitation. The work environment of their sheltered workshops is that of small businesses involved in different trades, with master craftsmen able to provide training in their trade.

11.4. Target Group

THETAs target group are psychologically ill people, who have been discharged from clinics or are living in sheltered accommodation. Usually, they have also been unemployed for several years.

The number of people rehabilitated has grown rapidly, from between 30 - 40 initially, to 70 people in 1990 and in 1991, the total number rose to 120 people.

11.5. Rehabilitation

The rehabilitation is organised in three phases over a period of two years. The progress is closely monitored and evaluated by the funding bodies, the carers and workshop leaders together with the individuals concerned. The first three months are intended as a general introduction to the different workshops to help the individual identify their individual abilities, and help determine in which area they want to work. Also during this time, a two week placement is arranged with a "normal" sheltered workshop. This was intended to reduce fears, but also to motivate people to try to become integrated into the normal labour market.

The next 9 months are aimed to increase the individuals responsibilities and independent

working ability. During this time, basic knowledge in their areas of work is taught, familiarisation with tools, and a gradual introduction to larger machines.

After the first year, based on recommendations of the carers and instructors, it is decided whether the individual would be suitable for normal employment, or for employment within sheltered workshops. The training in the final year is adjusted accordingly .

During the last 6 months, THETA organises placements with outside firms to provide further work experience, and to enable possible future employment with these firms (Knist, 1991).

Throughout the two-year period, further guidance is offered by the psycho-social service ("Psycho-sozialer Dienst").

THETA as a rule does not provide vocational training, but this can sometimes be arranged, depending on the availability of suitable instructors. Presently, THETA has 5 apprentices. Placement with traditional or internal sheltered workshops is seen as a last resort, after all other attempts have failed for individuals to try to be re-integrated into employment. They focus on the "healthy substance and try to build on this". The vocational rehabilitation is based on the basic belief that psychologically ill people are, after adequate training, able to take part in working life, and can be reintegrated into society.

11.6. Areas of work

THETA is organised in 4 different parts:

- the officially recognised sheltered workshops
- the integration firms
- the day centre, and
- the psycho-social service.

11.6.1. Sheltered workshops

This is the largest part of their work, with 120 places. They operate a range of sheltered workshops, which are organised like small trade firms. Work and training is provided in

carpentry, painting and decorating, printing and dress-making workshops, and in a wholefood shop. They also have a cafe / restaurant, and provide a "house-keeping service" ("Hauswirtschaftlicher Bereich").

The workshops obtain and carry out orders like any other business. However they have a tax reduction of 7% VAT, and this is passed on to the consumer. Otherwise, the prices are normally calculated. Overall, the workshops and the integration firms are not in competition with each other.

The sheltered workshops are subject to fairly strict guidelines, as they are a recognised place for the rehabilitation of disadvantaged people. This means that they are hierarchically structured. There is the umbrella agency with its director, they have an overall leader responsible for the workshops as well as individual departmental leaders and area leaders.

11.6.2. Transition from sheltered workshops to integration firms

A practical example of transition from sheltered workshop to an integration firm is that of the wholefood shop. The wholefood shop started as an experiment, and was based on the determination of one skilled worker / instructor. It started with a fairly small range of products, and a snack bar. It was staffed largely by people undergoing rehabilitation. The shop proved very popular, and the demand for products increased.

Based on the increased demand, the shop was able to expand. At the same time it was realised that the target group could stabilise very well within this working environment, and could carry out the work within the shop and the kitchen. On the basis of this, the wholefood shop was then turned into an integration firm. This was made possible by the determination of the instructor, who was prepared to set up this firm and see it through. (Usually, the setting up of integration firms depends heavily on the personal commitment of the individual, usually instructors, or other fully employed workers. Without their commitment and willingness to set up these integration firms, they would not be set up).

They realised that the wholefood cafe was not economically viable on its own. It was therefore decided to continue the wholefood shop as an integration firm and revert the cafe to a sheltered workshop.

The wholefood shop as an integration firm also offers vocational training, i.e. they don't simply want to train people for themselves, but help them get a qualification with which they can work outside.

In this way, all integration firms have grown out of the sheltered workplaces, with the exception of the wholefood bakery, which was bought from a co-operative firm.

THETA aims to continue in this vein of providing what they term "workplaces with tariff wages". This is regarded as an important element of their work: the workshops do not exist for their own sake as a "storage place" for people, but as a place for gaining qualification and work experience. The setting up of integration firms only occurs after it has been demonstrated that this is a feasible proposition, i.e. there are the necessary skills and abilities to run them, and there is a market for this. They feel that only if both aspects are secured, can they responsibly set up an integration firm. Thus, the integration firms grow out of the experiences gained within the sheltered workshops. This is considered an important function of the sheltered workshops in that they allow THETA to experiment and test the feasibility of establishing possible future integration firms.

11.6.3. Integration firms

There are presently several integration firms: an off-set printing firm ("THETA Druck"), a wholefood shop and a whole-meal bakery ("Steinmühle"), organised within the "THETA Coopera". "THETA Bau", a building firm, developed out of the area carpentry and joinery, and painting and decorating. The integration firm THETA Bau operates separately from THETA Coopera. They have a staff mix of 50% disabled people, and 50% able bodied workers working together.

THETA supports the setting up of these firms during the transition period through the help of the sheltered workshops. But they are not supported financially, and have to be able to generate sufficient income with which to support the workers. Integration firms

are essentially normal companies, operating in the market, and work under the same conditions as any normal firm.

Under German law, companies are obliged to employ 6% disabled people. In order to promote the integration of disabled people into the workplace, the Government make available funds for this. For example, firms can claim for setting up a place of work (max. DM 65,000) for disabled access, for investments and integration support. Firms who do not want to employ disabled people can "buy themselves" out of this responsibility by paying the fine of DM 240 for each unfilled place. As integration firms are normal firms, they have access to the same funding source. In addition, the fines collected are given out to firms who employ disabled people. The integration firms draw heavily on this financial support, as they employ 50% of disabled people.

The purpose of the integration firms is not profit maximisation. Rather, any profits made can only be spent in accordance with their aims, which is the further creation of workplaces for disabled people, and the integration of disabled people into normal employment.

The development of integration firms has been happening over the past 10 years.

11.6.3.1. Aims for integration firms

THETA assumes that individuals working within the integration firms will, after experiencing a period of personal stability, find a way into the normal labour market. They feel that there should and must be a way out from the integration firms. This, however, is not regarded as an absolute, but they feel that it is wrong for people to remain within integration firms when they could be working in normal firms. This would release places for those who may need them more. Integration firms, therefore, are not regarded as the final goal for the target group, rather as a further tool for stabilisation of the individual.

11.6.4. Psycho-social Service

Further guidance is provided through the psycho-social service. Three psychologists and one social worker are funded by the social services. They provide general support, and in addition help the individuals with all aspects of their future employment. Also, they try to reduce fears people may have about employment and help with the practical aspects of finding and applying for work.

11.7. Realisation of aims

For the people at THETA, there are several possible directions that they may take.

There is the possibility of working in sheltered workshops, either with traditional ones or within THETA's sheltered workshops, to work within THETA's integration firms, or working in normal employment.

The drop-out rate during the two-year period is approx. 15% per year. About 65% complete the full two years. During the period of expansion from 70 people in 1990 to 120 people in 1991, the drop-out rate increased sharply to 34%. This was thought to be due to the re-forming of groups, and the feeling of unsettledness this brought with it. Overall, the figures provided by THETA show that, of those who complete the two years, 50% obtain employment in the normal labour market, 35% work in sheltered workplaces, 10% stay with THETA (in their sheltered workplaces or within the integration firms). A large part of the remaining 5% are older people, who decide to wait for their pensions (Knist, 1991).

11.8. Funding

The sheltered workshops are financed by the job centre and budgets are negotiated yearly. The individuals working in the workshops are individually funded by the job centre through their "measures of vocational rehabilitation". The amount of the wages depend on the individual's previous work status and previous net earnings. Even if someone had been in work creation measures prior to working in the sheltered workshops, this would be taken as the basis for their income. If someone had not

worked before, they can obtain a training allowance and money from the BSHG. Thus, each individual is paid according to his / her individual entitlement, and this is dependent on what they have done before.

11.9. Environmental considerations

THETA places much importance on integrating ecological aspects into all areas of their work. They try to use the available ecological building materials, and plan to incorporate ecological building aspects in their renovation work. The painting workshop always offers ecological paints as well, but the decision of whether this is used depends on the customer. Within the house-keeping service, they use ecological washing powder, etc. The carpentry does not use tropical woods or harmful varnishes. Also, the ecological aspect is fairly strong within the wholefood bakery.

The core workers have a fundamental interest in ecological matters, and in particular with regard to their work area. It is considered important that each core worker is aware of ecological aspects within his/her area of work. It is expected of the core workers to keep themselves informed about the latest environmental developments and technologies, and to pass this information on to others. THETA runs internal seminars on the subject. Overall, it is expected that everyone is conscious of environmental considerations in their daily routines, e.g. with regard to waste disposal. In general, this principle is followed by all core workers. Ecology is seen as transcending all areas.

11.10. Disabled access taxis (Enthinderungstaxi)

THETA has, together with the Deutschen Paritätischem Wohlfahrtsverband (DPW), initiated a project to develop an "Enthinderungstaxi", that is, to create a type of taxi that is suitable for wheelchair users. This "product" has been developed with the DPW, the Technical University and a THETA project leader. The initial studies have been completed. There has been much positive interest from organisations for the disabled ("Behindertenverbände"), and from the Senate administration. THETA have contacted several car manufacturers, and are trying to promote this concept. These negotiations

are fairly advanced. They are trying to create a transfer.

Other products have been developed within the carpentry workshops together with designers. Within the dress making workshops, they are presently producing a collection for oversizes, and have established contacts with boutiques.

11.11. Kooperationsverbund Entwicklungswerkstatt

THETA was introduced to the concept of the Kooperationsverbund through their meetings at the Kommunale Forum. Jörg Mewes was drawn to the idea because the Technical University would also have been involved in this and they would have had access to research resources. THETA had been considering installing a "grey water system" (a second separate water system for the WC) and as this had not been developed fully, they felt that they could have involved the Entwicklungswerkstatt in this. THETA joined the Kooperationsverbund, because as a project, they did not have the necessary research and development resources. In addition they felt that the Entwicklungswerkstatt could have been useful in the collection of ideas, in the passing on of information and with helping find solutions to technical problems.

"Something is developed in a development workshop, something is produced there, with the participation of the individual co-operating partners. There were different working areas (within different projects), and they could have been intensively involved in this. And finally, to do something with a product or with an idea, in co-operation with other projects." (78)
(Mewes, 1991)

The Kooperationsverbund, though set up, never started operating. THETA feels that without that framework, co-operation is still possible on some level. But through the Kooperationsverbund, there would have been easier access, and all their resources could have been used in a more efficient way. Also, there would have been contact persons. As an individual project, it is more difficult and time consuming to find and approach the relevant people. Under the Kooperationsverbund, it had been agreed to meet regularly and discuss individual problems with regard to product development. The situation now is that each project has to start from scratch.

11.12. External conditions

THETA has the institutional framework of a sheltered workshop. It has an institutional status, and is therefore financially more secure than employment and qualification projects. But this is coupled with more involvement by external organisations in their work, and brings with it strict guidelines, which they have to follow. The future of the integration firms is of course dependent on their economic situation. But for them, the present position is positive.

12. CHAPTER TWELVE: Weiterbildungszentrum Arbeits-, Umwelt- und Naturschutz (Centre for further education for the protection of the environment and nature, health and safety at work)

12.1. Historical background

The Weiterbildungszentrum Arbeits-, Umwelt- und Naturschutz (centre for further education for the protection of the environment and nature, health and safety at work) is part of the Berufsbildungswerk (organisation for further vocational training: bfw) of the German Federation of Trade Unions ("Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbundes"; DGB) Berlin, a nationally organised, non-profit making vocational establishment. The Berufsbildungswerk has been working since 1953 in the area of worker oriented further vocational education and sees it as their task:

"...to strive to shape and realise the provision of qualification measures according to the needs of society." (79)
(Meiners, 1989)

The Berufsbildungswerk (bfw) is the largest supplier of further educational and retraining measures (Fortbildungs- und Umschulungsmaßnahmen) of the job centre and is largely funded by them. Traditionally, bfw provides training for traditional trades, electronic data processing (EDV) and new technologies.

In Berlin, the bfw are also providing further training for environmental and nature

protection and health and safety at work in the Weiterbildungszentrum, which is the focus of this study. It will be referred to as the Weiterbildungszentrum.

The Weiterbildungszentrum was established in 1988, as a result of the Senate's "qualification offensive". Discussions for the Weiterbildungszentrum started in 1986, in conjunction with the qualification offensive and were based on the idea that economic development would be speeded up and improved through a targeted promotion of further training.

Bfw is not a typical "employment and qualification organisation", but rather concentrates almost exclusively on providing qualification.

12.2. Aims

The aims of the Weiterbildungszentrum are to combine and improve both the social situation of the individuals and the local and work environment,

"The Weiterbildungszentrum formulates, initiates and carries out projects and vocational training measures in the context of maintaining and building up qualified work places, especially within small and medium sized firms and the public sector. Further vocational education is part of a strategy - based on regional development potentials - aiming to promote product conversion towards social, ecological and peaceful ends." (80)
(Berufsbildungswerk, 1991)

12.3. Target Groups

The Weiterbildungszentrum has two different target groups: unemployed youths with no previous vocational qualifications (on the vocational preparation and vocational training courses), and unemployed graduate natural scientists and engineers.

There is no shortage of applicants for these courses. Graduate natural scientists and engineers tend to hear by word of mouth, whereas youths for the nature protection courses come partly through advertisements, or are referred by the job centre.

12.4. Areas of work

The Weiterbildungszentrum primarily provides retraining and further qualification measures in environmental protection as a whole, and within separate areas, such as waste management. Their work consists of two main areas: technical environmental protection and regional environmental protection.

Their work is organised into 3 different departments:

1. Nature protection / landscape maintenance ("Bereich Naturschutz / Landschaftspflege")

This area offers 3 different types of qualification: a vocational preparation course for 32 youths, and a preparatory course for retraining as a landscape gardener for 15 youths, both under the programme "Arbeiten und Lernen" (working and learning), and two retraining courses for landscape gardening, with 20 places each.

2. Technical environmental protection ("Technischer Umweltschutz")

This area offers two different types of further qualification courses: treatment of contaminated areas ("Altlastensanierung") / sewage techniques ("Abwassertechnik") for 24 unemployed graduates, and technical environmental protection ("Technischer Umweltschutz") / environmental information management ("Umwelt-Informationsmanagement") for 24 unemployed graduates.

3. Health and safety at work ("Arbeitsschutz")

This area offers further qualification for 24 unemployed engineers and natural scientists as specialists for health and safety at work with additional environmental qualifications.

All above courses have a high environmental content, and operate relatively separate from the other courses run by bfw, which do not have this focus. While stressing that there is an obvious need within the more traditional courses for environmental education, the Weiterbildungszentrum feel unable to meet this due to overwork and limited capacities.

Unlike other projects, they do not run work creation measures themselves, but arrange

work creation placements for their participants with mainly public sector organisations. The courses usually run for one year. Placements in work creation measures are negotiated for the participants for two reasons:

1. Training courses offer much knowledge, but it is important to top this up with practical experience to improve the overall performance.
2. The bfw expects their participants to create full-time long term employment from their work creation measures placements.

Placements normally occur with outside agencies, such as public administration or public enterprises in Berlin ("Eigenbetriebe"). The legal framework of the work creation measures stipulate that for West Berlin, placements have to be with non-profit making organisations, and are not allowed with private businesses.

12.5. Qualification

For the graduates, external specialists are employed, where it is felt that their skills and expertise are necessary for the teaching of a specific subject area.

They argue that most other employment and qualification projects employ their own internal instructors, which they feel cannot do the job properly because they cannot have all the relevant, up-to date knowledge as well as practical experience. The Weiterbildungszentrum only employ internal instructors for the landscape gardening. So far no problems have been experienced obtaining suitably qualified instructors, but since the expansion of further qualification measures the demand for instructors is increasing. Each course has a course leader, who co-ordinates the course content and organises placements. The course leaders have to have an overall knowledge of course content, and usually are highly qualified.

12.6. Funding

In the start-up phase they received funding from the Senate Department for Employment, within the framework of the qualification offensive for technical equipment and staff. This funding no longer exists, and the Weiterbildungszentrum has

to fund itself out of course fees (these in turn are either paid for by the Senate for Employment for unemployed graduates, or the job centre for unemployed youths on retraining courses). For each target group, a different funding framework exists. The Weiterbildungszentrum gets paid a certain amount for each participant.

The limitations of some of the framework conditions become obvious at the vocational preparatory project where the youths work within their placements for 1/2 day and have 1/2 day lessons. Often, the instructors are themselves employed through work creation measures, which limits their employment to two years. A change in instructors every two years is regarded as a serious shortcoming, affecting the quality of the course due to lack of continuity. It is felt that this is a totally unacceptable situation. However, the Weiterbildungszentrum is unable to generate additional income with which to fund permanent instructors.

Another problem faced by the Weiterbildungszentrum is that the job centres are reluctant to fund qualification in environmental areas in West Berlin and only do this rarely. The reason given for this is that the job centres estimate the need for people with such qualification as very low (in West Berlin) and argue that the chances of employment are not greatly increased for the unemployed who complete such courses.

12.7. Kooperationsverbund Entwicklungswerkstatt

The Weiterbildungszentrum is largely a qualification project, and therefore does not attempt to develop socially and environmentally useful technology / products. They consider that helping their participants gain employment through targeted qualification is "socially useful". The question of technology is treated as course content. Jörg Borchard, project leader, argues that until they are actively involved in their own work creation measures, technology will remain theoretical. They have projects in the area of nature protection, where people are trained to design gardens with a view to create new living space, rather than building gardens "made from concrete" (Borchard, 1991). Also, they are planning a project which would identify areas which are suspected to be contaminated (soil pollution). However, even with this project, they feel that they are merely carrying out repair rather than working on prevention.

The Weiterbildungszentrum responded favourably when approached by the Berlin technology network for participation in the Kooperationsverbund Entwicklungswerkstatt. As Jörg Borchard explains, this was largely because they were thinking of setting up more technology orientated projects. For example, they considered building compost digesters as part of their vocational orientation course, for which they would have needed technical support. The problem for them was that unification led to shelving the whole idea of the development workshop (Borchard, 1991).

12.8. Realisation of aims

The aim within the framework of their courses is to enable the participants to use technologies which are environmentally sound. They are being trained to consider environmental aspects in their future fields of work.

This is considered particularly viable for engineers, for whom the graduate courses were initially set up. However, the majority of graduates are natural scientists and they have only very few engineers in their courses. Overall, Jörg Borchard feels that the course participants will have much improved chances on the labour market with this additional environmental qualification.

He stated that:

"Within our project, we do not get the chance to develop technology or products, but we prepare our participants for this. We have special courses, which deal with the historical perspective of technological developments. Here, we examine how technology was developed, and look at it also with regard to environmental problems, and what would technology development have to look like to reduce environmental pollution." (81)
(Borchard, 1991).

They hope for a multiplicative effect, in that people who have completed their courses will not only be aware of environmental concerns, but also of available alternative technologies and apply them within their future areas of work.

Qualification is seen not only as the creation of new perspectives for the individual, but also for new work areas which are yet to be developed. However, the

Weiterbildungszentrum is not actively engaged in trying to develop new areas of work. Instead, their focus is on qualification per se. It is hoped that the making available of environmental qualifications will eventually lead to a further demand for these qualifications. For example, if environmental landscape planners do not exist in the first place, this type of landscaping work could not be carried out. If there were only landscapers familiar with using traditional practices, then that would be the only type of work that could be done. It is also difficult to find suitable firms to carry out certain types of construction, as usually they are not familiar with different environmental building techniques and are reluctant to expand their working practices, because of the lack of environmentally qualified workers. The demand for ecological work is also affected, because people who want environmental work, will not be able to have this done due to lack of suitable firms and workers.

The Weiterbildungszentrum believes that the additional qualification they provide helps create employment, directly and indirectly. For example, certain work that they did under work creation measures for the public sector, have now been turned into full-time employment, because they created a need for this, and provided the qualified people who could carry out this work. Several people who completed the courses and the work creation measure are now employed in the environment departments of the Berlin Senate "and they are the most qualified workers there".

"It is important, that the qualification which we provide, helps move the development of an environmental protection concept a bit further along, as there are now more skilled people, and through the work creation measures the idea is promoted that this can actually be achieved easily, quickly and without complication. These are the practical results." (82)
(Borchard, 1991)

12.9. Evaluation of success

The first experiences from the completed course in "technical environmental protection" with the work creation measure placements were described as exceptionally good. The first course showed that 1/2 of work creation measures placements were converted into full-time jobs and 1/4 had found full-time employment using their new skills at

employers other than their work creation measure placement.

However, this course ran before unification and due to the mass unemployment in East Germany it is felt that this success will be difficult to maintain. But new work areas are being created in environmental protection, especially for East Germany, and this is expected to turn into real jobs in the future. Before unification, the Weiterbildungszentrum were the only qualification project offering these types of courses, which means that there was a limited number of people who were qualified in this area, who then entered the labour market. They were in some competition with students completing courses at the Technical University, but their number was also limited. The argument here is that they were so successful because only a small number of qualified people were looking for work, thus increasing their chances of obtaining employment. But now, many courses of this type are run, with about 500 natural scientists and engineers taking part in these courses, so therefore employment prospects will become worse. They feel they have an advantage over other such projects because they also arrange for work creation measure placements, which enables work experience and chances of being offered employment by their placement organisation. The Weiterbildungszentrum believe there is a need for people who can plan and implement environmental work in areas of public administration, with planning and control functions, and within academic institutions. They believe that the need is there, but it takes time to work itself through to concrete jobs. Work creation measures placements also help create more time for actual employment opportunities to materialise. In this sense, they are using the same arguments as the official Senate economic policy, who feel that putting people into work creation measures helps industry to create jobs for them in the meantime.

12.10. Changing Trade Union attitudes in relation to work creation schemes

There are currently some changes occurring with regard to setting up their own work creation measures. As a trade union initiative, they have until now been reluctant to

become involved in this, as trade unions have always regarded work creation measures with great suspicion and have rejected them. They are very much aware of the risks of work creation measures, for example the way work creation measures often displace jobs, that is, previous full time work is turned into work creation measures, or work creation measures prevents full time jobs from being created. The bfw from its origin is an organisation which is involved in vocational retraining and further education in the traditional sense, i.e. it provides qualification, but not employment. Within the bfw, the adoption of the idea that practical work also plays a role within training, is new. Since unification, the trade union approach towards work creation measures has changed considerably, with the mass unemployment in the new Länder. With regard to this, the trade unions feel that work creation measures can fulfil a useful role. Trade Unions are also now very keen to get involved in the new employment societies ("Beschäftigungsgesellschaften") and try to help set up independent businesses from these.

12.11. Relationship with the Senate

The Weiterbildungszentrum deals with a number of Senate departments. A part of the measures are funded by the Senate Department for Employment, through this there is regular contact. The Weiterbildungszentrum also supervises youths at work creation measures of the Senate. With regard to the environmental area, there are special links to the Senate Department Urban development and Environmental Protection ("Stadtentwicklung und Umweltschutz"). They have general discussions with various Senate departments over the establishment of different training courses, for example for natural scientists, they discuss in what way proposed courses would help to meet certain needs in the labour market, and help decide which courses are needed. The Senate itself is often interested in taking over skilled workers from these courses. Overall, Jörg Borchard believes that they have very close relationships with the Senate.

With regard to dealing with governments they say that it is easier for them to negotiate with a CDU-Senate than with a SPD-Senate. They think the reason for this is that being a trade union training initiative, the CDU Senate deals with them more cautiously, as

they do not want to fall out with the trade unions. Whereas with a SPD Senate, there is less consideration on both sides.

They do not feel any change when dealing with different Senate departments, as the individual people that they are dealing with usually remain with changes in government. Some changes in policy emphasis, however, may occur. The latest change from the SPD / Greens coalition to a Christian Democrat / SPD Senate was not regarded as serious, as the civil servant in charge, Hassemer, is considered to be very moderate.

12.12. Working with other projects

There is much co-operation with other projects who are involved in providing training. Attempts to create more formal co-operation between qualification agencies working in the area of environmental protection were very intensive in 1990 (e.g. with Atlantis), but developments since unification have put a stop to that for the time being. Since unification, the demand for training measures has increased, especially for the former East Germany, and the focus has shifted to set up more projects there. For this, they maintain close contacts with other qualification projects.

13. CHAPTER THIRTEEN: Werkstattzentrum Schöneberg, Zweckbetrieb des Vereins Leben und Arbeiten in Schöneberg e.V. (Workshop centre Schöneberg, project of the registered society Living and Working in Schöneberg)

13.1. Historical background

The project "Leben und Arbeiten in Schöneberg" (living and working in Schöneberg) and its "Zweckbetrieb Werkstattzentrum" (workshop centre) in the district of Schöneberg in Berlin (West) started in 1987/8. Originally, the project was based in Schöneberg (hence the name), but since then the project had to move twice, and now has its workshops in Neukölln.

It is closely linked to PAULA (see Chapter Seven). The main initiator of the project, Rainer Milletat, took part on the second trip to investigate the Greater London Councils technology networks with PAULA in 1987. Three projects grew out of this visit: the Technologie Netzwerk (technology network) based at the Technical University (see Chapter 7.2), Leben und Arbeiten, with the Werkstattzentrum (workshop centre) in Schöneberg planned initially as a form of popular planning, and the Kommunales Forum Wedding (see Chapter 7.7). The workshop centre was founded in November 1987, and started operation 1st April 1988, with one of their projects as a "Rollende Werkstatt" (mobile workshops), based on the mobile workshop of the London Innovation Network.

Their work addresses the Berlin Technologie Netzwerk task list (4) (product development) and (5) (qualification), and to some extent (3) (initiate new forms of popular planning). The workshop centre was set up with the main aim to realise product development. Its main source of funding came from the programme "Arbeiten and Lernen" (working and learning), for providing qualification and employment. The project was formed on the basis of experiences learnt from visiting London. This meant that the project was not run by people who had a common idea which they wanted to implement. Instead, the project was the "lowest common denominator", and common interests only developed during the course of their work and discussion. The ideas were only partly understood, and nobody knew how to implement them. This led to much discussion and many arguments.

Rainer Milletat's approach to Berlin's unemployment and structural problems, were very much based on the ideas adopted by the Greater London Council, and are outlined below:

- "We start with the belief that people in a region are, in principle, in a position to determine their own living and working conditions.
- Hence there is a need to mobilise the economic, technical, social and cultural potential of the people.
- Local planning from below is action and process oriented, which means that this process can be started in small, realisable steps, without losing sight of the context, as happens with pragmatic top-down policy. The relevance of this approach (which Londoners call "popular planning") lies in the possible composition of individual steps into a new overall approach.
- This approach can have a mobilising effect and can lead to new alliances, which are based on the coming together of wishes, needs and hopes of many, and the active gradual changing of ones own living space." (83)

(Milletat, 1987)

The main aim of Leben and Arbeiten was to create socially and ecologically useful employment.

13.2. Target Group

Unlike other projects, their target group consisted of young unemployed people, who had completed their vocational training in carpentry, metal work or as electricians. The majority had been trained in "training firms" (non-commercial firms set up solely for the purpose of training) and lacked real work experience.

13.3. Areas of work

The Werkstattzentrum (workshop centre) of Leben and Arbeiten in Schöneberg started operation in 1988, and consisted of a carpentry workshop (4 youths, 1 instructor), a mechanical workshop (3 youths and 1 instructor) an electrical workshops (2 youths and 1 instructor), a mobile workshop (6 youths, 1 instructor, and 1 teachert) and a development workshop. In total, the Werkstattzentrum had 1 project leader, 15 young skilled workers (on work creation measure), 1 book-keeper, 1 social worker (on work creation measure) and 4 instructors.

13.3.1. Mobile workshop

The mobile workshop is described as a socially useful service for primarily senior citizens and those on low income. It carries out small repairs in the home, at a nominal fee. The mobile workshop can use the income earned from outside orders as they wish, since their main funding source now is the Arbeitsamt (80%; 20 % from the Senate), whose guidelines are less strict. Under the funding guidelines of the Senate, which funded them for the first two years, use of income was much more bureaucratic, i.e. they had to make a special application to the Senate if they wanted to purchase anything, and had to ask for this extra income to be included in a change of funding plan.

13.3.2. The workshops

To translate their aims of providing work experience and full-time employment into practice, the project investigated possible areas of work in their first year. These were

as follows:

Restoration of discarded furniture (Sperrmüllaufarbeitung): The idea was to obtain discarded furniture from Berlin's waste disposal sites, restore and sell it. They approached the relevant authorities with this, who were unwilling to co-operate. Ironically, one year later, the authorities tried to take up this idea, but by this time the project had embarked on other work, and were themselves reluctant to pursue this further.

Small-scale production (Kleinserienfertigung): It was thought that together with designers from the school of art (Hochschule der Künste), small products could be manufactured. However, it was decided that the prices would have been too high to make this a viable project.

Idea competition / Development workshop

In order to generate product ideas, which could consequently be developed into socially and environmentally useful products and services, a local idea-competition was held in 1989. This had a huge response with 30 product and service ideas, which were evaluated with regard to prospects of realisation. However, with only one project leader they lacked the time to identify a suitable product or service, before even attempting to translate this through to production stage. The project leader was already overworked with running the project, and at that time was also looking for alternative premises, as well as planning new projects. Overall, the Werkstattzentrum did not have the necessary technical resources, or the skills.

The Werkstattzentrum, in view of this, decided that it was not feasible to embark on product development within the time frame of the work creation measures (two years). Also, they realised that they did not have personnel with the necessary technical and scientific know-how. In order to overcome these problems, they applied for funding for the development workshop as a separate measure. This, however, was not granted. They had joined the Kooperationsverbund in order to get help with the development of products. However, even if the Kooperationsverbund had become operational, it would have only been useful for them, if they had been funded for the development workshop.

Rainer Milletat stresses that the lessons learnt were that, as the response showed, an enormous interest and many good basic ideas could be generated. However, before embarking on product development, a longer time scale with a minimum of five years was needed, as well as the necessary expertise and back-up, neither of which the Werkstattzentrum had.

Funding for the development of technology would have been theoretically possible as they are a "citizen rights society" ("Gesellschaft bürgerlichen Rechts"; GBR). For this they would have to have a product, which it would make sense to develop further, before they could apply for funding. The product ideas that they collected had not reached that stage yet. Rainer Milletat argues that for everything pre- prototype stage, no funding exists, but he believes that some funding may be available for the building of proto-types from the Senate Department for Economy and Technology. Rainer Milletat was not sure about this, as he has not been in a position to apply for this type of funding.

13.4. Qualification mobile workshop/other workshops

The Werkstattzentrum quickly abandoned their original more formalised form of qualification, for which four hours weekly had been allocated. As all participants had completed their vocational training, qualification was on the basis of "learning-by-doing". This was in response to the participants, who, having just been through vocational training, felt that what they needed was work experience, how to work independently rather than more training. The Werkstattzentrum consequently placed particular emphasis on individuals being involved in planning their work, making quotes, writing invoices through to completion of an order, as well as support in the execution of the work itself.

This meant that participants were learning how to process and complete orders within the subsidised area for one year, before they embarked on self-employment. The acquisition of these skills was very much trial and error, with people being allowed to learn from their mistakes.

13.5. Self-administered businesses

After spending the first year looking to develop socially and environmentally useful work, the participants soon realised that they needed to look at more realistic ways of creating employment. They felt that if they invested more energy into these 3 projects, they would be unemployed again after the end of the work creation measure.

It was decided that they would do this by trying to set up independent businesses from the existing workshops.

"When we saw that the things which we had originally planned could not work, we started "baking small rolls". We found this out relatively quickly, after about 3/4 of a year. It was not difficult not to be disappointed, because we did what we could... the participants wanted very much to have future prospects ... and that is why we changed to more traditional ways of creating employment by gradually setting up separate businesses ... everyone who wanted to could work there." (84)

(Milletat, 1991)

This is when the re-orientation phase began and a shift towards self-employment as ordinary carpentry, metal working and electrical businesses from the existing workshops. The process towards self-employment was gradual. From early 1989, the areas carpentry, metalworking and electronics were beginning to be more independent, i.e. they planned their own orders and work and did some independent book-keeping. These businesses were set up relatively quickly to create employment for the participants. Leben and arbeiten had applied for a new qualification measure for the 3 workshops, but due to "lack of funds" this was not realised. Under the programme for long-term unemployed ("Langzeitarbeitslosenprogramm") they could not have taken on all participants, and only the mobile workshop could get further funding.

This was not necessarily regarded as negative, as it spurred them into action.

"It is questionable what would be gained by dragging this process on for ever, because a certain subsidy mentality starts to develop." (85)

(Milletat, 1991)

Another circumstance that helped the setting up of businesses was that they were eventually able to continue using the existing equipment. As they had been previously

(and for a further year still were) a qualification measure all tools and machines had been funded by the Berlin Senate. The equipment remains Senate property for about five years, when it is normally written off. Leben and Arbeiten had difficult and lengthy negotiations with the Senate, who maintained that this equipment could only be used in conjunction with a qualification measure. Leben and Arbeiten finally succeeded after nearly one year of negotiation to gain permission to use the machinery and tools for its independent businesses. They hope that the equipment will formally be transferred to them within the next year. It was also helpful that they were able to remain within their existing workshops, for which they now pay rent themselves.

13.6. Co-existence of private and publicly funded workshops

Rainer Milletat stated that both areas can benefit and learn from each other. For example, an ideal situation would be that "certain developmental work could be done in the subsidised area, and everything with which they could earn money would be transferred to the self-administered businesses". This could also mean that eventually people from the subsidised project would be able to work in the independent business, once their input had contributed to increased income.

But all this depended on whether the individuals wanted this. Those who were employed in the mobile workshop did not want to be part of the self-administered businesses. They felt quite content that they had a job which was comparatively stress free, earning a reasonable income, and they did not think about what would happen once the money ran out in 1992.

Also, it would not really be feasible for the people presently working in the mobile workshop to do development work, firstly they do not get paid to do this, and secondly they would be unqualified for this. For the development workshop, a separate qualification project is needed, which can concentrate exclusively on development.

Some conflict exists between both areas, private and subsidised. As Rainer Milletat put it :

"There is a big difference whether you know that regardless of your contribution, your wages are guaranteed at the end of the month, or whether

your income depends on the actual work that you do (for example, the carpentry workshop had to struggle for quite some time, during which the members only paid themselves minimum salaries)." (86)
(Milletat, 1991)

This brings about certain rivalries, (some of which are expressed others are somehow in the air) but more than anything, both groups of people have different working experiences. Those from the private area believe that the others do not really work, those in the subsidised area feel that only through their existence can the private area work at all, i.e. the private business benefits greatly from the subsidised area.

13.7. Environmental considerations

While they abandoned much of their original aims of developing socially useful and environmentally sound products and services (i.e. development workshop, ecological training) they still try to use ecologically sound materials as much as possible, such as paints, varnishes, adhesives etc. in the workshops. But even this is not always feasible, especially as it depends on the clients and what they are prepared to pay. The mobile workshop has marginally more influence on the materials used due to their low labour charge, but again it depends on what the customer wants.

They have, however, applied for available Senate funding for ecological restructuring of their workshop centre (which they would carry out themselves).

13.8. External constraints

The dismantling of the Berlin wall and unification had a major impact on the projects. In 1991, no new projects were funded in West Berlin, only those that existed continued to receive funding. For the Werkstattzentrum, only the mobile workshop received further funding. At the time they started their project, it was still relatively easy to get skilled instructors to work for them. Today, this is much more difficult, because they are no longer readily available as the projects cannot offer the salaries which skilled instructors can earn in private industry. It is becoming increasingly difficult to find people motivated to work in a project, because the demands are high, and the financial rewards

low.

The main constraint on their work with regard to product development was the short time period available under work creation measures. This made product identification, design, research and development and production unachievable. The development of qualitative new areas of work was also regarded as impossible within the time frame. Their original aims were thus regarded as unachievable and were modified in the second year. Leben und Arbeiten decided to opt for what they could realistically achieve under the circumstances and set up traditional firms to provide employment.

13.8.1. Expansion East

Leben und Arbeiten, like other projects, have had to expand within the Eastern sector. Here, funding is much more easily obtained, and a mobile workshop has been set up there, with 70 people on work creation measures and 7-8 instructors. This is now run by local people, but Leben und Arbeiten started it, selected the people, and are supervising the project.

13.9. Relationship with the Senate

Rainer Milletat describes the attitude of local and national governments with regard to employment and structural policy as follows:

"There is much to do, so let's not bother."
(Milletat, 1987)

On the one hand, the Werkstattzentrum believe that they are "quite well liked" by the authorities, mainly because they have been successful in creating employment. On the other hand, they have had many difficulties and arguments with them, because what they were doing was always "bordering on the limits of the legal framework for public expenditure" of the Berlin Senate.

However, they did not feel that their external framework changed with a change in federal or local government. Despite not agreeing with official employment policy, they nonetheless "played the game", primarily in order to obtain money for which no other sources existed. They believe that there is a chance to do something positive within

these frameworks. And they maintain that they have achieved something positive. They argue that their work could be improved if they were allowed to operate in a longer time frame. The funding bodies are increasingly putting more emphasis on large numbers, and neglect the quality of the work. They felt they had better conditions when they started than other projects, in that there existed more room for negotiation with the CDU-Senate in 1987. For example, they negotiated to have normal full-time employment (Regiestellen) for the instructors, by arguing that they could not obtain them under work creation measures, as the Senate requested. The Senate conceded to their demands. Therefore, they had 5 core workers, with 15 work creation measures participants. Normal today is a ratio of 1:15. Since then, there have been several changes to the labour market programmes. Leben and Arbeiten started under an earlier version of this programme, whereas Atlantis, for example started under a later version. Rainer Milletat blames the conditions under this latest adaptation for the absurdly large size of projects, where 100s of people are employed under work creation measures in order to increase the number of their full-time long term staff. And the consequence of this expansion is that many participants "fall through the gaps" ("fallen durch die Roste"), as they have much less supervision and help.

He states that the Senate amended the employment and qualification programmes to achieve a better use of resources. Because to the Senate the more people the projects employ the better the unemployment statistics appear.

Overall, Rainer Milletat regards their project as successful, and believes that all the discussions and arguments were fruitful: "We wouldn't be here today otherwise". With regard to what they would do differently with hindsight, he felt that they are implementing the lessons that they learnt in projects in the East.

"For the mobile workshop in the East, we didn't even bother with other things, but instead we said right from the beginning, this is about becoming self-employed, about forming a company, and to create employment there ... this has meant a much more target oriented approach to our work. We didn't have to discuss what we were doing here in the first place."

(Milletat, 1991)

13.10. Conclusion

During its existence, *Leben and Arbeiten* in Schöneberg abandoned most of its original aims. While this might be regarded as a failure it has been more successful than other projects with regard to employment creation. The relative success on one level, namely that of employment creation, may be due to several factors. With regard to its small size, a weakness was the limited resources and the responsibility of running the projects by one person. This restricted the development of new products, even though attempts were made to do this. The strength of this small project, however, is that it is more flexible in responding to lessons learned both internally and externally. It was not afraid of discarding original ideals, once it was realised that success would not be forthcoming. The project members did what they thought best within their range of realistic possibilities. While the discarding of old ideals did not happen without a lot of internal discussion and fighting, the fact that it did, speaks for internal democracy and a consideration of the needs and wishes of the participants. It shows that their needs and wishes came first, rather than with some other projects, where participants have no influence on overall aims and strategies, where "company policy" is virtually untouchable and where the survival of the project is put above the needs of individuals (see *Atlantis*). The project initiator and leader, despite having clear goals and "visions", were pragmatic enough to change direction, after realising that this could not be made to work within the existing internal and external constraints.

Another important factor was the target group. They had similar or the same educational levels within their chosen areas of work, so further training was not important. What they wanted was work experience, and this they received. To such an extent that a large number felt "qualified" enough and had the necessary self-confidence in their ability to embark on self-employment (unlike workers at *Atlantis*). It could be argued that the target group was the most decisive factor in its success to create employment.

Another external advantage was that of timing. At the end of the first two years, in 1990, a federal programme: "special programme for long-term unemployed" ("*Sonderprogramm für Langzeitarbeitslose*") was in force. Under the legislation of this

programme, persons who had participated in work creation measures programmes, were classed as unemployed (this changed later, when work creation measures were not regarded as unemployment). This meant that work creation measures participants with *Leben and Arbeiten* could stay on for another two years within this programme. Today, people do not qualify for further work creation measures unless they have again been unemployed for at least 6 months. Therefore, this project had a longer time period available to realise at least one of their goals, that of employment creation.

It is mainly these two factors, the target group and the extended time period of four, rather than two years, which gave *Leben and Arbeiten* a distinct advantage over other projects.

It could be argued that the employment they created is "normal" employment, and does little to address environmental problems. It also raises the question of fairness to other self-administered businesses whether "alternative" or "normal", as they have had unfair competition advantages over these. They had been cushioned during the first few years and could start building their businesses from a secure footing, i.e. they had income regardless of success and, once established, they did not have to obtain loans to equip their workshops.

14. CHAPTER FOURTEEN: Analysis

14.1. Summary of Projects

14.1.1. Backgrounds of projects

The case studies have shown that projects tend to come from a number of different backgrounds. Some have grown out of more traditional, classical self-help organisations, which have today become established national organisations such as the Workers Welfare Organisation (Arbeiterwohlfahrt) and trade union organisations. Others started as self-help projects in the 1980s within their local environment. Even though their historical backgrounds vary quite considerably, what they have in common is their social concern and that they grew out of a concern for social equality. Some of these projects, however, especially the newer ones, have tended to put environmental concerns above social concerns and the needs of the individual, and many have put their organisation's needs above that of the individual.

14.1.2. Aims and objectives

The aims and objectives of projects under investigation are very ambitious, and somewhat arbitrary. Several projects aim to create employment themselves, through opening up new areas of work and/or developing socially useful and environmentally sound technology. The majority of projects see re-integration into the first labour

market as one of their main objectives. Even if they fail to achieve these aims, they feel they are making a valuable contribution to the "stabilisation of the individual" and are providing a better alternative to existing work creation and training measures.

Some of the groups focusing also on product development are aiming:

"...to use existing finance to fund wages and salaries to develop products, which would otherwise not be developed, because they are time intensive and there is no immediate financial return." (87)
(Haas/Depta, 1991)

However, most do not see it as primarily important to develop new technologies, but focus instead on promoting the use of already existing technologies. To this end, they are involved in campaigning to change policy on environmental issues in the hope that an eventual change in political and financial commitment would lead to the use of already existing environmentally sound technologies.

Regardless of their general or specific aims, the projects see training as their main function, thus directly or indirectly colluding with government philosophy that unemployment is essentially the fault of the individual through lack of qualification. Their approach differs in that they feel they are qualifying people for future jobs, rather than providing traditional training, which may be unrelated to future labour market developments.

This is an important element that is common to all projects. They feel that they are trying to open up new areas of work, and train people to carry out this work. The problem is that these new areas of work are not yet sufficiently established, and hence no long-term employment is created for the workers of the future. It is indeed an ambitious aim. Something is happening in this area, but it is a slow process.

This chapter attempts to analyse the experiences so far, looking first at the projects themselves and then at the wider context in which they operate.

14.1.3. Target Groups

The type of target group is an important factor with regard to the aims of qualification and re-integration into the first labour market. The experience of most projects is that it is young people, with vocational training but without work experience, who benefit most from the projects (see Werkstattzentrum Schöneberg). They have the highest rate for integration into the first labour market and creating their own businesses. Another successful group is that of young academics (natural scientists, engineers) without work experience, who benefit (see Weiterbildungszentrum).

This leaves the rest of the "problem group" of the labour market (as also identified by the state) namely young unemployed without any qualification (including no completed schooling) and older long-term unemployed. Some groups suggest explicitly, others indirectly, that for a part of these groups, no integration into the labour market is possible under the present situation. For many of this group, social problems, drug problems, shattered home-life, debt problems etc. are too great (often these problems are the result of prolonged unemployment). Often, they are also seen as unemployable for the projects themselves (e.g. high levels of absenteeism).

The experiences of the Projektverbund Zukunft Bauen with regard to the re-integration rate into the labour market and vocational / further training are that about 40% will achieve this goal (Depil & Baumhoff, 1991). Their conclusion appears to be supported by a similar study of 168 employment projects in North Rhine Westfalia, who also concluded that re-integration is approx. 40% (Tegethoff and Lubinski, 1990). The conclusion both studies reach, is that approx. 50% of those employed in work creation measures:

"... have no chance of gaining a foothold in the first labour market ... for these groups, long-term subsidised employment should be created." (88)
(Tegethoff and Lubinski, 1990)

and the Projektverbund Zukunft Bauen adds to this that:

"This includes for us, that they have to continue to be integrated in market-orientated firms." (89)
(Depil and Baumhoff, 1991)

So, the projects provide most help to those who are qualified, but are without work experience.

Many projects argue that they need more resources and permanent staff. Especially needed are social workers who are not employed on work creation measures. This temporary employment means that social workers cannot establish confidence with the target group or meet the needs of the individuals who need it most. Therefore, the social workers may not develop their own expertise.

For older, long-term unemployed people, one aim is also the re-integration into the first labour market (as it is with other target groups). However, older people tend to have "objective lower levels of achievement, partly psychological, partly physical" (Haas/Depta, 1991). Their abilities are drastically reduced, and with it their chances of re-integration.

The Council of Europe also found that in Germany, the "structural change may mean fewer jobs for unskilled workers and the marginalisation of many older workers." (Council of Europe, 1992). As we have seen, ABM does not contribute to a higher integration for this particular group. The restrictions for unskilled and older workers are not removed due to participating in 2 year work creation measures, as unskilled workers do not gain qualifications recognised by potential future employers, and older workers are "even older" after ABM.

Those workers with fewer "personal problems" find it easier to obtain employment outside, after a period within projects (they may have achieved this anyway, even without the projects, i.e. the benefit projects have cannot be determined).

When individuals succeed and obtain full-time outside employment, for the projects themselves, the loss of "capable" people to the first labour market is often painful, because it is "the presence of these people, which provides some stabilisation within the

project work" (Haas/Depta, 1991). Even though re-integration into the first labour market is an important aim, when it is successful, the stability of the project suffers. Sometimes, the argument put forward is that the labour market should be formally and officially divided up into first and second labour markets, and recognised as such, to provide some kind of working opportunity for those unable to find formal employment. But this would also mean for those in the second labour market the official recognition that they are "second class" people, and they would thus be stigmatised. However, the alternative would be long-term unemployment, and that also has stigmas attached to it. This is indeed a problem, and one which many, even though they privately make these assertions, are reluctant to confirm publicly, due to its political implications. It would also mean that one of their aims, re-integration into the first labour market for many, is impossible. This admission would have consequences for their funding, because government philosophy for the funding of these projects is based on the belief that re-integration is the prime objective and indeed achievable.

14.1.4. Implementation of qualification policy

Part of the preparation work prior to project establishment is the writing of curricula, for which projects providing qualification receive funding from the Berlin Senate. For the projects, this funding is valuable as no other money is available for the starting phase of the projects. It was surprising to learn that the curricula produced were not regarded as a blueprint for their qualification strategy, but rather as a document divorced from reality. The curricula presented to the local authorities served as an instrument to help with their application for project funding. As Uwe Gluntz put it, the curricula and brochures should not be regarded as something the projects intend to translate into practice, rather as something to be used to persuade the funding bodies of the validity of their projects (see Atlantis).

The experience of most projects (Werkstattzentrum Schöneberg, Atlantis, GSE etc.), especially those dealing with unqualified youths and older workers, was that it was not possible to implement the curricula. The problem is described by one project:

"We did develop qualification concepts, but they were hardly realised, because the social problems (of the target groups) were so enormous, we didn't have a chance to teach them ecology. In the critical phases, they were there for only 50% of the time, They were either off sick or just not turning up or not willing.

And I think this is the problem in projects such as these, with most types of training, whether vocational training, further training, etc., that the youths who we have, we do after all call them socially disadvantaged, they have a whole string of problems, which are societal based ... these youths have enough problems in dealing with normal training, socially as well as intellectually, and it is really a very tall order to include ecology as well. Because I think by doing this, one overstretches these people, one has to be careful not just to impose ones own wishes and aims on these groups.

And that is why I think it is important to try to introduce and implement these concepts on a larger scale within the normal training system, within craft firms, with external training firms." (90)
(Feldmann, 1991)

The issues that arise from this are manifold. On the projects' own admission, qualification, let alone ecological qualification, is hardly carried out in the way it was intended.

As we have seen before, it is projects themselves who often neglect qualification due to emphasis on production and executing orders (see Atlantis), and have not provided a suitable framework for qualification from the start. Other projects may have had good intentions in the beginning, but found them difficult, if not impossible to implement.

In any case, the majority of projects do not offer full vocational training courses, but only additional or initial training, which is not formally accepted as training. Only some projects provide certificates, but these are regarded as worthless by future employers.

The reasons for the lack of qualification provided, apart from the inability of some target groups to cope with qualification and their high rate of absenteeism is the increasing shortage of qualified instructors. As we have seen before, projects find it more and more difficult to recruit suitable instructors/trainers, both on the "work creation measures" labour market as well as on the "normal" labour market, who are specialists in their field. It is even more difficult to find instructors with the additional knowledge of ecological aspects in their area of work.

Some projects have joined together to begin to address this problem, and have initiated a "qualification workshop" (Atlantis, GSE, Weiterbildungszentrum, Stattbau) to address

the question of ecological qualification within the vocational training system. They state that:

"It is not intended to devise fundamentally new (vocational) training, but to examine the existing (vocational) training with the view to integrate ecological aspects, and to make suggestions of how this can be done. And to do this, one has to start with the present situation, to try to enable instructors/trainers to say what ecology is, or what the ecological aspects are in their specialised field, and to train them, so that they can translate this into action. And that is the aim of our concept." (91)
(Feldmann, 1991)

14.1.5. Funding

In West Berlin, no new projects received funding in 1991 due to funds being allocated to East Berlin. This meant that existing projects started up projects in East Berlin and its surrounding area.

The most common issues and debates presently are generally concerned with external constraints, i.e. with all aspects of funding: the level of funding, the duration of funding, especially for persons on work creation measures:

"In order to be successful, it is necessary constantly to open up new sources of finance, and to have knowledge of the various programmes and how to use them." (92)
(Gruhl, 1992)

Projects no longer can apply directly to Brussels for EEC money. This is now done via the relevant administrative authorities, who assess the need and apply for funding. The power of the civil servants has thus increased. The funding acquired is then passed on to the projects; and projects argue that this is often done in a haphazard way, without apparent criteria (Haas/Depta, 1991).

14.1.6. Funding of Core staff / departmental leaders

One of the major problems facing projects is the ratio of permanent to temporary staff, which is given at about 1:15. Projects protest, saying that this ratio is much too low, and should stand at 1:5 or so, especially as they are dealing with problem groups.

However, some projects manage to get this ratio down (e.g. Stattbau, etc.) through including other a variety of programmes, such as those for the long-term unemployed. To overcome this problem many projects tend to appoint departmental leaders on ABM (which is only for two years), in order to secure as much public money as possible. After the two years, projects try to find funding from elsewhere to ensure that core members of staff can be retained permanently. The alternative is to fund any additional members of staff above the given ratio from money generated internally (though it is not clear that this is permissible), or from re-shuffling the available money around within the various departments (see Atlantis, internal structure).

Employment and training projects are a form of hybrid, i.e. a mixture of social project and normal firm. A question that remains unanswered for the projects is what happens to the income that they have generated through their work contracts. There are no clear cut guidelines. Projects argue that they should be categorically allowed to use this money for their own purposes:

"By not having this option, the perception that "it does not make any difference if we are doing something or not" may grow very quickly. And then we are on the way of becoming a social project, which only administrates unemployment, instead of actively trying to achieve qualitative improvements." (93)
(Uh, 1991)

The demands made on workers with departmental responsibilities are very high with regard to skill and commitment. Yet projects can only pay very low wages (based on work creation measures guidelines/tariffs). It is generally accepted that people working in alternative projects are highly socially motivated. Several projects commented that full-time jobs with any responsibility tend to have a high staff-turnover anyway, due to the nature of the pressures involved.

"We need the best workers, and we pay the least."
(Kaufmann, 1991)

It is difficult to determine whether the high turnover of staff is caused by the framework conditions, i.e. lack of funding for more core staff, or whether it is caused by the working conditions. Obviously, continuous lack of funding is a major part of working

conditions, it takes up lots of time for people to try to secure funding. In addition, projects live in fear that funding will be withdrawn. But apart from this, it has been mentioned by some projects, that there is often no positive feedback to people of responsibility, especially middle-management feel that they are being shouted at from "below" and "above". They are held responsible for implementation of novel ideas. These ideas are often the basis for securing funding, i.e. they are in the form of making application to the funding bodies, which are often not intended to be put into practice (see Atlantis). Thus middle management has to implement vague ideas, they are not sure about their job description, and they have little or no support from higher management, as these are equally unsure of how to implement a functional working structure. Thus, from the observations made, it cannot be clearly deduced that high staff-turnover is simply to do with lack of funding, but equally, unsatisfactory working structures may also be to blame.

14.1.7. Obtaining funding for technology development

Projects realised very early on the problems associated with product development, such as the longer time scales necessary for this than were available to them, as well as lack of funding and often lack of suitable resources, such as personnel, equipment and premises. Therefore their approach tended to focus more on the implementation and modification of already existing technologies.

An important source of funding for the projects could be the available existing programmes for technology development. However, there appears to be no clear guidelines of criteria for eligibility. Many maintain that funding is available only to normal small and medium sized businesses, and not for non-profit organisations (gGmbHs). As they do not fall in this category, the majority of projects have not pursued this further. However, there is some evidence that projects would be able to obtain funding for the promotion of technology. One project, GSE, said that they were eligible for this money as their size and organisational structure is similar to that of other businesses, and that money can be given to gGmbHs.

GSE has thus managed to obtain funding directly for promotion of new technologies from a European fund for the promotion of technology for small and medium sized companies, for their recycling project. They say that obtaining money for technology is extremely difficult via the normal training and employment programmes and considerable effort is required for locating possible funding sources and completing the application process.

"We invest an enormous amount of energy into the acquisition of funding."

(94)

(Haas/Depta, 1991)

14.1.8. Current issues and debates within the movement

The unification of Germany in 1991 meant that more funding was directed to East Germany with the result that no new projects would be funded in the West. However, existing groups were asked to expand their present activities to East Germany.

Some projects were reluctant to do this, as they felt that their responsibility lay with the unemployed in West Berlin, and that both would subsequently lose out. However, they accepted that there was an enormous need to be met in East Germany. It was thought, however, that this need should not be met at the expense of the unemployed in Berlin (West). Projects had no choice but to expand their activities to the East, in order to ensure their work in West Berlin.

As projects obtain an increasing income from their work, they want clarification on what happens to this money. Their legal status is, in the majority of cases, either a gGmbH or an e.V., which both have a non-profit character, i.e. they are not a profit making organisation, and thus have to account for their extra income. Presently, it is usual for any additional income to be subtracted from the subsidised income, which means regardless of their efforts, their income remains static. Some projects have managed, depending on which funding source they are dealing with, to use their additional income for internal improvements, whether additional equipment, or additional staff.

14.2. Case Studies - the effectiveness of the groups' approach

14.2.1. Employment Creation

Even though most projects aim to create new employment through the development of a new business, they do not embark on this path fully, and see themselves as belonging to the social area, and primarily apply for funds to social services, the labour exchange, the Senate Department for Employment. This seems to stop them from looking for funds for the development of technology from the Senate Department for Economy and Technology and other funding bodies. Some projects have attempted to obtain other funding, but only in an ad-hoc manner.

Their main priority is social, with some environmental concern. Overall, projects attempt to improve the environmental situation mainly by using available technology, rather than developing it themselves. They do not see themselves as economic or technological players, which hinders them from exploring all the possible funding sources that are available under regional or national economic policies.

The project leaders of these organisations tend to have a social background, they are teachers, researchers, academics, who have no knowledge and expertise of economic strategies or issues. Their main concern is the result of economic mismanagement and/or the recession, the people who form the one-third of the two-third society, i.e. those who are unable to participate in the labour market. They see the social problems that unemployment brings (debt, depression, feeling worthless) to the individual, and try and do something to address this. But they do not know how to create employment.

Also, they have no technical knowledge, least of all of product development.

Training is generally located under "social", and is increasingly being carried out by non-profit making organisations (due to the inability of firms to provide training).

Therefore, local and national government departments also mirror the way alternative projects are organised. Employment policy, under which programmes organisations receive their funding, is also located within the "social" Senate Departments, i.e. for

Social Affairs, Work and Women, Youth etc., and is clearly not linked to the departments of technology, industry, etc.

The way the government employment and training programmes are organised (they are located within social departments) means that the alternative projects liaise with these departments for their funding. They are unfamiliar with programmes offered by the other, more economically orientated departments, because they have no dealing with them in their normal working life.

Projects, however, have had some successes in opening up new areas of work, not just for themselves, but also for traditional firms. For example, the ecological urban renewal programmes are a direct result of the lobby work done by the alternative movement. The guidelines of the work creation measures, mainly those of additionality and the stipulation that work carried out has to be non-profit making means that work is being done which would otherwise not be performed (for charitable organisations at low cost).

14.2.2. Indirect employment creation

Alternative employment and training projects are largely not in competition with other private firms, and claim that they help create / stabilise employment in traditional firms through opening up new areas of work (i.e. building self-help) which is often done in conjunction with private firms. The projects played a vital role in bringing about Senate programmes, which fund ecological and social urban renewal.

Overall figures for this, however, are unavailable.

14.2.3. Qualification

Qualification policy on its own is ineffective and no control mechanism exists to evaluate the effect of qualification on obtaining employment.

Jörg Depta of GSE argues that it is very difficult to have any statistics on whether people after their two years ABM register unemployed again (and for how long), whether they obtain employment (and for how long), or what other beneficial effect

their work has had on their life in general, on their personal stabilisation and their confidence. He sees it as a success if they feel able to apply for work again. Also, working in the project may have helped them to pay off some of their debt, or they may have found a flat through the help of their social workers.

In order to obtain statistics on re-integration into the first labour market, one would have constantly to keep in touch with their former workers. This of course is impossible. It is even more impossible to evaluate the success with regard to their personal life, which may only show effect in the long term.

14.2.4. Integration into first labour market / stabilisation of individual

It becomes clear when looking at the different projects, that target groups are an important factor in determining success. Some target groups, such as young unemployed with vocational training, appear to fare relatively well under this system, because their needs are less than those of other target groups. Therefore, what has been established is that there exist a variety of needs between the target groups. Projects have recognised and tried to cater for these specific needs within the framework conditions that exist. The specific programmes do not reflect the differing needs, but rather tend to see all the different "problem groups" of the labour market as one entity, without really trying to differentiate.

As one project, dealing with young unemployed without vocational training (and often no completed schooling) points out with regard to the needs of their particular target group:

"It became clear during the youth self-help project, that a renewed social slide down after the completion of the measure can and must be avoided only through the creation of further concrete perspectives." (95)
(Depil and Baumhoff, 1991)

14.2.5. Size of projects

Over recent years, the existing national and local government programmes have been changed to make only large projects viable. Thus, projects have been forced to expand. While some projects take this opportunity to establish themselves as large providers of

employment and training measures, others clearly object to it:

"... in order to secure the continued existence of the combine as a necessary, successful and organically grown whole, we continue to be subjected to a forced considerable expansion, by the demands made by the Senate and other funding bodies, to undertake a rapid transfer of our concept to East Berlin (so that there is a chance of maintaining our West-projects). In this way, we are forced to act at a time when only just occurs the internal integration of the growth processes of the last few years." (96)
(Depil and Baumhoff, 1991)

As mentioned before, the size of a project can have an important effect on its success, and it is usually smaller ones who provide a more stable environment for their target group, and consequently appear to be more successful with regard to employment creation.

The main complaint voiced by projects is that the time of each measure (max. two years) is too short to fulfil their aims, i.e. product development and qualification and stabilisation of individuals. The needs of the "problem groups" of the labour market are so great, that they cannot be effectively addressed in two years.

14.2.6. Survival of projects

Survival of the projects is the most vital and fundamental goal, as this is a basic prerequisite for their work. Therefore, the most elementary criteria for evaluation of success must be that of survival. The relatively long history of employment and qualification projects shows that they continue to exist despite several changes in national and local government (unlike the GLC, which was initiated by a Labour administration, and consequently abolished by the Conservative Government).

A more cynical goal of the project initiators and managers may be that of keeping themselves in work, with not too much concern for the long-term prospects of the people who "go through" them.

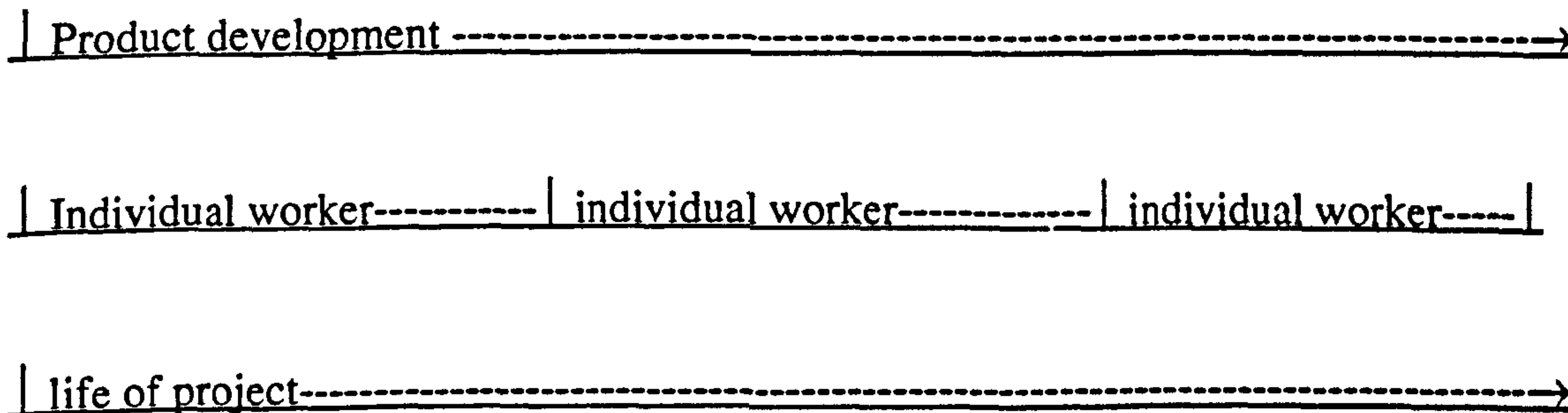
14.2.7. Conflicting aims and objectives: production or qualification

Projects get caught up in deciding which area of their work needs to be prioritised: on the one hand, their aim is employment creation through product development and

subsequent production, but this appears to be conflicting with their other aim, that of providing qualification, and improving the present situation of the target group (see Atlantis, GFBA etc.).

Qualifying workers would seem more beneficial for the individual concerned, as it may improve their chances of obtaining employment in the first labour market. However, as projects know, and have argued, together with other left-wing organisations (such as the trade unions, SPD;) this government philosophy does not work in practice, as no extra employment is created through simply training people. Therefore, development of products would at least be an attempt to create employment. This, however, is not without considerable risk of failing to do so, and may only occur on a much longer time scale.

This conflict of interest between the individual workers and the projects can be portrayed as follows:



As illustrated above, product development and life of project are more compatible, because projects like product development usually have no fixed time limit. Therefore, projects may in the end achieve their aim of creating employment through product development, and thus help the project to succeed, survive, and expand. However, for the individual workers, who have a fixed time limit, usually of two years, this is of little use. They may have participated in product development, and helped bring this about, but the personal benefit may be very low. Through their work, they may contribute toward creating employment, but this is usually not for themselves. As we have seen with Atlantis, the management felt that "it is more important to work for the overall

good, rather than for the personal benefit", i.e. they strive for an ideal, and the striving alone is beneficial enough.

Unfortunately, the individual workers are "sacrificed" in this process, by those who have established the projects, who not only have higher goals, but often manage to create employment for themselves by running these projects.

14.2.8. Conclusion

The question that arises from the analysis is, to what extent is it possible to put forward a united counter strategy (even if a favourable environment existed), in an area as new as this. Maybe a time of trying out different strategies is what is needed, to gather diverse experiences and to try to analyse these, and thus attempt to formulate a hegemonic counter strategy, i.e. a counter strategy, which has evolved with the input of many actors.

14.3. Policy Issues

As we have seen, the alternative projects, and especially those that grew out of or were linked to the squatter movement, felt that their demands were finally being taken seriously by the CDU/FDP coalition government. The CDU/FDP proved relatively open to negotiations, and eventually legalised the squatters. Thus, they showed a flexibility of policy, which had not been practised by the previous SPD administration.

The CDU/FDP administration admitted that flats left unoccupied in a city suffering from a shortage of housing was an unacceptable situation, and set about meeting the demands of the squatters by providing financial help for self-help repair and modernisation. This stance by the CDU/FDP encouraged the establishment of projects in the building sector.

It had the desired effect of effectively ending the squatter movement, and it also helped to promote and practice their adopted principle of subsidiarity.

On the side of the movement, those involved in self-help benefited by gaining confidence in their areas of work, and also in negotiating with the state and local

authorities. So, to a certain extent, the projects had to and did adopt the forms of behaviour expected by the local authorities.

Despite their left-wing character and despite being embedded in the alternative movement, the projects were better off under a Christian Democratic administration.

Thus, the alternative projects, despite remaining politically in opposition to neo-conservatism

"... were better off under [the] Christian Democrats than under the previous monolithic so-called welfare state of the SPD."
(Schmoll, 1989)

Projects received funding, which meant that they were now involved with running their projects, and trying to deal with the every-day problems encountered, rather than being engaged in direct political action. The funding of the projects meant that they now had a framework in which to operate, according to their own aims.

The strategy of negotiation and legalisation adopted by the CDU/FDP Senate thus produced a relative social stability by

"...reflecting the social conflicts back into the "scene" [alternative movement]."
(Schmoll, 1989)

It is interesting that no-one seems to evaluate the outcomes of the employment and qualification programmes, and no justification appears to be required for their continued funding. No Government statistics are available which demonstrate what these policies achieve, such as the number of people successfully obtaining full-time employment after completion of their employment and qualification measures.

In addition, no-one seems to be seriously challenging these policies. Even those that have identified serious shortcomings do not seriously call for abolition of these policies, but make recommendations on how they can be improved. A study into the effectiveness of work creation measures for youths commissioned by the Federal Institute for Vocational Education (Bundesinstitut für Berufsbildung) came to the following conclusion:

**"There are enough good reasons for the immediate abolition of the youth work creation measures, which is a particularly problematic programme. What speaks against this, is that at present nobody knows a better solution, and that the youths themselves regard it as a better alternative than unemployment." (97)
(Wordelmann, Peter et al, 1988)**

This view that employment and training measures in general are ineffective with regard to employment creation and re-integration into the first labour market, but at the same time regarded as "better than nothing", has been confirmed by my findings. As Karl Birkhölzer put it:

**"Everyone knows that these policies do not work. But there seems to be in force the well-known psychological response, that if a strategy does not work, you increase this strategy even more... rather than to abolish it."
(Birkhölzer, 1988, transcribed in English)**

14.3.1. Why does the government pursue this qualification policy?

We have seen that training in itself does not create work. So why does the government (irrespective of political persuasion) continue to put so much emphasis on training, without having any evidence that training works, and without having to justify this policy?

One explanation is the belief in and strict adherence to the vocational training system, by all groups of the population. The German vocational training system is much revered, it is a "golden goose" and considered untouchable.

Equally a priority for Germans is the attempt to provide vocational training for all youths who want it, and it is regarded as a national disgrace, when it is reported that an increasing number of youths are unable to obtain vocational training places.

With the decline of private companies offering vocational training, the state has subsequently intervened to provide training places in so-called practice firms.

While the general public and governments tend to view unemployment as somehow the fault of the individual, denying access to vocational training for its young people is seen as denying them a future.

So, training in general, but specifically for young people, is seen as something intrinsically good. This same view is held about qualification as a policy to tackle unemployment. The outcome is something which is not generally questioned. All political parties are therefore keen to be seen to be doing something.

14.3.2. Effect of alternative projects on vocational training system

Germany is a very bureaucratic state which adapts very slowly to change. This is also true for its vocational training system, which operates on very rigid guidelines, adhering to strict classifications of occupations (presently 378 occupations).

The impact the alternative movement in general, and the alternative employment and qualification projects in particular, have had is that they have introduced ecology into mainstream politics and organisations. Increasingly, the vocational training system is beginning to introduce ecological aspects into their training structures. Within the framework of establishing a new ordering/classification of occupations, a preamble has been included in 1989, to include ecological aspects into existing occupations.

This is a major achievement. Even though projects find it difficult to teach ecology to their target group, they are doing important pioneering work in this field. It has to be borne in mind that the German system responds, rather than initiates. Without the work of the projects in this area, a re-evaluation to include ecological aspects would hardly have been initiated.

By introducing ecological aspect into the vocational training system, a much wider audience will be reached. Also, companies will have a chance to recruit workers with these skills. "Ecological work" such as installation of solar panels, can not normally be carried out by existing firms, as they do not have expertise in this area or the capacity to train their workers. As ecological work is increasingly demanded by private individuals, there are only very few people who can do this work. In Berlin, this work is largely done by employment and qualification projects, and alternative businesses. But companies, who have previously not been able to meet ecological demand due to lack of skilled workers, will eventually be able to recruit workers, who have learned about

ecological aspects within the vocational training system or through work creation measures with alternative employment and training projects.

Whilst the introduction of ecology into the vocational training system is a very slow process, the process has at least started. In time, all occupations will have ecological content included in the vocational training system.

15. CHAPTER FIFTEEN: Conclusion

15.1. Development of SUEST/Products

**"I think an important element of social usefulness is to do things which are not regarded as profitable within a capitalist market economy, but which are incredibly important in the long term for the social and ecological development." (100)
(Haas/Depta, 1991)**

The development of SUEST, whilst an explicit aim of the projects, appears to take only a marginal role. This is not because it is considered unimportant, but because projects have realised that they only have very limited scope for action in this area.

The problem is that the dream of a fast, new product did not materialise.

There is a long development process from product idea to product, and projects cannot afford to invest time due to other commitments (qualification and fulfilling orders). In addition, they may not always have suitable workers to carry this out, either because they are only there for a limited time (two years) or as instructors they have other responsibilities. This is especially true for the smaller projects. It is usually larger projects who can afford to spend more time on product development. Also, the income of the projects (subsidised and generated) is needed for the other areas of work, and there appears to be no easy or obvious way to obtain funding specifically for the development of products.

Those projects who have reached the stage where they could embark on production find that they do not have the necessary facilities to switch to production, or the workers willing to set up their own businesses. Therefore, there are two long processes: from product idea to product, and from product to consumer.

Consequently, as we have seen, the emphasis has been on training. However, it is clear that qualification does not on its own create employment opportunities. Some alternative projects therefore tried to go beyond providing training and attempted to create employment in areas they consider important. In general, German governments have been supportive of projects to a certain extent, i.e. they don't fight them, but fund them. In this conclusion, I attempt to summarise the impact of these projects.

15.2. The role of employment and training projects

"In an overall sense, I advocate a form of entrepreneurial and enterprising capacities which far transcend their traditional concern with narrow, short term profit maximisation. Those required in the 21st Century will subsume these traditional areas and will also stretch into community work and care, urban renewal programmes, heritage activities and social and cultural activities in the wider sense."

(Cooley, 1993)

"Any scrap of power which can be used and any resources which can be tapped should be put at the service of those trying to find new ways of working, and new ways of intervening in the economy and in their environment."

(Wise, 1985)

Based on the evidence available through the case studies, it is not easy to provide a conclusive general evaluation. The evaluation is in the projects own terms and focuses on the operation processes, and attempts are made to provide an analysis of success and failure. There are some difficulties in measuring the outcome due to

- a) the lack of available figures for the re-integration into the first labour market,
- b) the long time scale for the development of products, and
- c) the inability to measure personal benefit of the target group.

The projects have existed only for a short time, and had to undergo several adjustments to external events and to existing government policies. Comparisons of outcome are difficult, as the target groups of projects differ. There exists a wide variety of "problem groups" within the unemployed labour market, and comparison would mean comparing different target groups with each other in greater detail.

The groups under investigation are marginal, and they are likely to remain that way for the future. They will not be able to provide the answers to mass unemployment or environmental degradation. As one project representative commented on their ability to deal with mass unemployment, especially in the East: "We are only tiny little organisations, how are we to tackle mass unemployment over there? We work in small, "cosy" projects, we do not have the knowledge and ability to deal with, say a factory closure and its thousands of redundant workers, and do something with them." (ProjektvertreterInnen, 1991).

Despite all that, their work is valuable and useful, in that projects attempt to address the real problems faced by society today: long-term structural unemployment and the consequent social cost, and environmental degradation. The approach adopted in Germany seems to be to show that alternatives can work. Projects set about showing that there are different ways of doing things.

15.3. The experience of the employment and training projects

The alternative employment and training projects, while having some aims in common do not present a united front. They are all individual projects, with their own individual backgrounds and strategies. Therefore, what we have is a number of different actors, attempting to realise their goals in their own particular way. What unites them are their basic aims and the fact that they are all working within the same external framework.

The alternative movement, to which the majority of the case studies belong, is essentially about finding alternatives to the way things are done normally, and the alternative employment and training projects are essentially about showing alternatives to existing providers of work creation and qualification measures within the existing

framework. By doing this, they are not fundamentally challenging the existing system, but rather trying to improve its performance by highlighting some of its weaknesses and pointing out additional areas of need. The target groups of the projects are defined by government frameworks.

The idea of a Kooperationsverbund Entwicklungswerkstatt, as promoted by the Berlin technology network and based on the London model, was met with much enthusiasm by the main alternative employment and training projects. It was regarded as a useful framework in which they could pursue one of their aims - employment creation through the development of suest - in a more co-ordinated manner, by having access to expertise at the Technical University, and by facilitating support from each other and from other organisations. The projects had been largely aware that the development of new products required a longer time frame to translate into jobs for their target groups, and the Kooperationsverbund Entwicklungswerkstatt was considered one useful way to speed up the process of product development.

Projects realised that the social and personal problems of their target groups due to often long periods of unemployment, were frequently too great to provide sufficient personal stability for the individuals to embark on setting up their own businesses, even in those few cases where products had been developed and a market identified. In addition, projects felt that they had overestimated the individuals ability to take part in this process, as well as underestimated their other needs, such as housing and other welfare needs.

Projects had embarked on providing employment and training for the "problem groups of the labour market", not least because for this funding was readily available through national and local employment programmes.

Thus, the Berlin groups tried to train people to help develop suest for direct employment creation, or to become familiar with the use of already existing technology, to increase their chances of obtaining employment in the "normal" labour market.

Despite all the problems encountered, internal and external, they are doing important pioneering work. By showing practical alternative examples, their ideas and practices

could be, after periods of experimenting, exported outside, as a practical model to be copied and by training people for outside organisations.

The projects are protected by state grants, and thus their future survival depends largely on the continued supply of these grants. While state subsidy allows projects the space to experiment, at the same time it makes them highly dependent and vulnerable. The survival of projects had already been temporarily threatened in 1992, due to shortages of state funds after unification, when it was announced that funding was no longer available for these projects. While this threat was overcome, and projects presently continue to receive funding, their future may be in doubt with the continuing recession presently experienced in Germany, which may mean that they in future may no longer enjoy their protected environment.

However, despite shortages of funds, the need of the German government to do something, or to be seen to be doing something about unemployment, especially with no other viable solutions on offer, has proved fairly strong in the past. The evidence from the past shows (see Figure 6) that, unsurprisingly, work creation measures have been increasingly used exactly at times of increasing unemployment. In the early seventies, when the number of job vacancies far exceeded the number of unemployed, work creation measures only played a marginal role. With rising unemployment in the late seventies the number of job vacancies fell sharply, and we saw an increase in work creation measures. In the late eighties, when unemployment had reached extremely high levels, the number of work creation measures further increased, almost to the level of job vacancies. Therefore, it can be assumed that work creation measures, or an emphasis on the second labour market, will continue to be important as responses to unemployment.

15.4. External interactions

The projects interact primarily with other alternative groups working in their area, such as other employment and training projects and alternative businesses, sharing ideas and information, etc. There is also a movement of people, moving between employment and training and other projects, and moving between alternative businesses and projects.

Some movement is also occurring from the alternative movement to local government posts.

Links with the public sector are primarily to negotiate and secure funding. In addition, the groups carry out a lobbying function, drawing attention to the needs, which they feel the public sector ought to address, often through their networking organisations, such as AAA. The public sector uses these groups as pathfinders in new areas of social provision for those target groups, for which the public sector has no working mechanisms, such as for squatters, rioting youths etc. However, projects felt that on a practical level, they could not work together with the local authorities, as these were not seen to be actively involved in creating employment.

In the private sector, projects interact mainly with small to medium sized companies for execution of orders, e.g. within the urban renewal programmes, or as work-experience placements for their trainees. Projects try to open up new perspectives based on social and ecological needs within their immediate environment which are neglected by the market. The question as to how far projects are willing to engage with the mainstream economy is difficult to answer. There have been some successes in opening up new areas of work. Projects have promoted the use of environmental building techniques and materials and have helped create a market for it. In addition, they have provided trained people to carry out this work. Projects have secured many large contracts, which are then carried out in conjunction with traditional Berlin firms.

Many people break out of the alternative movement. Within alternative businesses, there is a trend towards professionalisation. They are often no longer regarded as "alternative" by the alternative movement, because they have essentially adopted normal business character, and have discarded many of their initial principles, such as internal democracy.

The employment and training projects belong to the group of "free agencies" which are independent but are state recognised providers of social services, funded by the state. Therefore, in this capacity it could be argued, that they belong primarily to the public

sector. They fulfil a similar role to other free agencies. However, in addition, they are suppliers of products and services, like other businesses.

The recent attempts by projects to set up independent businesses providing qualification has been one way for projects to try and venture into the "private" sphere in order to generate non-subsidised income. These independent businesses usually remain within the project combine (see Projekteverbund Zukunft Bauen) but are reaching into the private sphere.

Also, alternative individuals increasingly set themselves up as professionals, e.g. environmental consultants, engineers, etc.

People who leave the alternative movement, e.g. to adopt more traditional practices with regard to their employment, are often regarded as deserters, i.e. they are seen as putting their own gains above that of the movement. (working for the good of the whole is a fundamental aim of the alternative movement). The younger generation especially accuse the older ones of feathering their own nests, referring to the increased trend for professionalisation. The older ones, thinking about pensions and their future and the sacrifices they have made, retort by saying that, while they accept the criticisms of the younger more idealistic generation, the younger generation have to find their own way, and maybe in 20 years time they too will see things differently. The older generation were more idealistic when they were younger, but they feel that they have done their bit in the way they thought best, but they need to think about their own future, and are generally worn out by alternative work. Those who have established themselves in alternative projects; tend to protect their achievements from attacks by "militant youths". Therefore, conflicts are no longer primarily targeted at the state, but are kept within the fringe social groups in their immediate environment.

Overall, the alternative projects have a relatively safe environment, with the freedom and the space to experiment with alternative ways of doing things. Many individuals leave it after a time, to secure their own future.

The example of alternative employment and training projects is slightly different. They are free agencies, albeit alternative ones, who officially carry out work for the state, for which they get funding. Compared to the other free agencies, such as traditional welfare

organisations, they are few and small. They are essentially fighting for expansion (more projects) and a larger slice of the employment and training market. They also want to expand the areas of work of traditional welfare organisations, to increasingly include social and ecological aspects, rather than merely providing qualification.

15.5. Impact of Projects

It is interesting that no-one seems to evaluate the outcomes of the work creation measures and training programmes, the money spent on them does not appear to require any kind of justification. For example, only partial Government statistics are available to demonstrate what these policies achieve, e.g. there are no statistics on the numbers of people successfully placed in full time employment after completion of training.

However, despite this, it is clear that the employment and training projects have done important pioneering work. Based in their local area, they have been an important factor for its stabilisation. The projects are experimenting with new socially useful and environmentally sound technology or are reviving old technologies. They have made important contributions towards changing the content in the vocational training system to include ecological aspects, and are trying to expand the occupations as laid down in the vocational training system to include new, ecological occupations, which take account of their areas of work.

Especially in the building sector, projects have drawn in funds to their local environment, which would not otherwise have been available. Small and medium sized local businesses also benefit from this, as they are often sub-contracted in larger building contracts. It is estimated that in this way at least "150 permanent jobs have been created with small and medium sized businesses in the district of Kreuzberg alone" (Klingmüller, 1990). In addition, permanent employment has been created for the core workers of the projects.

Employment and training projects are working in areas which are important for and desired by society, and which have been neglected by profit-making firms. Thus, they

present an innovative potential, by devising new ways of working and of opening up new areas of work, which may eventually become economically viable.

They are a testing ground for new and old ecological building techniques.

Alternative employment and training projects have been receiving public funding for the past 10-15 years. They are established in their own right and provide a service which is recognised as valuable by national and local governments.

What happens to this potential largely depends on external circumstances. Various Berlin Senates of all political persuasion have also recognised the importance of finding new ways of addressing social and environmental needs. They appear to be working on the principle that those who have identified new needs are in the best position to try to provide for this need. How much of this is rhetoric, remains to be seen.

"The official attitude is similar to those of parents, who watch with interest their children showing off their self-determined games, in the knowledge, that they themselves live in another world, which is the 'reality'." (101)
(Runge, 1988)

Also, the Senate in Berlin in 1991 pays lip-service to suest-demands:

"Our economic policy aims to support the structural change by increasing the levels of innovations in a socially sound and ecological manner." (102)
(Meisner, 1991)

New employment could be created in those areas, where the projects are active:
ecological urban renewal, environmental protection, etc.

And, as has been argued before by national government and projects alike, funding projects also makes sense financially. It is cheaper in the medium to long-term to finance employment within work creation measures than unemployment.

The work of the projects would be greatly facilitated if, instead of having to deal with large numbers of funding bodies as is presently the case, funding could be organised in such a way that projects would only have to deal with one overall funding body.

Securing permanent sources of funding for instructors, teachers and departmental leaders, many of whom are presently themselves on work creation measures, has to be addressed as funding for the development of technology.

The alternative and self-help groups have demonstrated that there are numerous activities outside the "regular economy". This demonstration has had some effect on how work other than dependent wage labour is regarded, and overall, its value has increased. The importance of the non-wage sector, or self-help groups has even been put into monetary terms by one of the most fervent supporters of the subsidiarity principle, Ulf Fink:

"The economic value of non-wage labour, which society can no longer do without, amounts to nearly 300,000 Mio DM, i.e. one-seventh of the gross national product." (103)
(Fink, 1989)

One important aim for most projects under investigation is to open up new ecological areas of work. "In this area, mass employment must be created" (Gluntz, 1991).

However, projects see their direct contribution as minimal, even those projects who have 150 workers and above:

"150 work places are nothing, but influence can only be obtained through good examples, and through discussions with other projects and firms... We ourselves are unable to create large amounts of employment." (104)
(Gluntz, 1991)

Projects thus realise that they themselves are unable to provide ecological employment. There is some evidence that projects realise that they have to work together with more conventional firms to achieve this.

15.6. Strategic Assessment

It is fascinating that in Germany groups continue to get funding, regardless of which political party is in power, so one criteria for success must be that of survival. This is the most vital and fundamental goal. The fact that they continue to exist could be seen as an indication of success, given that existing is a vital pre-requisite for doing anything.

The approach adopted in Germany seems to be to show that alternatives can work. And projects set about showing concretely that there are different ways of doing things.

What happens to them in the long-term, is difficult to predict. Views differ. One is that:

"...due to the pressure of the alternative movement, a more humane and an effective partial de-centralisation process takes place, creating 'politically independent areas'."

(Runge, 1988)

whereas another view is that:

"an increased counter pressure will push the self-help groups into a definitive isolated fringe-group status."

(Runge, 1988)

Alternative projects are tolerated and are valued in particular for performing pioneering work for the established organisations. However, the projects are unable to develop an overall strategy due to the unavailability of funding and their very existence is threatened, especially in the long term. Their precarious position has become especially clear recently, when the federal government / Bundesanstalt für Arbeit announced that they would no longer be able to fund work creation measures (ABM). This decision would have finished most projects off at a stroke. However, the decision was reversed for the time being, because no alternative exists presently to replace this existing employment policy.

15.6.1. Government response to unification

Projects feel that their attempts to develop and implement environmental technology is increasingly met with a negative response from the Berlin Senate since unification.

Projects quote the Berlin Senate as saying

"... the problems in East Berlin and East Germany are so enormous, that they should stop playing their ecological games." (98)

(Haas/Dept, 1991)

Projects consider that this view is too short-sighted:

"That is the value of the short-term problems against the value of long-term problems. And ecological efforts are all long-term. If you have solar panels installed on your roof, you do not save any money (in the short term). But you contribute to a long-term reduction of primary energy." (99)
(Haas/Dept, 1991)

For the moment, however, although the problems of unification have increased the level of uncertainty, few people seem to be seriously challenging these projects and policies. This is surprising, given that, in the UK for example, the GLC was under constant public scrutiny by the media, exposing and putting judgement on money spent on some gay rights group. Their whole set of policies was constantly challenged. Whereas in Germany nobody seems to be asking what is all this money spent on.

Nevertheless, there is clearly a need for at least internal criticism and assessment. I conclude by highlighting some of the key problems and gaps that would appear to need consideration.

15.7. Key Problems

15.7.1. The absence of a hegemonic counter strategy

There is no co-ordinated strategy (or "hegemonic counter-strategy", see Mole and Elliott, 1987) either between the projects, or between the Federal agencies, providing the framework for national employment and training programmes, and Senate departments providing supplementary programmes, or between the projects and the Senate departments.

Projects tend to work together on a minimal level, if there is no threat to their own immediate survival. And even here this is dependent on the level of threat. Co-operation seems strongest, when relatively minor changes occur, such as the level of funding, changes in Federal / Senate programme criteria. This is the level at which AAA operates, attempting to struggle for better conditions.

However, when there was a real threat of withdrawal of funding for new and/or small projects, the groups under investigation tended to put themselves first. Recent major

restructuring meant that some projects were able to take on a very prominent role by becoming a Service-Gesellschaft (Service society, i.e. in charge of creating 30,000 additional work creation measures for the former East Germany). During this time of change, when one would expect this to result in a more unifying struggle, the opposite happened and groups were reluctant to share information. When three projects obtained Service Society-status, there was a scramble by projects (especially those who had close working/personal relationships with the managers of these projects) to try and work closely together for their own advantage.

15.7.2. Conflicts with own criteria

Thus the overall direction that the majority of projects under investigation were taking was that of expansion. This path was taken as it was the easiest way to ensure continued funding, and the survival of the project.

The present expansion of projects is contrary to several of its criteria: open structures, self-administered and basis-democratic. Previously, AAA had not allowed GFBA membership, because it was regarded as a national organisation, which would not be able to act independently and may be subject to instructions from its head office in West Germany.

15.7.3. Limitations of government frameworks

Federal unemployment and training programmes are geared for large employers, i.e. they fund the wage cost of unemployed people working in firms. There is criticism of this, as it means a displacement/replacement of labour and as a policy is highly inflexible. Senate departments, trying to make running of programmes feasible by supporting small, alternative projects, have provided some funding for setting up projects and running costs.

The Berlin Senate has adopted this approach not least because it means additional sources of income for its budgets from the national work creation measures and qualification programmes. The qualification policy in Berlin was based on decisions made by the Federal Institute of Employment, which identified that unemployment in

Berlin is higher than the national average and blamed the "unfavourable qualification" of workers in Berlin for this. This analysis was eagerly taken up by Senate Berlin and translated into its current "qualification offensive" (Grundlagenbeschluß 1985). Thus, employment policy equals qualification policy.

The Senate appears to offer financial incentives to projects in a very haphazard manner. For example, it temporarily provided funding for projects to write curricula, and projects responded to this because it was available. But there is no programme to help projects execute this (Feldmann, 1991).

Projects have to meet strict criteria to be funded by the Senate, as the Senate can only operate in the framework provided by the federal departments. Thus, the programmes are very narrowly defined. No funding exists for co-ordinating projects, or technological development.

As a consequence, nobody seriously questions the emphasis of training, as people just believe that it is a good thing, and nobody is prepared to seriously challenge them.

Given the limitations of training as a response to unemployment and economic development problems generally, this would seem to be a major omission.

15.8. Future prospects

The choice of training as a focus, as an alternative to new product development, might be seen not to have escaped the limitations identified by the GLC and the German activists of new product type approaches. Clearly, in isolation, training will not be sufficient as a response to the major social and ecological and economic problems facing Germany and the rest of the world.

This thesis has explored some of the practical and theoretical limitations of training, but obviously there is much more that could be done.

The positive value of projects is that they attempt to meet the needs of the unemployed and try to address the effects of long-term unemployment. Projects try to promote self-esteem and self-activism. They are organising an educational process which enables individuals to obtain self-confidence and build on their previous experiences and

qualifications. Projects act as a facilitator and help create awareness that unemployment is not the fault of the individual but rather a problem to be addressed by society.

Maintaining and expanding the links with small and medium sized companies would obviously be important. As we have seen, the German groups have started to do this, but the results as yet are unclear. Projects are, however, actively engaged in strengthening the existing links.

These problems become even more urgent when we look to the East. Solutions to the massive problems there may require a re-definition of the second labour market, although there is a danger that this could just become a ghetto for those excluded by the main economic system. Projects are beginning to make a valuable contribution by providing structures that can be transferred to East German. They are providing much needed workers trained in ecological aspects to help with addressing the environmental needs there.

The prospects for the future are unclear. The employment projects could remain marginalised under the impact of unification, or, equally, unification could stimulate an expansion Eastwards. Indeed, this is already beginning to happen. As we have seen, projects have evolved out of perceived needs. We can trace developments within the projects, who have developed from mere providers of training to economic self-help organisations. They will continue to try to meet the needs of the unemployed and to work together towards a better society. The concept of subsidiarity and self-help could well spread and create opportunities for projects on a wider scale across Europe, and there are indeed signs of this happening.

Certainly, few of the problems facing the German groups are unique to Germany. In this context, comparison between the different attempts made in England through the GLC technology networks, and the projects in Berlin might therefore be useful, although of course there are many institutional and cultural differences. As Sam Aaronowitch pointed out "It is interesting to look at the differences, and learn from these." (Aaronowitch, 1992). As we have seen, one of the key differences is the emphasis on

training rather than products. The other differences are more tactical and relate to the German context.

In this thesis, I have attempted to describe the particular cultural, economic and political framework in Germany as a setting in which the employment and training projects operate, and to make this knowledge available to projects in other countries, so that they have a framework in which they can place these projects, and view their achievements within this context. Hopefully, this will provide a clearer picture for people who are interested in how other projects in other countries operate, for whom access to the countries' particular situation may not be easily available.

Appendices

Glossary

allgemeine jugendberatung (ajb)	general youth advice
Alternative Liste (AL) Party)	Alternative List (Berlin Green Party)
Arbeiterwohlfahrt	Workers Welfare Organisation
Arbeitsamt	Labour Exchange / Job Centre
Arbeitsbeschaffungsmaßnahmen (ABM)	work creation measure
Arbeitsgemeinschaft Arbeit & Ausbildung (AAA)	Working group work and education
Arbeitsgruppe Berliner Projektvertreter/Innen	Working group Berlin project representatives
Arbeitskreis Berliner Selbsthilfegruppen im Altbau (AKS)	Working group of Berlin self-help groups in restoration of old buildings
Arbeitsmarktpolitisches Rahmenprogramm programme	Labour Policy Framework
Außerparlamentarische Opposition (APO)	Extra-parliamentary opposition
Beamte	Government official / civil servant
Behindertenwerkstatt	Sheltered workshops
Berlin Modell	Berlin model
Berliner Mauer, Fall	removal / demolition of the Berlin Wall
Berlinförderungshilfen	National Berlin subsidy
Berufsschule	Part-time vocational school
Berufsschullehrer	Vocational school teacher

Berufsverbote	people in radical movements excluded from State employment
Beschäftigungsgesellschaften	Employment societies
Bildungsstätte für ökonomische Selbsthilfe	Education centre for economic self- help
Bundesanstalt für Arbeit	Federal Institute of Employment
Bundesinstitut für Berufsbildung (BIBB)	Federal Institute for Vocational Training
Bundesland	Federal constituent state
Bundessozialhilfegesetz	Federal social law
Bundessozialhilfegesetz (BSHG)	Federal social security law
Christlich Demokratische Union (CDU)	Christian Democratic Union
Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund (DGB)	Federation of German Trade Unions
Die Grünen	Green Party
Drittes Teilprogramm zur Qualifizierungsoffensive	Third partial programme of the qualification offensive
Eigeninitiative	self-initiative
Eingetragener Verein (e.V.)	Registered society / charity
employment and training projects	State-funded organisations providing work creation measures and training
Entstaatlichung	Privatisation
Erwerbsinteressen	Economic interests
Erwerbssektor	Economic sector
Fachverwaltung des Landes	Federal Administrative Authorities
Fink-Topf	Fund named after Senator Fink
first labour market	Non-subsidised employment
formal sector	Industry, trade, services and state organisations
Forschungsanträge	Research proposals
Freie Demokratische Partei (FDP)	Free Democratic Party
Freie Träger	Free agencies
Freie Wohlfahrtsverbände	Free welfare organisations
Freiräume	Free space
FRG	Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany)
GDR	German Democratic Republic (East Germany)

Gartenbauämter	Local Authority gardening department
Gartenlaube	Dacha / allotment shed
Gemeinnützig	Non-profit making
Geschäftsführer	Managing director
Geschäftsführung	Management
Gesellschaft bürgerlichen Rechts (GBR)	Citizen rights' societz
Gesellschaft für Stadtentwicklung gGmbH (GSE)	Society for urban development
Gesellschaft zur Förderung Berufsspezifischer Ausbildung (GFBA)	Society for the promotion of vocational training
gesellschaftspolitisch	socio-political
gGmbH	Non-profit making company with limited liability
GmbH	Profit-making company with limited liability
Grundgesetz	Basic law
Hauptschulabschluß	Basic school-leaving certificate
Hauptschulabschluß	leaving certificate from a (secondary school)
Hauptschule	General education secondary school
Hauptschule	- lower level - providing full-time compulsory education
Heime	Care institutions
Hofbegrünungsprogramm	Urban landscaping project
informal sector	Private households, pressure groups
Institut für Arbeitsmarkt und Berufsforschung	Institute for Labour Market and Vocational Research
Institute für Arbeits- und Berufspädagogik	Institute for Employment and Pedagogy
vocational	
Interdisziplinäres Forschungsprojekt	Interdisciplinary Research Project
"Lokale Ökonomie" (IFP)	"local economy"
intermediary sector	Alternative businesses and employment & training projects
Investitionsmittel	Investment capital
Kommunales Forum Wedding	Local forum Wedding
Kooperation Ökologische Orientierung für Ausbildung & Qualifizierungsprojekte	Co-operation ecological orientation for vocational training and qualification projects
Kooperationsverbund Entwicklungswerkstatt	Co-operation combine development workshop

Land (plural Länder)	Federal constituent state
Land Berlin	Federal constituent state Berlin
Landesarbeitsamt	State labour office
Landeshaushaltsordnung	State finance law
Leben und Arbeiten in Schöneberg	Living and Working in Schöneberg, district of Berlin
Lehmbauten	mud building
Liebeslaube	charmed / blessed inner circle
Lohnkostenzuschuß (LKZ)	Wage subsidy for unemployed people over 50 years (max. 100% for max. 8 years)
Lösungen im Stadtteil (LIST)	Solutions in the district
Maßnahmen	measures
Mrd.	000 million
Netzwerkorganisation	Networking organisations
parteiübergreifend	non party-political
privatwirtschaftliches Unternehmensprinzip	privat economy entrepreneurial principle
Projekt für Arbeitslose & Lehrer der Arbeits- und Berufspädagogik (PAULA)	Project for the unemployed and teachers of work and vocational pedagogy
Projektentwicklungsagentur (PEA)	Project development agency
Projektverbund Zukunft Bauen e.V.	Project Combine building futures
Projektwerkstätten	Student project workshops
Qualifizierungsmaßnahmen	Qualification measures
Qualifizierungsoffensive	Qualification offensive
Rahmenvertrag	Framework agreement
Realschule	General education secondary school giving access to upper secondary education
red-green Senate	Social Democrat and Green Party coalition government in Berlin
Regiemittel	Wages for project management / funding for core staff
Sachmittel	Running cost
Sanierungsarbeiten	Reconstruction work
second labour market	Publicly funded short-term employment
Senat	Berlin state government
Senatsabteilung für Arbeit und Frauen	Senate department for Employment and Women

Senatsabteilung für Bau- und Wohnungswesen	Senate department for Construction and Housing
Senatsabteilung für Finanzen	Senate department for Finance
Senatsabteilung für Jugend und Familie	Senate department for Youth and Family
Senatsabteilung für Soziales	Senate department for Social Affairs
Senatsabteilung für Stadtentwicklung und Umweltschutz	Senate department for Urban Development and Environmental Protection
Senatsabteilung für Wirtschaft & Technologie	Senate department for Economy and technology
Senatsabteilung für Wissenschaft & Forschung	Senate department for Science and Research
social market economy	Economic system in Germany, "market economy with a social conscience"
Sozialamt	Social security office
Sozialbetrieb	Social firm
Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands (SPD)	Social Democratic Party of Germany
Sozialpaedagogisches Institut (SPI)	Social-educational Institute
Statistisches Landesamt	State statistical office
Stattbau Stadtentwicklungsgesellschaft mbH	Stattbau Urban development society
Subsidiarität	Subsidiarity
Subsidiaritätsprinzip	Subsidiarity principles
SUEST	Socially useful and environmentally sound technology
technets	Technology Networks
Technologie Netzwerk Berlin	Technology network Berlin
Therapeutische Tagesstätte für Psychisch Leidende (Theta Wedding e.V.)	Therapeutic Day centre for psychologically ill people
Trägerübergreifende Massnahmen	Intermediary organisations
Treuhändischer Sanierungsträger des Landes Berlin	Redevelopment/renovation trustee companies of the Land Berlin
Überregionale Gruppen	National groups
Verein zur Förderung kultureller und beruflicher Bildung von Jugendlichen und jungen Erwachsenen e.V. (BBJ Consult)	Organisation for the promotion of cultural and vocational qualification of youths and young adults
Verwaltung	Administration

Warteschleifen	a kind of temporary stacking loop
Weiterbildungszentrum Arbeits- Umwelt- und Naturschutz des Berufsfortbildungswerk des Deutschen Gewerkschaftsbundes	Centre for further education for the protection of the environment and nature, and health and safety at vocational training of the German Federation of Trade Unions
work of the Organisation for further	
Wende	Change of direction
Wirtschafts- und Wachstumsgesellschaft	Economic & growth society
Zukunftsbau	Future Build
Zusatzausbildung	Additional qualification
Zwei-drittel Gesellschaft	Two / third society
Zweiter Arbeitsmarkt	Second labour market

Original German Quotes

1. "... den Versuch, durch selbstorganisierte Formen des Arbeitens und Zusammenlebens gesellschaftliche Veränderungen unmittelbar praktisch zu machen."
2. "Arbeitsplätze einzurichten ist billiger, als die Kosten der Arbeitslosigkeit zu tragen. Die Finanzierung von Arbeitslosigkeit ist eine Verschwendung von menschlichen und finanziellen Ressourcen."
3. "... wir denken, daß das wirklich eine sinnvolle Kombination ist, Arbeitsplätze zu schaffen und gleichzeitig auch diese sozial nützliche und ökologisch verträgliche Arbeit zu machen. In der Praxis ist das natürlich so, daß da längst nicht alle unsere Vorstellungen verwirklicht werden, weil oft unter Termindruck und Geldknappheit diese ökologischen Gesichtspunkte wieder in den Hintergrund treten... wir fühlen uns eigentlich zuständig für ökologische Pilotprojekte. Wir haben sehr viele Arbeitskräfte, wo ja die Lohnkosten nicht so eine Rolle spielen, und wir haben die Zeit, und nicht den Druck, nicht experimentell bauen zu können... Was sich eine Firma nicht so leisten kann, die müßten dann eine Forschungsabteilung haben. ... und das ist genau der Bereich in dem wir arbeiten. Jedenfalls versuchen wir den weiter auszubauen, aber die Erfahrung auch weiterzugeben, zu kooperieren mit anderen Projekten, um in größerem Stil die von uns gebauten ausprobierten Projekte sichtbar in der Stadt zu machen, .. wir sind ja damals zu Zeiten des rot-grünen Senats ja finanziert worden, und da war natürlich ökologischer Stadtumbau, wo wir gesagt haben, man, wunderbar, wir bringen Menschen in Arbeit, wir qualifizieren die Leute und gleichzeitig an den Stadtstrukturen wird dann auch zum Thema Ökologie eine Menge gemacht. (Und das paßt auch wunderbar zusammen.) Und daran versuchen wir weiter zu arbeiten, und diesen Anspruch weiter umzusetzen."
4. "Zusammenarbeit... mit dem Ziel einer rationelleren Nutzung ihrer jeweiligen Kapazitäten auf dem Gebiet der Entwicklung und Erforschung sozial- und umweltverträglicher Produkte und Dienstleistungen, der Entwicklung neuer Beschäftigungsfelder und der Schaffung sinnvoller Arbeitsplätze für die Region Berlin."
5. "Zentrale Aufgabe der Entwicklungswerkstatt ist die Innovation sozial und ökologisch nützlicher Produkte und Dienstleistungen."
6. "Arbeitsbeschaffungsmaßnahmen sind weiterhin ein wichtiges Instrument zur Entlastung des Arbeitsmarktes und zur Wiedereingliederung von Arbeitslosen in das Arbeitsleben."
7.
 1. **Zusätzlichkeit:** Nur wenn die Arbeiten zusätzlich sind, können Substitutions- und Mitnahmeeffekte vermieden werden. Es sind daher nur solche Arbeiten förderungsfähig, die sonst nicht oder erst zu einem späteren Zeitpunkt durchgeführt würden. Ausgeschlossen sind Arbeiten, die ohne Verzug durchzuführen sind.
 2. **Öffentliches Interesse:** Die Arbeiten liegen im öffentlichen Interesse, wenn das Ergebnis der Maßnahme der Allgemeinheit (einem unbegrenzten Personenkreis) unmittelbar oder mittelbar dient.
 3. **Arbeitsmarktpolitisch zweckmäßig** sind Maßnahmen, die in den Problemschwerpunkten der regionalen und beruflichen Teilarbeitsmärkte eingesetzt

werden.

8. "Die Beschäftigung von Arbeitslosen in ABM ist insgesamt gesehen nicht teurer als durch Arbeitslosigkeit erzwungenes Nichtstun. Mit der Förderung von ABM wird ein Teil der Beiträge für die Bundesanstalt für Arbeit für sinnvolle und produktive Beschäftigung verwendet, der sonst für Arbeitslosengeld oder Arbeitslosenhilfe zu zahlen wäre. Außerdem können Arbeitnehmer, die durch ABM nicht länger arbeitslos bleiben, Steuern und Beiträge zur Sozialversicherung zahlen."
9. "Die Kosten der Arbeitslosigkeit sind inzwischen zu einer enormen volkswirtschaftlichen Belastung angestiegen. Von 1978 bis 1989 verdreifachten sich die direkten Kosten auf 58,7 Mrd. DM. [In diesen direkten Kosten erscheinen die Mehrausgaben durch Arbeitslosigkeit als] (Arbeitslosengeld/hilfe; Sozialhilfe, Wohngeld; Krankenversicherungsbeiträge; Rentenversicherungsbeiträge.) Nach dieser Rechnung kostet die Finanzierung eines/r Arbeitslosen schon heute pro Jahr 30.000 DM. Zu diesen direkten Kosten kommen noch die indirekten Belastungen (durch Mindereinnahmen aus Einkommens / Lohnsteuer; Verbrauchssteuer und sonstige indirekter Steuern; den Beiträgen zur Bundesanstalt für Arbeit; den Beiträgen zur Renten- und Krankenversicherung."
10. "Angestrebt wird eine höchstmögliche Ausschöpfung der Mittel der Bundesanstalt für Arbeit und der Europäischen Fonds."
11. "Die bisherige staatliche Arbeitsmarktpolitik bestand in der Vergangenheit aus einer Vielzahl unkoordinierter Einzelprojekte und Maßnahmen. Diese waren häufig nicht auf die Eingliederung in den ersten Arbeitsmarkt ausgerichtet. [Die Projekte des 1. und 2. Teilprogramms werden daher mittelfristig entweder beendet oder... .Im Gegensatz dazu sind im sog. 3. Teilprogramm positive Qualifizierungs- und Weiterbildungselemente enthalten.] Unter Beachtung der neuen Zielsetzung wird deshalb eine Überprüfung der Träger vorgenommen."
12. "ABM-Stellen können nicht in Dauerstellen umgewandelt werden, weil es sich dabei um zusätzliche Arbeitsgebiete handelt, die nicht zu den Pflichtaufgaben des Landes Berlin gehören... Die allgemeine Haushaltslage schließt die Finanzierung obiger Stellen (Umwandlung von ABM- in feste Stellen d. Verf.) aus dem Landeshaushalt aus."
13. "Einerseits ist natürlich schon das Bestreben von ABM bestimmte Arbeiten und Tätigkeitsfelder anzuschieben, also anzufinanzieren, in der Hoffnung, daß das irgendwann ein Selbstläufer wird, zu Einnahmen führt, daß die dann Dauerarbeitsplätze schaffen... und gleichzeitig ergibt sich so eine Grauzone, bis wohin können wir mit ABM anschieben, ab wann wird es kritisch, daß wir Firmengründungen subventionieren und somit anderen eine Konkurrenz schaffen... an der Stelle muß man sehr aufpassen."
14. "Der anhaltende Aufschwung der Wirtschaft und damit eine stetige Verbesserung der Arbeitsmarktlage dürfen nicht durch Engpässe bei qualifizierten Kräften behindert werden. Wir brauchen deshalb nicht nur Investitionen in Technik und Anlagen, sondern gleichermaßen in berufliche Qualifizierung. Berufliche Bildung ist für den einzelnen und für die Gesellschaft eine der gewinnträchtigsten und zugleich humansten Zukunftsinvestitionen."

15. "Unverändert gilt, daß die Arbeitslosigkeit für erfolgreiche Teilnehmer an Weiterbildungsmaßnahmen anschließend um 10 Wochen kürzer dauert als für andere Arbeitslose."
16. "Die Qualifikationsstruktur der Beschäftigten in Berlin ist erheblich schlechter als in vergleichbaren Regionen des Bundesgebietes. Dieses Defizit ist ein Spiegelbild der bestehenden Strukturschwächen in der Industrie und im Dienstleistungsbereich; es verringert die Möglichkeiten, die Berliner Wirtschaftsstruktur grundlegend zu verbessern."
17. "Sehr viele der offenen Stellen in Berlin erfordern eine besondere Qualifikation und sind für Berliner Arbeitsuchende nur durch Weiterbildung erschließbar. Viele Ansiedlungen, Investitionen und Existenzgründungen hängen davon ab, daß es in Berlin geeignete Arbeitskräfte gibt. Das beste Argument für neue Arbeitsplätze sollen die Berliner selbst sein. Es ist eine unserer großen Aufgaben, daß sich jetzt bei uns die Arbeitnehmer ohne und mit Arbeit ebenso wie die Unternehmer für die Beschäftigungsfelder der Zukunft vorbereiten. Berlin hat dafür gute Voraussetzungen: über 200 Weiterbildungseinrichtungen mit weit über 10.000 Kursen jährlich."
18. "Der Mensch ist für sein Leben in erster Linie selbst verantwortlich, gleichzeitig trägt er soziale Verantwortung für die Mitmenschen, die Umwelt und die Gesellschaft."
19. "Zu den Mächtigen unserer Gesellschaft gehören heute nicht mehr allein die Kapitaleigner. Mächtig sind Kapitaleigner und Arbeitnehmer zusammen. Beide Gruppen sind heute in starken Verbänden organisiert... Es sind die Nichtorganisierten, kinderreiche Familien, [alleinstehende Mütter mit Kindern,] alte Menschen, die nicht mehr Arbeitsfähigen, Behinderte, [zu deren Lasten Vorteile errungen werden können.] Sie sind den organisierten Verbänden in aller Regel unterlegen. ... Hier stellt sich die neue soziale Frage."
20. "Kern des Problems ist die einseitige Organisationsmacht der Erwerbsinteressen im Verhältnis zu den Nichterwerbsinteressen. Umwelt-, Gesundheits-, Jugend-, Alteninteressen, Konsuminteressen, die Interessen von Arbeitslosen, das Interesse ... an Abrüstung liegen außerhalb des Erwerbssektors... Die Alternativbewegung ist nicht zuletzt die Gegenbewegung dieser organisatorisch Unterprivilegierten."
21. "Bekommen wir 'britische Verhältnisse', wo der soziale Bürgerkrieg den Alltag unübersehbar prägt?"
22. "Das Neue dieser Politik ... zielt darauf ab, die soziale Arbeit am Menschen [in staatlicher Regie] neu zu organisieren. [Und zwar so, daß es den Staat nichts kostet, er aber die Kontrolle behält und dafür sorgen kann, daß Versorgungsleistungen hinreichend erbracht werden:] Die Betroffenen sollen sich zur Selbsthilfe zusammenfinden, die Verantwortungsbewußten in ehrenamtlicher Arbeit helfen, [und für die Sozialhilfeempfänger gibt es die Zwangsarbeit.]"
23. "Der Markt produziert wie bisher den überwiegenden Teil der Güter und sozialen Dienstleistungen. Der Staat bleibt weiterhin Hüter und Organisator des Basisbedarfs an Sicherheit in existentiellen Notlagen ("Grundsicherung") und unterstützt insbesondere das Zustandekommen jener Leistungen und Dienste, die

bei ausschließlicher Individualisierung ("Helfe sich, wer kann") unter die Räder geraten würden.

Der "freie" Bereich konkurrierender Träger, seien es Wohlfahrtsverbände oder Selbsthilfe- und Initiativgruppen, erbringt jene direkten, flexiblen und menschnahen Leistungen und Dienste (über das eigene Agieren auf dem Markt hinaus) vornehmlich im kommunalen Bereich, die weder Markt noch Staat zu gewährleisten in der Lage sind. Dafür stehen ihnen möglichst auf der Grundlage von im Einzelfall ausgehandelten Rahmenvereinbarungen (statt des hoheitlichen Zuwendungsrechts) die Mittel zur Verfügung, die über das weiterhin geltende System von Kostenerstattungen auf dem Wege von Pflegesätzen hinaus erforderlich sind, um neue Hilfpotentiale zu erschließen und zu stabilisieren. Die freien Träger (Wohlfahrtsverbände wie Selbsthilfegruppen) übernehmen dafür die Aufgabe, die Wirkung öffentlicher Leistungen zu verstärken, indem sie neuartige Methoden der Leistungserstellung anwenden oder neue Personenkreise ansprechen, zumal sie nicht selten über die Bedürfnisse der Menschen besser orientiert sind als die Experten in der Verwaltung. In bestimmten Situationen und Konfliktbereichen übernehmen sie sogar gezielt mit der Kommunalverwaltung vereinbarte besondere Aufgaben, für die sie dann allein voll verantwortlich sind".

24. "... die eigenmächtige Durchsetzung eines Rechtsanspruches, wenn die gesetzliche Hilfe nicht rechtzeitig zu erlangen ist, und zwar 'mit Umgehung oder in Widerspruch zu der Obrigkeit'."
25. "Durch Arbeitszeitverkürzungen ist der Teil der frei verfügbaren Zeit gewachsen. Die bisherige Aufteilung in Arbeitszeit und Freizeit muß einer Dreiteilung weichen: Erwerbsarbeit, Sozialzeit und Freizeit. Sozialzeit ist dann die Zeit, in der wir uns um Menschen kümmern, die Hilfe und Unterstützung brauchen... Diese sozialen Tätigkeiten müssen durch ein phantasievolles Baukastensystem von Entgelt, sozialer Sicherung und Öffnung von privaten Initiativen in die Arbeitswelt integriert werden."
26. "Die CDU behauptet, sie sei, wie die Alternativen, eine Verfechterin der Eigeninitiative des Bürgers/der Bürgerin. Sieht mensch sich jedoch an, wie niederschmetternd der Senat mit Bürgermeinung, Bürgerinitiative, Bürgerselbsthilfe bei Häuserräumungen, Demonstrationen, bei den Rodungen im Tegeler Wald usw. umgeht, so wird deutlich, daß für ihn Eigeninitiative und Selbsthilfe bestenfalls als zartes Pflänzchen staatlich kontrolliert auf kleinen zugelassenen Spielwiesen im Sozial- und Kulturbereich blühen dürfen. Für die Alternativen sind Selbsthilfe und Eigeninitiative hingegen umfassende demokratische Prinzipien."
27. "... es gibt einen ansonsten ungewohnten politischen Konsens. ... daß die Förderung des alternativen Sektors als "endogenes Entwicklungspotential" sinnvoll und notwendig ist. Die sozialpolitische Entdeckung der neuen Selbsthilfe ist insgesamt parteiübergreifend. Initiativgruppen zu fördern, ist längst nicht mehr alleine Ausweis der Modernität sozialdemokratischer Kommunen."
28. "In einer ausführlichen Antwort auf eine Große Anfrage der Fraktion "über alternatives Leben (Fink 1983) versuchte er, nicht nur die extremistische Spreu" vom alternativen Weizen zu trennen, nicht nur um Verständnis für die Kritik der Alternativen an der "Wirtschafts- und Wachstumsgesellschaft" zu werben, sondern auch Übereinstimmung zwischen wichtigen gesellschaftspolitischen Prinzipien der

CDU und der Alternativen zu konstruieren."

29. "Die alternative Bewegung verweist... auf Grenzen des Marktes und auf Grenzen des Staates. ... Der Senat sieht ... die angemessene politische Antwort auf die Herausforderung, die die Alternativbewegung signalisiert, vorrangig in einer Weiterentwicklung der Sozialen Marktwirtschaft. Dies bedeutet ... mehr Freiräume, mehr Autonomie, mehr Selbständigkeit, mehr Selbsthilfe und Selbstverantwortung in der Gesellschaft."
30. "Die gesamte soziale Problematik wird bei uns ja über freie Träger abgedeckt."
31. "...mit ihrer Förderung bereits Wirklichkeit gewordene und weiter drohende Leistungsverschlechterungen im professionellen System verdeckt und kompensiert werden soll."
32. "...daß die Wohlfahrtsverbände in der Öffentlichkeit an Legitimation und Plausibilität eingebüßt haben."
33. "Dabei wurde klar, daß in Berlin, wo zwei unterschiedliche Gesellschaftssysteme aneinandergrenzen, gesellschaftskritische Tendenzen und Entwicklungen sich stets besonders frühzeitig artikuliert haben, so daß hier mit seismographischer Empfindlichkeit Protestwellen unterschiedlicher Motivation zu spüren sind, lange bevor sie an Intensität gewannen und auf die anderen Bundesländer übergreifen."
34. "Die zusätzlich geschaffenen Arbeitsplätze können nur dann von Berlinerinnen und Berlinern eingenommen werden, wenn diese das notwendige Qualifikationsniveau aufweisen. Erst wenn es gelingt, das Qualifikationsniveau von Berliner Arbeitnehmern und Arbeitslosen so zu verbessern, daß Berliner Unternehmen alle offenen Stellen mit Arbeitskräften aus Berlin besetzen können ... wird sich die Zahl der zusätzlich geschaffenen Arbeitsplätze auch in einem nachhaltigen Abbau der Arbeitslosigkeit in Berlin niederschlagen können."
35. "Die beispielhaften Anstrengungen Berlins im ABM-Bereich haben dazu geführt, daß die Stadt im Vergleich aller Bundesländer weit überproportional an den von der Bundesanstalt für Arbeit bereitgestellten ABM-Förderungsmitteln partizipiert und damit ein erheblicher externer Mittelzufluß nach Berlin bewirkt werden konnte."
36. "Ökologische Arbeit" meint erstens jede Arbeit, die einen Beitrag zur Bewältigung der ökologischen Krise leistet. Das kann, wie bei ATLANTIS, durch die Forschung an Techniken zur Gewinnung regenerativer Energien geschehen und durch die Herstellung von Produkten, die diese Energien optimal erschließen.

Zweitens lassen sich unter "ökologischer Arbeit" ökologische Produktionsformen und humane Arbeitsbedingungen zusammenfassen. Produktionsformen sind ökologisch, wenn sie z.B. die natürlichen Ressourcen wie Luft, Wasser und Primärenergien schonen oder, noch besser, sich selbst mit regenerativen Energien versorgen. Das Engagement für eine "Humanisierung der Arbeitswelt" ist ökologisch, weil auch die körperlichen, geistigen und seelischen Kräfte der Menschen in der Wechselbeziehung von Mensch und Natur stehen. Zu humanen Arbeitsbedingungen zählen z.B. der Einsatz "angepaßter Technologien", die Transparenz der Betriebsorganisation und der Arbeitsabläufe, die innerbetriebliche Mitbestimmung, die Möglichkeit der Weiterbildung.

Drittens begreift "ökologische Arbeit" in einem umfassenden Sinn alle menschliche Arbeit als Teil der Ökologie. Die ökologische Auffassung menschlichen Arbeitens geht entscheidend über die ökonomische hinaus, die vorrangig an der Verwertung der natürlichen Ressourcen und der menschlichen Arbeitskraft interessiert ist. Der Begriff "ökologische Arbeit" ist eine Antwort auf die komplexe Herausforderung durch die ökologischen Folgen menschlicher Arbeit. Er fordert vor allem politische und administrative Konsequenzen, und zwar sowohl im betriebswirtschaftlichen wie im volks- und weltwirtschaftlichen Maßstab."

37. "In 1981, knapp zwei Jahre vor der "Bonner Wende", übernahm in Berlin der moderne Teil der CDU unter Weizsäcker die Macht: Vor dem Hintergrund einer ermüdeten SPD und dem utopischen Überschuß einer großen und aktiven alternativen Szene sollte hier ausprobiert und vorexerziert werden, wie die Sozialpolitik einer modernisierten CDU aussehen kann."
38. "...Berlin kann jene Stadt in Deutschland werden ..., in der das Prinzip der Subsidiarität seine verändernde Kraft entfaltet und so den Menschen Bindungen und Geborgenheit schenkt."
39. "- Gewalttaten werden mit den verfügbaren staatlichen Machtmitteln nachdrücklich, entschlossen und besonnen bekämpft.
- Gewaltlose Hausbesetzungen werden, wo immer möglich, durch politische Lösungen zu einem der Rechtsordnung entsprechenden Ende gebracht.
- Polizeiliche Räumungen kommen deshalb nur in Betracht, wenn bestimmte Voraussetzungen erfüllt sind."
40. "Deshalb ist es unserer Meinung nach notwendig, Beschäftigung zu initiieren, die sich auf die Versorgung des Binnenmarktes statt auf die Weltmärkte bezieht. Dazu ist es wiederum notwendig, vorher zu untersuchen, in welchen Bereichen Arbeit nicht getan wird."
41. "Wir wollten und wollen den Widerspruch zwischen Arbeitslosigkeit einerseits und brachliegender Arbeit (z.B. im Bereich Erhaltung unserer Lebensgrundlagen, Müllvermeidung, Versorgung mit sozialen Diensten) andererseits nicht hinnehmen, sondern soziale und ökologisch sinnvolle Arbeit schaffen."
42. "Den Innovationstutorien geht es um ein doppeltes pädagogisch didaktisches Ziel: den Erwerb der Fähigkeit zu praktischem innovativen Arbeiten und den Erwerb einer Arbeitshaltung, die durch Eigen-, anstelle von Fremdmotivation bestimmt ist. Dieser Zielsetzung entsprechend sollten die Tutorien: der Form nach: in Zielsetzung und Arbeitsweise durch die Teilnehmer, die Studenten selbst bestimmt sein ...(Selbstbestimmtes Lernen) und dem Inhalt nach: ein selbst gewähltes Projekt (ein praktisches oder theoretisches Produkt) nach eigenen Vorstellungen entwerfen, planen und ausführen ("learning by doing"). Darüber hinaus sollte das gewählte Projekt einen konkreten Mangel bzw. ein Defizit in der Ausbildungsstruktur der Fachbereiche thematisieren und sich in der Zielsetzung am Leitbild einer sozial nützlichen wie umweltverträglichen Technik und Wissenschaft orientieren."

43. "Vor allem die Frage nach der Möglichkeit, eine Entwicklungswerkstatt im Rahmen der Projektwerkstätten mit anderen Menschen und Initiativen zusammen aufzubauen, war und ist für uns interessant."
44. "Wir als Selbsthilfegruppe gingen von uns selber aus. Wir haben es bezogen auf die Frage: Was hilft es denn den Arbeitslosen, was hilft es uns? Wie ist das für uns verwendbar und nützlich. Und deshalb erreichen wir auch immer wieder Gruppen, die ganz ähnlich entstehen... Da wird erst einmal die Basis geschaffen, ...um dann von da aus zu Produkten zu kommen oder anderer Formen von Beschäftigung und Betrieben. Also so herum. Das ist der Punkt an dem wir dieses Technet Konzept anders variieren... Wir sind weit davon entfernt, das einfach zu kopieren ... Wir haben es zwar immer propagiert und gut gefunden, aber wir haben an dem Punkt immer Einwände gehabt oder Probleme, und gesagt das müßten wir hier eigentlich anders machen."
45. "Das Entwicklungswerkstattkonzept ist ein bißchen anders als die klassischen. Wir wollen in der Entwicklungswerkstatt keine eigenständigen Entwicklungen machen, wir wollen multiplikatorisch arbeiten. Die Entwicklungen sollen im Rahmen des Kooperationsverbundes überall dort stattfinden, wo die Voraussetzungen dafür existieren. Wir gehen davon aus, daß Berlin jede Menge Werkstätten hat, jede Menge wissenschaftliche Einrichtungen, die brauchen wir eigentlich nicht schaffen, wir brauchen nur so eine Art Agentur, und Projekt Management, was dafür sorgt, daß es sozusagen solche Projekte gibt. Wir bauen jetzt diese Organisationsstruktur auf. Somit ist die Entwicklungswerkstatt mehr ein vermittelndes und Management Organ für Projektentwicklung, und nicht selbst die Durchführung."
46. "Wir wissen es nicht. Also, politische Gründe könnten eigentlich nicht ins Feld geführt werden, weil wir haben ja eine Regierung, die erklärermassen sowas tun will. Wenn es nicht geschieht, dann aus Gründen der Unklarheit was nach der Maueröffnung passiert. Die größte Gefahr für uns ist, daß der Berliner Senat sich für unzuständig erklärt, und er macht keine aktive Beschäftigungspolitik hier in Berlin mehr, sondern wartet, bis eine neue Regierung da ist. ... Wenn es nicht läuft, gäbe es noch Alternativen. Die Beteiligten in diesem Kooperationsverbund die hören ja nicht auf zu existieren, die sind erstmal gesichert. Diese Maßnahmen existieren schon zum Teil seit 5-6 Jahren, das sind anerkannte Projekte, auf die auch niemand mehr verzichten will, weil sie einen großen Beitrag leisten. Wir wollen eine Dienstleistung für die machen, und das ganze dadurch verbessern."
47. "Wenn wir jetzt innerhalb dieser zwei Jahre ernsthaft in neue Entwicklungen einsteigen würden, dann würde nach zwei Jahren nichts dastehen. ... Innerhalb zwei Jahren kannst du bestimmte technische Entwicklungen nicht bewerkstelligen. Wir haben immer gesagt, wir bräuchten mindesten Fünfjahres-Perspektiven. Wenn uns jemand fünf Jahre anbieten würde, dann würden wir es machen."
48. "Ich will es nicht um jeden Preis, ... Wenn die Bedingungen nicht so sind, daß man es verantworten kann, lieber nicht. Ja, wenn wir uns furchtbar anstrengen würden, würden wir vielleicht Geld kriegen, aber zu Bedingungen, mit Auflagen, daß ist ja das was ich vorhin meinte, wir würden uns in eine Situation begeben, die wir nicht mehr in der Hand haben. Dann würde aus dem Ding etwas werden, was wir nicht wollen. Also das ist genau der Punkt."

49. "Ziel der Projekt-Entwicklungs-Arbeit ist die Befähigung der beteiligten Mitarbeiter zur Selbsthilfe, d.h. zum aktiven Umgang mit den eigenen Kompetenzen und Möglichkeiten. Im Prozeß gemeinsamer Auseinandersetzung werden zukünftige Betätigungsfelder erarbeitet und zugleich die Realisierung daraus erwachsener Projektideen vorbereitet."
50. "Insofern komme ich dann halt zu dieser etwas radikalen lokalen Orientierung. ... Technologie muß dezentraler sein... Man muß das ganze auch aus dem Blickwinkel eines kleineren Ortes verstehen können. Auch die Menschen eines kleineren Ortes müssen über Produktionsmittel verfügen, die ihnen gehören, die sie selber kontrollieren, die sie selber verstehen, mit der sie notfalls in der Lage sind, sich zu versorgen, wenn sozusagen die großen Beziehungen irgendwie nicht funktionieren, was ja immer der Fall sein kann."
51. "Ziel ist es, praktische Schritte zum Abbau der Arbeitslosigkeit, verknüpft mit der Verbesserung der Arbeits- und Lebensbedingungen im Bezirk einzuleiten."
52. "Wenn halt Leute zum zusammenschrauben fehlen, weil sie sich bilden."
53. "Einige produktive Werkstätten meinen, die gleichen Arbeiten über mehrere Wochen hinweg, das sei learning-by-doing ... learning by doing wäre dann gegeben, wenn es ein in sich abgeschlossenes Projekt wäre, mit einem Anfang und einem Ende."
54. "Wir haben keine Entscheidungsbefugnisse, obwohl wir die einzigen sind, die sich damit befassen und dafür zuständig sind."
55. "Das ist sehr unterschiedlich, einen guten Teil halten wir auch bei uns, die werden dann fest angestellt. Das ist nicht so, daß alle notwendigerweise nach 2 Jahren wieder hier rausgehen. Also ein Drittel können wir sichern, und ein weiteres Drittel hat einen festen Umschulungs- oder Ausbildungsplatz wenn sie von uns weggehen. Im Grunde sind es fast 75% die auf diesen beiden Wegen gesichert sind, die restlichen 25% unterschiedlich, da kriegt die eine mal ein Kind, ja sowas gibt es."
56. "Nur in den letzten 2 Jahren hätte es den Leuten schon mal mitgeteilt werden können, daß wir uns nicht so ausweiten [mit feste Arbeitsplätzen], wir weiten uns zwar aus, aber auf einer ABM-Basis, nach wie vor ... es bleibt beim Durchlauferhitzer. Nur für ganz wenige Leute besteht wirklich die Möglichkeit ... übernommen zu werden, und das werden ... auf keinen Fall die Ungelehrten sein, das können eigentlich nur Anleiter sein, denn nur Anleiter rechnen sich. ...Arbeitsplätze zu schaffen ist mehr Hoffnung als Realität....Letzendlich schaffen sie Arbeitsplätze nur für sich selbst."
57. "Ich habe irgendwann mal in der GmbH Sitzung den Fehler gemacht, mich auf ein Ursprungspapier von Atlantis zu beziehen, und da bin ich regelrecht ausgelacht worden. Das sei ja nur ein Papier gewesen zur Vorlage fürs Arbeitsamt oder was, wo auch immer die Anträge hingehen. Es sei nur ein Papier gewesen, das habe ich wohl auch schon festgestellt, daß es letztendlich so ist, nur finde es entsetzlich, wenn ich damit recht hatte. Von daher konnte keine Rückkoppelung stattfinden, weil es gar nicht ernst gemeint war."

58. "Das schwierige ist ja nun folgendes dabei: der 1. Arbeitsmarkt gibt ja in dem Bereich noch gar nicht so viel her [Photovoltaik], das schränkt manchmal den Wert der Qualifikation derzeit noch ein. Es ist eine Qualifikation, die ist mit Blick immer auf die Zukunft gerichtet. Und das schwierige ist, die Leute nach den zwei Jahren, selbst wenn sie sich auf dem Gebiet schlau gemacht haben, und wenn wir sie selbst nicht übernehmen können, für sie dann praktisch ein Tätigkeitsfeld zu finden. Ich bin mir da ziemlich sicher, daß es da in den nächsten Jahren mehr Möglichkeiten geben wird, daß ist überhaupt keine Frage. Der Photovoltaik Markt wird in 3 Jahren nochmal ein Stück expandiert sein, und dann wird er auch mehr Ingenieure und Facharbeiter brauchen, um die Anlagen zu installieren."
59. "Das Problem ist die Verantwortung, da ist keiner dazu bereit, zu sagen, ich übernehme die Verantwortung... und organisiere das. Es ist keiner oder nur ganz wenige in der Lage, unter diesem Druck so kontinuierlich und gleichmäßig zu arbeiten, um die Garantie geben zu können, daß da wirklich ... Anlagen bei rauskommen."
60. "Aufgrund der ganzen ABM-Konstruktion wird es auf Dauer schon ein Problem, weil ja immer eine Menge Fachwissen mit rausgenommen wird, das ist auf der einen Seite gut und durchaus im Sinn der Zielsetzung, auf der anderen Seite ist es tatsächlich ein Verlust, weil du hast die Leute qualifiziert, ... und wir haben selbst Projekte laufen wo wir bestimmte Qualifikation brauchen ... und wenn die dann einfach rausfallen weil ein Datum erreicht ist, praktisch rausbrechen aus einer Struktur heraus die du ja auch im Laufe der Zeit mühsam zusammengebaut hast."
61. "Das können wir weder von unseren Anleitern her leisten, noch von der Struktur der Firma, wir brauchen dann gezielt Anleiter die sich die ganze Zeit ausschließlich um die Ungelernten kümmern... man muß auch verschiedene Einrichtungen vorweisen können, um eine Anerkennung zu kriegen. Ich denke das kann man auch nicht leisten mit ABM-Kräften, die nur auf 2 Jahre da sind."
62. "Abgesehen davon daß wir zu 80% subventioniert werden, also Löhne, Investitionen sind die Kontakte zu Senats und bezirklichen Stellen ... wichtig. Und da ist es auch egal ob es die CDU, SPD oder AL ist, die sehen die Notwendigkeit alle in der Zwischenzeit."
63. "Wir haben einfach diese zwei Fragen gekoppelt. Wir haben versucht die Schaffung von Arbeitsplätzen mit der Lösung der ökologischen Frage zu koppeln. Und das ist politisch nicht zu widerlegen. Selbst wenn die wissen, daß wir an vielen Ecken ziemlich sozialistisch denken, können sie diesen Gedanken nicht wegtun. Wir können uns mit CDU Politikern zusammensetzen und sie in offenen Diskussionen fragen ob sie gegen irgendwelche Punkte sind, die wir machen. Und denen fällt grundsätzlich kein Argument ein. Selbst wenn sie das im Grunde genommen möglicherweise lieber reaktionärer Organisationen geben würden. Aber die kriegen diese ökologische Frage nicht gelöst, also die innere ökologische, die soziale Frage, es gibt keine vergleichbare Organisation im konservativen Bereich die diese Frage so in dieser Weise sozusagen doppelt angepackt hat."
64. "Die holen wir dann alle hier an einen Tisch, so daß wir sagen: So nun laß uns doch mal. Wir hatten hier vorletzte Woche die Leitung der Arbeitsverwaltung, ... das Arbeitsamt hier, dann Sozialsenat, Arbeitsenat und das hat natürlich für eine Abstimmung gute Grundlagen gelegt."

65. "Vielmehr wurde Wohlfahrtspflege als das Mittel zur Bekämpfung der sozialen Not gelehrt, nicht aber die gesellschaftlichen Mißstände als die Auslöser sozialer Not analysiert und erst recht wurde an diesen Schulen keine politischen Veränderungen diskutiert."

66. "... die vor allem das Ziel haben, die Lebensgrundlagen der Menschen, wie z.B. Wohnen, Ausbildung, Arbeiten zu sichern, die zunächst Voraussetzung für ein selbstbestimmtes Leben sind."

67. "Die Beschaffung und Verwaltung von Wohn- und Nutzräumen für Personengruppen der Jugendhilfe, sozial benachteiligte Mieter, Jugend, sozial- und soziokulturelle Projekte sowie die Organisation und Durchführung deren Beratung und Betreuung.

Organisation, Beratung, Durchführung und Betreuung von baulichen Maßnahmen, einschließlich der Verbesserung des Wohnumfeldes im Rahmen der sozial orientierten Stadtentwicklung unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Förderung der Selbsthilfe im baulichen und im sozialen Bereich.

Beschäftigung und berufliche Qualifizierung von Personengruppen aus dem Bereich der Jugendhilfe und Personen aus dem Bereich der Problemgruppen des Arbeitsmarktes mit dem Ziel der dauerhaften sozialen und beruflichen Integration in das Gemeinwesen."

68. "Das ist bei den gGmbHs immer so, daß die sich einen kommerziellen Ableger entwickeln, um aus dieser Zwangsjacke Landeshaushaltsordnung herauszukommen. ... Es ist nicht möglich, Leute aus dem gemeinnützigen Bereich in dem kommerziellen Bereich arbeiten zu lassen, so ist das nicht möglich. Aber man kann Know-how, und Wissen weitergeben, dieser Bereich ist erstmal gegründet worden, um andere Projekte zu beraten und Unterstützung zu geben, und endlich auch mal die Möglichkeit haben, auf dem Markt die Ergebnisse der Jahre der gemeinnützigen GSE vertreiben zu können."

69. "Weil man muß das von der Werkstatteinrichtung überschaubar machen, aber die kann man dann kaum noch finanzieren als Gesamtprojekt, und wo dann gesagt wurde (from the Senate) ihr müßt jetzt einfach größere Träger haben, die mehr Personen beschäftigen, wir wollen jetzt nicht viel Geld ausgeben für viele kleine schnuckelige Projekte, wo 20 Leute arbeiten. "

70. "Es ist schwierig, es ist ja auch immer ein enormer Energieaufwand, man muß eben wirklich einen Großteil der Energie in die Mittelakquisition stecken."

71. "In der Regel sind die von uns betreuten Jugendlichen der / die einzige sozial aufgefangene Person in einem Freundeskreis von Arbeitslosen, Alkohol- und Drogengefährdeten, Wohnungslosen."

72. "... unqualifizierte Sozialhilfeempfänger aus dem Bezirk Wedding."

73. "- Schaffung von langjährig billigem, vollsaniertem Wohnraum,
- sinnvolle Beschäftigung und Erwerb handwerklicher Fertigkeiten,
- Verbesserung der beruflichen Zukunftschancen,

- persönliche und soziale Stabilisierung."

74. "Ziel von ZUKUNFTSBAU ist die Vorbereitung und Integration der Beschäftigten in den regulären Arbeits- und Ausbildungsmarkt."
75. "... ein Drittel bis die Hälfte erfolgreich gesellschaftlich integriert und in den regulären Arbeitsmarkt vermittelt werden."
76. "... normale ArbeitnehmerInnen..., sie haben eine Arbeitsleistung vorzuweisen."
77. "...die angestrebte Langzeitintegration der angesprochenen Zielgruppen überaus erfolgreich gelungen ist. Vor allem die Integration in den regulären Arbeitsmarkt, die dauerhafte Bindung an die eigene Wohnung und die persönliche Stabilisierung ... ist in erstaunlichem Maß geglückt. Dies ist vor allem auf dem Hintergrund fehlender Eingangsqualifikationen und erheblicher sozialer und persönlicher Defizite besonders zu werten."

78. "... in einer Entwicklungswerkstatt wird etwas entwickelt, da entsteht etwas, mit den Initiativen die von den einzelnen Kooperationspartnern da reinkommen. Da waren ja Arbeitsfelder angesiedelt, die das hätten ziemlich intensiv hätten betreiben können. Letzendlich schon, um eben mit einem Produkt oder einer Idee, auch auf dem technischen Bereich etwas zu machen, auch in Zusammenarbeit mit anderen Projekten."
79. "... ist bestrebt, das Angebot an Qualifizierungsmaßnahmen den gesellschaftlichen Bedürfnissen entsprechend zu gestalten und umzusetzen."
80. "Im Weiterbildungszentrum ... werden Projekte und berufliche Bildungsmaßnahmen konzipiert, initiiert und durchgeführt im Kontext der Erhaltung und des Aufbaus von qualifizierten Arbeitsplätzen, insbesondere in kleinen und mittleren Unternehmen sowie in öffentlichen Einrichtungen. Die berufliche Weiterbildung ist ein Teil einer Strategie, die - ausgehend von regionalen Entwicklungspotentialen - der Umstellung der Produktion auf soziale, ökologische und friedliche Zwecke dient."
81. "In unserem Projekt haben wir nicht die Möglichkeit, Technologie oder Produkte zu entwickeln, aber wir bereiten unsere Teilnehmer darauf vor. Wir haben spezielle Kurse, die sich mit der historischen Perspektive technologischer Entwicklungen befassen. Hier untersuchen wir wie Technologie entwickelt wurde, auch im Bezug auf Umweltprobleme, und wie Technologieentwicklung aussehen müßte um Umweltverschmutzung zu verringern."
82. "Wichtig ist, die Qualifizierung die wir machen, bringt die Entwicklung des Umweltschutzgedankens, dadurch daß es verstärkt Fachleute gibt, auch wieder ein Stück weit voran, und vermittelt auch noch einmal über Arbeitsbeschaffungsmaßnahmen, daß man es auch wirklich vor Ort leicht und schnell und unkompliziert machen kann. Das sind die praktischen Auswirkungen."
83. "- Wir gehen davon aus, daß die Leute in einer Region prinzipiell in der Lage sind, ihre Leben- und Arbeitsbedingungen selber zu gestalten.
 - Wir wollen deshalb die ökonomischen, technologischen, sozialen und kulturellen Potenzen der Leute mobilisieren.
 - Kiezplanung von unten ist handlungs- und prozeßorientiert, d.h. wir können diesen Prozeß heute in kleinen, machbaren Schritten einleiten, ohne in einer pragmatischen Kirchturmpolitik die Zusammenhänge aus den Augen zu verlieren. Die politische Bedeutung dieses Ansatzes, den die Londoner 'popular planning' nennen, liegt in der möglichen Komposition der Teilschritte zu einer neuen Gesamtsicht.
 - Wir glauben, daß dieser Ansatz mobilisierend wirken und zu neuen Bündnissen führen kann, die auf dem Zusammenwirken der Wünsche, Bedürfnisse und Hoffnungen Vieler und der aktiven, schrittweisen Umgestaltung des eigenen Lebensraumes beruhen."
84. "Dadurch, daß wir relativ kleine Brötchen gebacken haben dann ab einem bestimmten Punkt als wir sahen, die Sachen, die wir ursprünglich vorhatten, gehen so nicht. Das haben wir relativ schnell mitgekriegt. Das wußten wir nach einem 3/4 Jahr. Es war dann nicht schwer, nicht enttäuscht zu sein, weil wir haben das gemacht. was ging... sie wollten vor allem eine Perspektive haben für sich... alle die wollten konnten hier arbeiten."

85. "Abgesehen davon, daß es auch fraglich ist, inwieweit es besonders viel Sinn macht, das dann ewig hinzuziehen, weil es entwickelt sich dann schon eine gewisse Subventionsmentalität."
86. "Wir haben uns bei der rollenden Werkstatt Ost erst gar nicht mit anderen Geschichten aufgehalten, sondern haben von Anfang an gesagt, es geht darum, sich selbständig zu machen, eine GmbH zu gründen, und da Arbeitsplätze zu schaffen, was von vornherein eine ganz andere Zielstrebigkeit in der Arbeit ermöglicht hat. Es mußte nicht beraten werden, was machen wir hier überhaupt."
87. " ... das einfach zu benutzen, das diese Löhne und Gehälter finanziert sind, um Produkte zu entwickeln, die sonst nicht entwickelt werden würden. Weil sie eben zeitaufwendig sind und sich noch nicht rechnen."
88. "Wir haben keine Chance, auf dem ersten Arbeitsmarkt Fuß zu fassen ... für diese Gruppen sind lohnsubventionierte Dauerarbeitsplätze zu schaffen".
89. "Das schließt für uns allerdings ein, daß auch diese in marktgängigen Betrieben weiter integriert bleiben müssen."
90. "... wir haben dann auch ansatzweise Qualifizierungskonzepte entwickelt, das ist aber dann doch nur sehr wenig umgesetzt worden, weil die sozialen Probleme der Bauhelfer derartig groß waren, daß wir kaum dazu gekommen sind, denen Ökologie zu vermitteln, also es war dann in den kritischen Phasen waren die nur 50% der Arbeitszeit auf dem Bau, oder sie machen blau, oder waren krank oder nicht einsetzbar.
Und ich denke, daß ist auch die Schwierigkeit in diesen Projekten wie das Ausbildungswerk, ob nun in der Vollausbildung oder bei den Bauhelfern sowieso, daß die Jugendlichen, die da reinkommen, wir nennen sie ja sozial benachteiligt, aber das ist ja ein ganzer Rattenschwanz ihrer Biographie, die ja auch gesellschaftlich begründet ist, Heimkinder usw. steht dahinter, diese Jugendlichen haben eh schon genug Mühe, eine normale Ausbildung zu packen, und die sowohl als sozial als auch intellektuell, und von daher ist es schon ein verhältnismäßig hoher Anspruch, also jetzt die Ökologie da mit reinzunehmen, und ich denke man muß auch vorsichtig sein, man kann nicht eine völlig neue Ausbildung da machen, für diese Zielgruppe. Weil ich denke da überfrachtet man diese Leute, man muß da aufpassen, daß man nicht seine eigenen Ziele also diesen Gruppen überstülpt. Und deswegen sagte ich auch, also ich finde, es ist ganz wichtig es hier auch zu versuchen, aber solche Konzepte müßten eigentlich in einer großen Breite im normalen Handwerk, in überbetrieblichen Schulungsstätten, usw. durchgeführt werden."
91. "Und es sollte jetzt keine grundsätzlich neue Ausbildung gemacht werden, sondern die Ausbildung sollte dahingehend überprüft werden, und Vorschläge gemacht werden, inwieweit man da jetzt ökologische Aspekte mit integrieren kann. Und da muß man dann bei dem Stand wie er jetzt ist, damit anfangen die Ausbilder überhaupt in die Lage zu versetzen, zu sagen was ist eigentlich Ökologie oder ökologischer Aspekt in unserem Bereich, und die dann erstmal schulen, daß die es dann entsprechend umsetzen können. Und daß ist also die Zielrichtung dieses Konzeptes, das ist also eine betriebsinterne Weiterbildung für Ausbilder, die bestehende Ausbildung ergänzen um die ökologischen Aspekte."

92. "Um erfolgreich zu sein, ist es notwendig, ständig neue Finanzquellen zu erschließen, und die unterschiedlichsten Förderprogramme zu kennen und anzuwenden."
93. "Wenn man diese Möglichkeit im Grunde nicht gibt, dann entsteht ganz schnell das Gefühl "ob wir hier was machen oder nicht, ist doch egal". Und dann sind wir in der Ecke vom Sozialprojekt, was Arbeitslosigkeit nur noch verwaltet, statt eigentlich aktiv und qualitativ eine Verbesserung zu schaffen."
94. "... weil wir müssen dann eben wirklich einen Großteil der Energie in die Mittelakquisition stecken."
95. "So wird im Verlauf des Jugendselfsthilfeprojektes deutlich, daß ein erneutes soziales Abgleiten nach Beendigung der Maßnahme nur durch die Schaffung weiterer konkreter Perspektiven vermieden werden kann und muß."
96. "Um den Fortbestand des Verbundes in seiner notwendigen, erfolgreichen und inhaltlich gewachsenen Gesamtheit zu sichern, unterliegen wir also weiterhin einem erheblichen Wachstumszwang und zwar durch die Forderungen des Senates und anderer Finanzierungsträger, die rasche Übertragung des Konzeptes nach Ost-Berlin vorzunehmen. Wir werden hier zum Handeln gezwungen zu einer Zeit, wo gerade erst die interne Integration des Wachstumsprozesses der vergangenen 2 Jahre allmählich stattfindet."
97. "Für die sofortige Abschaffung von Jugend-ABM als einem besonders problematischen Programm im Bereich des Maßnahmesektors gibt es genügend gute Gründe. Dagegen spricht allerdings, daß niemand zur Zeit eine bessere Lösung kennt, und daß die Jugendlichen selbst diese Maßnahme als eine bessere Alternative zur Arbeitslosigkeit begreifen. Nur unter diesem Kriterium stimmen z.Z. Problemstruktur und Programmstruktur überein."
98. "... die Probleme in Ost Berlin und Ostdeutschland sind so riesig, daß ihr, mal jetzt polemisch gesagt, ihr mit euren ökologischen Spielereien ruhig aufhören könnt."
99. "Das ist die Wertigkeit der kurzfristigen Probleme gegen die Wertigkeit der langfristigen. Und die ökologischen Sachen sind ja alle langfristig. Wenn sich heute einer eine Solaranlage aufs Dach macht, der spart ja kein Geld dabei. Sondern er trägt langfristig etwas bei, die Primärenergie zu senken."
100. "Ich denke, ein wesentlicher Moment dieser gesellschaftlichen Nützlichkeit ist, Dinge zu tun, die sich marktwirtschaftlich kapitalistisch nicht rechnen, die aber langfristig unglaublich wichtig sind für die gesellschaftliche und ökologische Entwicklung."
101. "Die offizielle Attitüde ähnelt der von Eltern, die mit Interesse zuschauen, was ihre Kinder an selbstbestimmten Spielen vorführen - im Bewußtsein, in einer davon abgehobenen, anderen Welt, der "eigentlichen Realität" zu leben."
102. "Unsere Wirtschaftspolitik möchte den Strukturwandel durch die Beschleunigung der Innovationsrate sozialverträglich und ökologisch gestalten."

103. "Der wirtschaftliche Wert der gesellschaftlich unverzichtbaren Nichtwerberarbeit beträgt fast 300 Mrd. DM, d.h. ein Siebtel des Bruttosozialproduktes."
104. "150 Arbeitsplätze sind also ein Katzensack, sowas wie Einfluß kann man nur durch einigermaßen gute Beispiele versuchen, und durch Diskussionen mit anderen Projekten und Betrieben. ... Wir können hier nicht ein paar 100-Tausend Arbeitsplätze schaffen."

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