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From Siberia with Love or *Angst* in the City? On the Idea of Merging Research Projects in Novosibirsk and Co-Teaching in Hamburg and Berlin

Joachim Otto Habeck and Philipp Schröder

Angst in the City is the title that the authors of these lines chose for a joint research project and seminar looking into expressions of emotion and social exclusion in diverse urban environments. The title serves as a shorthand for apprehensive feelings that individuals or groups perceive when physically or imaginarily finding themselves in certain spaces in the fabric of the city that they inhabit. The concept of fear will be discussed in more detail below (pp. 7-9). This article has four goals: first, to lay out how this research cooperation on the perception of urban space came into being; second, how it proceeded and what initial results emerged from it; and third, how the research generated the idea of jointly organized teaching. Students who participated in *Angst in the City* conducted small research projects on their own in Hamburg, Schwerin and Berlin, and four of their essays have been adopted for publication in this special issue of *Ethnoscripts*. To prepare the conceptual ground for these four contributions is the fourth goal of this article. It closes with a remark on how the students' projects feed back into our own plans for further research.

Beginnings: Two Separate Research Projects in Novosibirsk

Lifestyle Plurality in Siberia

An initial step towards investigating perceptions of self and urban space in Siberian cities and villages was taken by Habeck and colleagues in a previous research project, on the *Conditions and Limitations of Lifestyle Plurality in Siberia* (Habeck, 2008; in prep.) at the Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology. Within this framework, Habeck conducted interviews in Novosibirsk with a variety of groups, among them with five members of the local gay scene. In line with the *Lifestyle Plurality* project's overall research design, the task was twofold: (i) Travel-biography interviews with each informant were to explore the individual's familial background, his or her action space and mobility at different stages in life, work routines and leisure-time preferences; (ii) Additionally, photo elicitation interviews would reveal individual approaches to self-formation and (visual) self-presentation, aesthetic preferences, personal values and life projects.

Theoretically, the project departed from the concept of lifestyle as used in Sociology (Bourdieu 1984; Chaney 1996; Otte and Rössel 2011). This is a concept which – for reasons to be explained elsewhere – has rarely been employed in Social Anthropology. It has, however, occasionally been applied in social-scientific studies on everyday life in Russia or the Soviet Union (Dittrich and Hölscher 2001; Sokhan' and Tikhonovich 1982; and a few publications by Russian sociologists between 2000 and 2007). *Lifestyle Plurality* project members developed the definition: 'Lifestyle is what one does in order to be what one thinks one should be' (for a similar definition, see Chaney 1996: 37). Clearly, lifestyle is not the same as identity. Rather, lifestyle describes a certain mode of identification; more precisely: an expressive and simultaneously routinized mode of identification (Habeck, in prep.). To be Kyrgyz can be a relevant category of ethnic identity, yet it is not a lifestyle. But if a young resident of Novosibirsk emphasises her Kyrgyz background, her preference of living in a large city, and her predilection for Novosibirsk Kyrgyz 'diaspora' pop music, then it becomes possible to discern a certain lifestyle.

The importance of the concept of lifestyle for the research and teaching effort presented here – *Angst in the City* – lies in the fact that life projects and aesthetic predilections also translate into spatial preferences, including avoidance of certain places and regular visits to others, and that places are fraught emotionally: personal tastes, ambitions and apprehensions articulate with the ways in which urban environments are constructed and perceived. Certain places hold the promise of happiness or integrity ('home', for example, but also, and more often, some magic 'elsewhere'). In Novosibirsk, desires and hopes connect with the names of clubs, streets, *dacha* plots, suburban landscapes and holiday destinations – increasingly also with shopping malls (Habeck 2014). Reversely, notions of fear and insecurity create imaginations of urban peripheries, empty spaces and no-go areas.

Into the 'Near Abroad': Kyrgyz Traders in Novosibirsk's Barakholka Bazaar and Beyond

In Russia's political language, the term 'near abroad' commonly refers to those countries which after the Soviet Union's dissolution in 1991 have emerged as 'newly independent states' (NIS). Among these states is Kyrgyzstan, a landlocked and comparatively small country in Central Asia. In multiple ways, the dialectic of simultaneous proximity and distance that is captured in the term 'near abroad' carries further into the relatedness of ethnic Kyrgyz and Russians in both countries.

Basics such as a shared history or language are what, in short, may be regarded as familiar or 'near' between them: during their 70-years of co-membership in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Russian used to be the empire's *lingua franca*, and until today it remains a 'second mother tongue'

to many ethnic Kyrgyz. What, on the other hand, could be considered foreign or ‘abroad’ refers to aspects of religious belief, with Islam predominating in Kyrgyzstan and Christian Orthodoxy in Russia, or to phenotype, where the Kyrgyz self-depict as ‘Asians’ and the Russians as ‘Europeans’.

For Schröder’s current research project, which focuses on post-socialist business-making all over Eurasia, the bazaar of Novosibirsk has been among the most crucial locations (Schröder, forthcoming). Locally known as the *barakholka*, this site has emerged as a prime hub for regional Siberian wholesale trading from the early 1990s on. Economic matters aside, Schröder’s ‘being around’ in the *barakholka* has as well allowed him to observe how representatives of the various ethnic groups assembled there – as buyers or sellers, as security personnel or food service providers – publicly negotiate and utilize the perceptions of their respective separation or closeness.

In the bazaar and other urban spaces of Novosibirsk, the ethnic Kyrgyz have in the course of time developed a sizeable local presence, and their ethnic diaspora is estimated to have reached more than 20,000 members. Among these, some few had already studied in the city during the Soviet era and simply stayed on after the Union’s demise. Most others, however, relocated to Russia only during the 1990s or early 2000s as they tried to escape the comparably harsher economic situation that Kyrgyzstan was experiencing during post-socialist transformation.

In Schröder’s fieldwork with Kyrgyz migrants who had relocated into the ‘near abroad’ of Novosibirsk, he looks as well beyond trade or entrepreneurship, and aims to understand how these professional activities merge with aspects of social integration and – plainly speaking – culture. For example, this entails the ritual economy of weddings and other lifecycle events that are celebrated at particular ethnic Kyrgyz restaurants, or it concerns ‘special Asian parties’ and other leisure events that are popular among second-generation Kyrgyz in Novosibirsk.

In these and other regards, the Kyrgyz who Schröder has encountered in Siberia and other regions of the Russian Federation are an identifiable and significant diaspora group. As will be discussed later on in more detail, this status marked one of the beginnings why we started developing a common interest for comparing the urban lifeworlds of different minority groups, ethnic or other, as regards the ways in which they perceive the city of Novosibirsk and (*vice versa*) how other inhabitants perceive them.

A Climate of Fear? Researching Minorities in Contemporary Russia

Recent political and public debates in Russia have been marked by a strong rhetoric of ‘social order’ and ‘moral values’. Inspired by a mix of Orthodox religious views, Soviet imperial nostalgia and ‘everyday nationalism’ (Kosmarskaya and Savin 2016) these notions contribute to the shaping and main-

tenance of a rather narrow ideal of Russian mainstream society. Among the repercussions are various 'conservative' agendas. One example is the Russian legislation against the 'propaganda of non-traditional sexual orientation' (see pp. 10-12), which can be utilized for prosecuting outspoken gay and lesbian activists.

Legal considerations and practices of law enforcement aside, multiple incidents have been reported in recent years of violence by self-acclaimed Russian 'vigilante' movements against allegedly gay or pedophile men. But also immigrants from former Soviet Republics are targeted by 'patriotic' or 'skinhead' groups. Since 2007 more than 200 individuals of Central Asian origin (but potentially holding a Russian citizenship) have fallen victim to racially motivated murder in Russia (SOVA 2016). In light of these politicized '-phobias' and attempts for moral hegemony some observers argue that a 'generalized climate of fear' (Coalson 2013) has emerged in contemporary Russia.

For us, the fact that these momentous trends equally concerned the minorities that we had already been working with as part of our individual researches prompted the interest for a common project: Habeck's previous research on lifestyle plurality in Siberia included interviews in Novosibirsk with men who identified as gay and/or who engaged in homosexual relations; Schröder had examined ethnic Kyrgyz in Novosibirsk since 2013, which included various self- and outside-perceptions of this diaspora community within this city's social fabric. Consequently, Novosibirsk emerged as the most suitable site for our fieldwork. This, however, extended beyond the convenience that both of us were already familiar with the city (and thus could build on previous fieldwork relations to find respondents for this new topic of social exclusion and urban emotionalities). Importantly, Novosibirsk is of particular significance within Russia, being its third largest city by population and the prime metropole in the vast Siberian region. Furthermore, our comparative interest was stimulated because Novosibirsk is not located in 'Western' or 'European' Russia, but in the country's 'North Asian' region and has received much less academic interest than Moscow or Saint Petersburg.

Among the research questions we have set out to investigate since 2014 are: How do ethnic Kyrgyz or men engaging in same-sex relationships perceive, construct and express their belonging in Novosibirsk? While dwelling and moving in this city, which spaces, situations and times of the day do members of these 'minority groups' associate with fear, joy or other emotional states? And how do these urban emotionalities relate to the aforementioned neo-national and neo-traditional tendencies in contemporary Russia? The purpose of our research thus is to understand more about how ethnic and sexual diversity is negotiated among different residents of Novosibirsk, and in which ways minorities might (feel the need to) resist, adapt or withdraw from particular urban environments. Eventually, this may allow us to

provide an answer to the question indicated in the title – to what extent there is in fact *Angst* in the city of Novosibirsk?

Common Research: *Angst* in the Urban Space of Novosibirsk

The City of Novosibirsk

With approximately 1.5 million inhabitants, Novosibirsk is the largest city of Siberia, and it has seen periods of rapid growth in its relatively short history, which spans 125 years. Having emerged as a railway station and bridge construction site, former Novonikolaevsk (nowadays Novosibirsk) attracted wave after wave of migrants from the closer and farther surroundings. It underwent rapid industrialisation in the 1930s (cf. Rolf 2006) and during the early 1940s, when Germany waged war against the Soviet Union, became the site of relocation of large factories from the western part of the country. German war prisoners in the late 1940s and early 1950s; Soviet academic elites, for whom a comfortable suburb was created in the 1960s; and workers from the Central Asian Soviet republics were among the multiple groups of migrants that made up the population of Novosibirsk in the mid and late Soviet era. The growth of the city did not cease after the end of the Soviet Union (1991). After a few years of standstill and downturn, the attractiveness of the city increased again, owing to its even more important administrative and commercial functions in a more centralised and yet outspokenly market-oriented Russia. A palpable effect of this growth is the replacement of old wooden houses in the city centre by architecturally imposing condominiums and tower blocks.

From both Schröder's and Habeck's experience, almost all interlocutors describe the city as a very dynamic place. Our interviewees are aware of the migratory background of virtually everybody in the city. Few inhabitants can name ancestors in Novosibirsk beyond two generations and altogether, the city has an ambience of a young, promising, even prosperous place, though not without conflicts. Generally, our interviewees emphasised the rather open and tolerant atmosphere of the city (see p. 15).

Interview Guideline for Joint Research

For *Angst in the City*, the authors designed and carried out fieldwork in Novosibirsk in summer 2014. In preparation, we developed a guideline of shared questions, which then each of us could rely on during the conversation with respondents. This was of particular importance, because due to diverging schedules we could not travel to Novosibirsk at the same time. Therefore, these interviews (with members of either the Kyrgyz diaspora or the group of men engaging in same-sex relations) needed to be conducted separately.

The questions of our guideline were divided into three major themes. The first theme focused on the perception and use of different urban spaces in light of the respondents' personal mobility and biography. As part of this, we were interested to gather narratives about someone's memories of his or her first arrival at Novosibirsk, the impression of different neighbourhoods where someone used to live or spends free time, and also how in the interlocutor's eyes the city has changed in the course of time. The second theme aimed at a better understanding of certain key terms of our research. This included subjective definitions of what 'fear' is (also using Russian and Kyrgyz terminology) and how it is (supposed to be) handled and expressed. Furthermore, we asked our respondents to re-tell certain situations when in the past they had experienced fear or other strong emotions while being somewhere in Novosibirsk. The third theme then addressed some more detailed aspects of the link between urbanity and negative or positive emotionality. For example, we inquired what our respondents associated with swearwords of city slang or how they saw certain groups within the urban environment, such as *skinkhedy* (skinheads).

Male-To-Male Relations and Homophobia

This section will first address public perceptions of homosexuality and incidents of homophobic attacks in Novosibirsk, then describe clandestine and open spaces in the city where men can date men, and finally identify potentially risky urban spaces in more general terms.

On the basis of his research data collected for the *Lifestyles Project*, Habeck conducted eight more interviews in Novosibirsk in August 2014, using the guideline of questions that he and Schröder had formulated jointly. The interviews were with men who would self-identify as gay and others who *would not*, rather seeing themselves as men occasionally having sex with other men. Labelling LGBT identities is a complex issue in a society in which, on the one hand, sexual encounters between men occur – and did occur in the Soviet and pre-Soviet past (Baer 2015; Essig 1999; Healey 2001); and in which, on the other hand, the notions of *goluboi* ('gay') or worse, *pider* ('pederast'), have always carried a derogatory sense. Sexual orientation as a category of identity – in particular if openly acknowledged – is of rather recent emergence, and arguably perceived by many Russians as a bad example of Western individualism and hedonism.

This is also true for Novosibirsk, which occasionally saw lesbian and gay activism in the public as well as in-door 'pride' parties from the late 1990s to the mid-2000s. But in most recent years, public or political appearance of lesbians or gays has effectively vanished. Being 'out and proud' in Novosibirsk was an option for a short period, but is no longer.

Clearly, public opinion with regard to homosexuality has become more hostile in connection with regulations that forbid 'propaganda of homosexuality among minors', approved by the Legislative Assembly of Novosibirsk Oblast' already in 2012 as part of the Law on the Protection of Rights of Children (Belov and Ianushkevich 2012) and introduced into different documents of federal, i.e. all-Russian, legislation in 2013 (Federal'nyi Zakon 2013). Whether intended or not, this legislation contributes to the overall level of homophobia and thus to the perception of risk among lesbians and gays.

What comes to the fore in Habeck's set of interviews is a peak of homophobia in 2013, when right-wing vigilante groups literally went on raids, or 'safaris', on individuals whom they had identified as 'pedophiles'. This sort of social movement advertised itself under the slogan 'Occupy Pedophilia' on the Internet (Figure 1; Podgornova 2014: 27-29). The business of hunting 'pedophiles' – in fact homosexual men – started in Moscow and from there spread to other cities in Russia, including Novosibirsk. The strategy of the hunt consisted of creating a bogus profile of a young man in a social network, starting online conversations with interested men, arranging a date and place, awaiting the victim, encircling him as a group, abusing and forcing the victim to confess his being a *pider*; recording the scene, and then posting the video on the Internet.



Figure 1: Youtube showing results for the search term 'Occupy Pedophilia'. Search and Screenshot: J. Otto Habeck, 16 March 2015.

Incidents of this kind occurred over the period of a few months, up to the moment when police could identify the leaders of this 'movement' and when the videos disappeared from the Internet. These events definitely augmented the perception of risk in urban space among men dating men. Two of Habeck's

interviewees reported they were victims of assaults, though the focus was not on video ‘documentation’, but rather on mugging (reportedly, money, car keys and personal documents).

Such attacks are contextualized within a more general notion of risk – and risk-taking behaviour – connected with practices of dating and cottaging, i.e. strolling around at certain places with the intention to find a same-sex partner for sexual intercourse. In times before the Internet and social networking sites, cottaging was much more widespread. Local lore knows at least three such so-called *pleshka* places (cf. Essig 1999) in Novosibirsk, which already existed in Soviet times. Such places of both desire and risk are ‘operating’ also at present, although less frequented than in the past.

Other, less clandestine meeting points for men who want to get to know men are the nudist beach 40 km away from the city centre and the occasional gay night club in the city centre. The existence of gay night clubs in Novosibirsk is generally short-lived, which means that venues change from year to year. Interviewees often rate clubs on the basis of personal security – if the club has bouncers, that’s a good thing.

While for Habeck’s interlocutors, the risk of homophobic attacks is definitely part and parcel of the emotional experience of urban space, it is not the only risk, and not necessarily the most immediate one. One can get mugged or bashed or abused for a wide array of reasons – or for no obvious reason at all, as some of the interviewees pointed out repeatedly.

Several of them claimed that it is impossible to identify areas of high risk, simply because one may run into trouble potentially everywhere, just by coincidence. However, the majority of the interlocutors was ready to identify areas of increased danger. Apart from mentioning two suburbs of the city which are notoriously known to be shady,¹ there is agreement on the equation ‘the further away from the centre, the less street lights, and the less people in the street, the greater is the risk of being attacked’. While this may seem obvious, it entails that tower-block areas are considered to be safer than those parts of the city with detached houses – the so-called *chastnyi sektor* (private sector areas). In this respect, the way in which the built environment shapes the impression of personal security is markedly different from cities in western or central parts of Europe (cf. the reputation of the tower-block areas of Schwerin mentioned by Ziegler, this volume).

‘Blacks’, churki and Kyrgyz Migrants: Xenophobia in Russia and Novosibirsk

Soviet ideological policies envisioned an advancement towards social harmony between members of the Union’s different ‘nationalities’, up to the point

1 These two suburbs are Pervomaika, approximately 15 km southeast of the city centre, and Zatulinka, on the western or ‘left’ side of River Ob’, about 10 km south of the city centre. Interviewees also mentioned other suburbs, though less frequently.

when *homo sovieticus* would leave behind his or her previous ethnic affiliation. There is, however, ample evidence indicating that these grand ambitions for cosmopolitanism and the ‘friendship of peoples’ did not fully materialize in everyday realities, but rather that ethnic awareness and power imbalances remained vital throughout the Soviet period, usually with the Russians as so-called ‘older brothers’ at the top (Grant 2010). In particular, following Gorbachev’s attempts for inner reform, local ‘nationalisms’ and ethnic-based political movements (with centrifugal consequences) gained further momentum in different socialist republics from the mid-1980s onwards (e.g. Florin 2015).

As far as Kyrgyz and other Central Asian migrants to Russia are concerned, these reported cases of racial discrimination and about being referred to as ‘blacks’ (*chernye*) already during the days of late Soviet Moscow or Leningrad (Sahadeo 2012). Since then, the efforts of non-Russians at place-making and integration in these and other cities have oftentimes been associated with experiences of official and informal stigmatization and uncertainty (Reeves 2013). During his fieldwork in Novosibirsk Schröder could as well detect instances of publicly expressed xenophobia, both in the materiality of urban space and during the interviews with Kyrgyz interlocutors.



Figure 2: Graffiti on a factory’s perimeter fencing in Dzerzhinskii Raion, a district of Novosibirsk. Svastika and cross hairs are accompanied with the slogans ‘No churka’s’, ‘White Power Rock’ and ‘Khachi – urody!’ (‘Hadjis are monsters!’). Photo: J. Otto Habeck, March 2012.

For example, this occurred by the term *churka*, which could be spotted in wall-graffiti (Figure 2) and apparently also was used during verbal confrontations between Kyrgyz or other Central Asians and local Russians. In fact,

churka translates as ‘tree stub’ (or ‘wooden block’) and meant to express that someone would be ‘dull’ or ‘dumb’, or in any other way unsophisticated and ‘less civilized’. Some respondents imagined that *churka* could as well be used because of its phonetic similarity to *tiurki*, which is Russian for ‘Turks’, and in that way would aim to racially discriminate against migrants with origins in Central Asia or the Caucasus.

On the other hand, Schröder’s Kyrgyz interlocutors in Novosibirsk presented a quite self-confident counter-discourse, which justifies their belonging in that region with their ancestors’ settlement history dating back to the 9th century (Dashkovskiy 2014). The ‘Yenisei Kyrgyz’ of those times have thus come to serve as a rhetoric link between present-day Central Asia and Siberia. In particular, this associates the Kyrgyz to the residents of the Russian Altai (not very far south of Novosibirsk) who share with them a Turkic origin and further similarities in language and customs.

The next section will illustrate how these and other historic developments influence the ways in which Kyrgyz appropriate, avoid and emotionalize urban spaces in contemporary Novosibirsk. For now, what is important is the observation that the ‘Novosibirsk Kyrgyz’ may draw from a rhetoric repertoire of legitimate belonging that would not be available to their co-ethnics residing in Moscow or elsewhere in Western Russia. This observation may direct attention towards the potential for regional variation in matters of minority integration in different Russian cities. A recent study on the urban lives of Central Asians in Kazan’ (Tatarstan) advances the same insight: It argues that the historical co-residence of Tatar Muslims and Russian (Orthodox) Christians since the mid-16th century has manifested in quite distinct spatial identities to which contemporary resident groups can relate to and orientate on when navigating the city (Nasritdinov 2016).

First Comparative Insights: Not a Risky, But Rather a ‘Quiet’ and ‘Cultured’ City?

So far the number of interviews we conducted in Novosibirsk certainly is insufficient to draw firm conclusions. Still, the responses we did receive during our formal and informal conversations and the observational data we gathered while being in the city presented us with some early insights and will give our future research direction. Conceptually, we could establish that the management of ‘emotional economies’ (Stodulka 2014), i.e. the construction, expression or suppression of feelings such as fear, shame, hope or (self-) confidence, is a vital ingredient in processes of social inclusion or exclusion in Novosibirsk.

Our empirical data show that most members of the ethnic Kyrgyz diaspora as well as men engaging in same-sex relationships generally depict the city in a positive light. The latter cherish the ‘culturedness’, openness and

anonymity of the city in comparison to smaller settlements. Many of them also identify the city centre as a space where displays of otherness are tolerated or even expected. Having said that, almost none of the men would dare to be 'out' in the public space of Novosibirsk. In consequence, one can hardly speak of a gay community in the city, but rather of patchy and clandestine personal networks. In that sense they differ markedly from the ethnic Kyrgyz of Novosibirsk, who openly and self-assuredly maintain expansive networks with other Kyrgyz (which are clustered mainly around their regional origin in Kyrgyzstan). They mention the 'quietness' of the city and claim that after a period of 'cultural adaptation', which for them mostly entailed improving Russian language skills and incorporating other elements of an urban habitus, they would not be exposed to significant xenophobic threats or excessive public discrimination. On the contrary, the ways in which these Kyrgyz navigate the city, recount personal conflicts, and perceive of urban 'dangers' seem to be more related to other groups of Central Asian migrants, mostly Uzbeks and Tajiks, rather than to the ethnic Russian majority.

Perhaps most strikingly, our preliminary finding that Novosibirsk is considered a rather 'quiet' and 'open' city marks a considerable contrast to what has been said before about the situation in major cities of Western Russia, such as Moscow or Saint Petersburg. To us, this illustrates the relevance of particular 'local features' that need to be taken into account when examining spatial appropriations or avoidances, emotions and the social exclusion of minority groups. In the case of Novosibirsk's urbanity, some of this 'local colour' emerges from the city's short settlement history and its specific demographic development that is tied to a high degree of mobility throughout the Soviet period and that, to some extent, may also have been caused by a significant influx of members of the *intelligentsia*.

Transfer into a Student Seminar: From Siberia to Hamburg and Berlin

Seminar Themes: Fear, Exclusion and Urban Space

Our Berlin/Hamburg seminar picked up on some theoretical concepts of the previous research in Novosibirsk, to then scrutinise, apply and extend them. Clearly, and already stated by Simmel ([1903] 1957), the city is a place where individual life projects can grow – at least, it nurtures hopes to that effect. Simultaneously, cities are sites of obvious economic inequalities and blatantly exerted practices of exclusion. More than a century after Simmel, questions of social exclusion and distinction in urban spaces and their embedding in 'emotional economies' remain relevant topics within Social and Cultural Anthropology.

To be sure, the trope of stigmatization and social exclusion is not new in Urban Anthropology. Policies regulating access to urban space in tandem with less 'formal' practices of social exclusion were characteristic for cen-

turies in cities of Europe (Raphael 2011) and elsewhere. What did change over time, though, were the practices and instruments of exclusion (or carceral inclusion), ideas of responsibility for urban welfare, and ways of dealing with anonymity, contingency and unpredictability caused by the immediate co-presence of ‘strangers’, as Bauman (2003) argues. He ponders about the simultaneous desire for fuzziness, creativity and diversity (which he calls mixophilia) and for predictable, ‘traditional’ social relations of sameness (mixophobia), concluding that the balance between the two trends has lately come to be tipped towards mixophobia. The effects of the fear of some ‘other’ will be discussed in more detail shortly.

Notwithstanding the long debate on stigma and exclusion in social sciences, the aspect of fear (the *Angst* in our project title) is a very recent strand in the now growing field of Anthropology of Emotion (about the latter, Ahmed 2004; Röttger-Rössler and Stodulka 2014). Not only but particularly in scholarship on security, the concept of fear has mostly been treated as an irrational phenomenon experienced by some anonymous crowd; however, as Alexandra Schwell (2015: 97-101) argues, fears deserve more detailed attention as “bodily sensations that are experienced individually” (2015: 100) and are deeply related to moral judgments. Schwell also alludes to the design of urban spaces that may reduce or “increase the subjective feeling of security” (2015: 108). This idea, which also came to the fore in Novosibirsk, informed the students’ discussions and research projects in combination with the observation that some urban spaces are unpretentiously but very effectively designed to deter people (about such ‘interdictory spaces’, see below).

To return to the effects of mixophobia, it is the very apprehension of some citizens vis-à-vis unfamiliar, unconventional, undeserving or unruly ‘others’ that triggers various practices of social exclusion in the first place. We can discern two sets of practices of social exclusion: inward-turned segregation and outward aggression. Setha Low vividly captures the first in her 2014 overview of Urban Anthropology, making reference to the emergence of gated communities in many parts of the world: ‘The fear of crime – common in local discussions by gated community residents – is a rationalization of another kind of conversation about the influx of new people who are different, who do not hold the same values, and behave in unpredictable, often unacceptable, ways’ (Low 2014: 23).²

The other set of practices of social exclusion is more offensive, i.e. more directly targeting the ‘other’, as exemplified by voluntary security guards and vigilante groups. Caroline Humphrey argues (2013: 301-303) that fear can be understood as *entitlement*: while someone may ‘have’ fear in the sight of some frightening character, the latter is not easily granted the quality of be-

² Such processes of segregation and self-isolation are not limited to gated communities; they also occur in more mundane ways, notably as demarcation of private space by walls and fences. For a Siberian case study, see Habeck and Belolyubskaya (2016).

ing anxious, of experiencing fear. Even though her argument for the possible existence of a ‘perspectival switch’ does not make us inclined to feel sympathy with members of vigilante groups, it does serve as a reminder that diffuse feelings of fear – connected to a perceived inability to manage the advent of new strangers and challenges – make some individuals believe in facile solutions and take a more or less hostile attitude towards what they perceive as ‘trouble-makers’. Vigilante groups in Russia (Tsipurski 2013) and elsewhere (Kirsch and Graetz 2010) actively pursue practices of social exclusion and criminalization. Their often transgressive and physically threatening actions create fear among those stigmatized (i.a. ethnic minorities, sexual minorities, but also people with no formally registered place of residence) and call forth counter-reactions, which may include escape, avoidance, or outspoken opposition, depending not to the least on the ability of stigmatized groups to find allies and present themselves in local media. What comes to the fore in our own research and our students’ studies are marginalized individuals carving out informal and temporary niches for themselves in the urban space, but also activists who speak out on behalf of marginalized groups, partly based on their own experiences of precariousness.

There is one final aspect of *Angst* and urban space that should not go unnoticed: It can best be dubbed as *thrill*, immanent in the possibility of spontaneous encounters in the fuzziness and diversity of urban life, as discussed by Phil Hubbard (2007) in his essay on the more serendipitous and also risky experience of an evening ‘out’ in a British city centre in contrast to the more predictable (and, arguably, more consumerist) experience of an evening ‘out’ in the leisure parks outside the centre. In many ways, the city remains a space that engenders both emotions of curiosity and apprehension.

Practicalities of Teaching, of Designing and Conducting Research on Urban Emotions

Our seminar *Angst in the City* was conducted both in Berlin and Hamburg. Ideally, it would have brought together the students from these universities into one classroom on a regular basis, for example biweekly. Such setup would not only have established a positive (informal) group dynamic early on, but also would have facilitated the general learning process. This again would have been desirable due to the rather diverse scientific backgrounds that the Hamburg and the Berlin students had: The students from Hamburg were all Social/Cultural Anthropologists by training, whereas the Berlin students were enrolled in an area-studies Master-program called ‘Global Studies’ and before had predominantly completed degrees in Social Sciences other than Anthropology. The two joint classroom sessions that we were able to conduct towards the end of the semester in fact were characterized by lively discus-

sions covering multiple disciplinary and theoretical angles and thus support this assumption.

Unfortunately, due to the students' tight schedules and the budgetary constraints that the seminar faced, at the beginning of the semester joint sessions were not feasible. We adapted to that situation by ways of lecturer mobility, meaning that on one weekday the same seminar session was first held in Berlin in the morning, and then – after a two-hour train ride – in Hamburg in the afternoon. To us as lecturers, from this necessary change emerged quite valuable insights into how the very same readings were received, discussed and understood differently by these two audiences. At the same time, it made us adjust our ways of moderating the texts and of setting particular learning objectives. Furthermore, the intense co-teaching experience (three hours in Berlin and three hours in Hamburg on the same day) enabled us to closely observe each other's didactic approach. Usually, the train rides provided welcome opportunities to commonly reflect on these matters.

One core component of our seminar was a 'buddying system' among students. Quite similarly to how we ourselves have conducted research in Novosibirsk, we wanted to establish pairs of students who would approach compatible research themes together. In order not to impose our own previous ideas onto the group too forcefully, during the seminar's first sessions we reserved considerable time for students to articulate their personal interests and develop them further. Once these single projects had taken shape, we aggregated them into larger themes, such as 'Spaces and Spirituality' or 'Spaces of Refuge'. Next, students were asked to indicate a first and second priority from among these research themes. Matching these across the whole group allowed us to eventually identify four buddy-pairs, each with one participant from Berlin and one from Hamburg.

In our view, this procedure kept a balance between what the students considered 'worthwhile' for research individually, which oftentimes drew from their own urban experiences in these cities, and the necessity to channel these preferences into a smaller number of clusters that would fit with the overall framework uniting aspects of exclusion, emotion and urban space. As the overview of projects (below) will show in more detail, one such research cluster, for example, compared aspects of 'homelessness' in Berlin and Hamburg. Ideally, 'being buddied' in that way offered each student a counterpart in the other city to keep in touch and share empirical insights with and to discuss research practicalities in an informal way. Accordingly, during the final joint sessions of our seminar, the buddies presented their research projects together.

For many of our students the seminar offered a whole range of new experiences. Especially, this concerned their first participation in a full-cycle research that went from designing and conducting a project to analyzing its data and publishing the insights. Furthermore, English was the language of

choice during the seminar discussions and also for the articles that have now emerged from it. Many students also expressed that working in a team in-between cities was a valuable experience for them. Any scientific aspects aside the team-aspect certainly offered practical insights as to the communication and coordination of specific tasks, the negotiation of compromises for the collective goal, and the management of time and efforts. In our seminar the latter was a particular challenge given that the research was expected to be finalized and presented within less than three months.

Angst in the City in Retrospect – and a Brief Summary of the Contributions to This Volume

Looking back at the history of this special issue of *Ethnoscripts*, the project attained its particular drive from three sorts of transfer: firstly, from a shared perspective on urban spaces and lifestyles, but also on homophobia and xenophobia between the two authors of this article. This led to jointly coordinated field research in the city of Novosibirsk, on the basis of shared hypotheses and research instruments. Second, this experience triggered the idea to share conceptual and methodological insights with students at the universities with which the authors are affiliated, and encourage students to formulate their own ideas for a short research project, ideally in teams. Third, what resulted from the studies fed back into and substantively modified the ways the authors of these lines now see micro-practices of urban place-making.

What our case studies and the students' researches have in common is a certain notion of niche. Natascha Bregy and Claryce Lum pursue the strategies that individuals employ when carving out a more or less temporary, unfenced space for themselves (admittedly, these strategies often fail because of policies of control, surveillance and 'interdictory spaces', cf. Bauman 2003: 30-31). *Natascha Bregy* describes the interplay of solidarity and segregation among homeless people in the centre of Hamburg and provides detailed insights into their ambit of mobility, action space and self-perceptions. She also points to the persistence of social ills that cause homelessness in the first place. In this respect, *Claryce Lum's* Berlin-based study is on a more positive key, revealing how individuals who have 'got out' of the situation of homelessness convey to a broader public the problems, strategies and resources of homeless people. Moreover, the articles in this volume illustrate the ways in which individuals come to share niches, voluntarily or willy-nilly, in support of others. Two papers that regrettably did not make it into this issue developed the difficulties and intricacies of seeking, appropriating and providing niches – in both cases, this concerned niches for refugees in Berlin and surroundings.

Based on research in a tower-block suburb of her home town Schwerin in the northeast of Germany, *Carmen Ziegler* explores what is colloquially called the ‘Russian’ network, which comprises individuals of different ethnic background from the former Soviet Union. The *Dreesch*, as described by Ziegler, is no longer a prestigious suburb as it once was during the times of the GDR; rather, it has become a place where, for better or worse, individuals rely on mutual support of an informal network, largely based on familial ties and a common language, in this case Russian. This informal network has ultimately been creating educational self-help groups, i.e. new formal institutions of mutual help.³

A different trope is rendered in *Dumitrița Luncă*’s account of how the residents of St Pauli – Hamburg’s most famous district – perceive their neighbourhood and connect it with their biographies. The neighbourhood constantly offers challenges and surprises. It shows down-to-earth realities of life with no frills. Each generation of residents is experiencing St Pauli anew, ‘young and wide-eyed’ (Luncă). Each generation takes the changes that gradually occur in the neighbourhood as some sort of loss, ultimately amounting to a certain level of fatigue with the built and social environment around their place of living.

Notwithstanding the above interpretations, it is clear that niches are not always cozy places. What they do is, at least, provide some sense of reliability and sameness in an urban space that Bauman (2003) describes as fuzzy and contingent, and as such they bear some resemblance to the niches and secluded spaces of the elites, as discussed above with reference to Low (2014). We conclude this introductory article with the assumption that in Russia as much as in many other countries the current trends towards patriotism, moral order and securitization will increase the need for niches and simultaneously will diminish these niches, making people’s existence in them more precarious.

Moreover, in further pursuing our own research in Novosibirsk and other post-socialist cities, what we take with us is the array of ideas that our students have put forward. Their findings induce us to follow ‘our’ actors more closely in their activities of networking; to consider conducting parallel studies on *Angst in the City* among other (stigmatized) groups, such as lone parents or people with no formal residence; and also to take into account the effect of time and memory on how residents of cities, in Russia and elsewhere, express their apprehensions and emotional attachments to urban spaces.

3 One reason, it seems to us, that the *Dreesch* has come to be ‘home’ for a large number of migrants from the former Soviet Union lies in its architectural similarity to tower-block areas in the USSR successor states, which are seen as rather comfortable living space (cf. Habeck and Belolyubskaya 2016: 121) – more so than in the former GDR. The *Dreesch* may thus be interpreted as a niche that enables individuals to continue postsocialist ways of dwelling.

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Homeless in Hamburg: Revisiting the uses of space in the city centre

Natascha Bregy

Introduction

This article is based on a short fieldwork I did about the use of space among homeless people in Hamburg, conducted in the framework of the seminar with the title “Angst in the City? Ethnographic Research on Emotion and Exclusion in Hamburg and Berlin”. I will start with a summary of the contents, the aim and the method of the seminar (cf. Schröder and Habeck, this issue). I will also briefly talk about my own idea of fieldwork and the opportunity to cooperate with a fellow seminar participant from Berlin. I will then introduce some key works in the field of homelessness and go over to present two key research projects about homeless people in Hamburg that were conducted between 2001 and 2005. The first was done by Professor Waltraud Kokot, University of Hamburg, and some of her students (Kokot 2004). The second was the Master’s thesis of one of those students, Martin Gruber, who did additional fieldwork after Kokot’s project ended (Gruber 2005). Many of my findings coincide with their research, but because of the long term nature of their research, their findings exceed my own and are, therefore, recommendable to whomever wants to know more about homelessness in Hamburg.

As the title of the seminar suggests, it is about emotion and exclusion in cities. We explored the topic through various essays and texts, touching on social exclusion, urban space, identity and emotion. We also approached the topic of urban anthropology and its history, as well as specific methods. The city as a research setting only became popular in social and cultural anthropology after the so called “spatial turn” in the 1980s. (Low 2014) Since then, urban anthropology has changed significantly:

“[...] from a field that focused solely on small-scale societies and groups living in cities, to multilevel and spatial analyses of the urban processes and social relationships. Rather than viewing the city as a static context or setting, it is conceived of as an urban region made up of complex interrelationships of places and a space of flows dependent on the whims of global capital.” (Low 2014: 25-26)

Within this dynamic setting, every participant was to choose a research topic and explore it for a one-month period (June 2015). We then each wrote a short outline of our research. On this basis, participants from Hamburg were

paired with those from Berlin as part of a buddy system. At first I was torn between doing research among refugees and homeless people, finally deciding in favour of the latter. My first outline was as follows:

“Homeless in the city – occupying prominent spaces or generating opportunity?

What kinds of strategies, reasons and systems lie behind the choices of homeless people in Hamburg, concerning their places to stay in the day as well as in the night? Assuming these are conscious decisions, I would like to know why many homeless people spend their days in the busy streets where they are constantly exposed to other (non-homeless) people. Do these places simply offer the best economic purposes or are there other aspects that influence these decisions?

In addition, I want to inquire if the homeless feel bothered by passers-by and how the outside view shapes their own identity. I assume that this is one more aspect that influences this choice of location.”

Spontaneously, after reading my research outline, one of the participants in Berlin, Claryce Lum, decided to do a similar project about homelessness in Berlin (cf. Lum, this issue). Subsequently, Claryce and I became buddies and developed an outline for our research together. I will further elaborate and discuss our ideas and methods in the chapter about the research process and experiences.

Homelessness in general is a familiar phenomenon all around the world, resulting in a vast amount of publications about different aspects of street life. Philippe Bourgois (2003) won critical acclaim in the world of social and cultural anthropology for his work *“In Search for Respect: Selling Crack in El Barrio”* about drug dealers in East Harlem, New York. He managed to gain access to a group of street drug-dealers and accompanied them over the course of five years, through which he gained insight into their street culture. A portrait of homelessness in Russia offers Tova Höjdestrand (2009) with his book *“Needed by Nobody: Homelessness and Humanness in Post-Socialist Russia”*. In *“The hidden millions: homelessness in developing countries”* Graham Tipple and Suzanne Speak examine the phenomenon in the global south, e.g. Ghana, also developing general theories and policy proposals. In his book *“Down and out in Los Angeles and Berlin: the sociospatial exclusion of homeless people”*, Jürgen Mahs (2013) compares, among others, homeless policies, market exclusion, spatial exclusion as well as legal exclusion in Berlin and Los Angeles.

Turning back to Hamburg, I will focus my attention on the two previously mentioned studies: The study entitled *“Kultur der Obdachlosigkeit in*

der Hamburger Innenstadt” (Culture of homelessness in the city centre of Hamburg) was carried out in 2001 by Martin Gruber, Felix Aster and Jochen Becker under the supervision of Waltraud Kokot. They started their research in summer 2000, interviewing and accompanying people from various organisations and also going out into the streets after shops were closed. In November 2000, they started interviewing homeless people and after some time they found a group, willing to take them in. At the time, this group usually gathered at an unused cabin, which was a popular meeting point for homeless people. From early January to April 2001, the researchers spent time with this group: sometimes being just guests and listening to stories, arguments or jokes, sometimes being more involved and accompanying them in their daily life. Later on, the group was revisited for a shorter follow-up study in 2002. (Kokot 2004: 10-16)

In addition to those two research stages, Martin Gruber produced a film called *“abgehakt”* (tallied) about the same group of homeless people he encountered during the first phase of research. Lastly, in 2004, he ventured into the field again for another eight months to complete his research. In the last phase of his research, he changed his focus from the original group and looked at homelessness in a more holistic way. All this combined, 22 months of fieldwork altogether, made up his Master’s Thesis with the title *“Platzverweis: Ethnologische Langzeituntersuchung einer Gruppe von Obdachlosen in der Hamburger Innenstadt”* (Sending-off: ethnographic long-term study of a group of homeless in the city centre of Hamburg).

Although these studies date back more than ten years, the findings correspond closely with what I encountered during my own fieldwork. While reading the study, I felt reassured in my own research, mostly because the findings as well as the emotional aspects coincided with my own experiences. But this also suggests that the key problems around homelessness have not changed significantly over the past ten years. Especially the living conditions and the availability of low-threshold accommodation services have not improved much. It seems that homelessness will increasingly become a regular part of life in Hamburg and it is, therefore, necessary to engage in conversation about the topic. I hope that this paper helps to raise public awareness for the issue of homelessness.

Homeless people in Hamburg

To start off my research, it was necessary to get an overview of the situation of homeless people in Hamburg. Rather than solely looking at statistics and numbers, I sought to learn more about the lives of the homeless from someone who has first-hand experience in working with them. Therefore, in early

June, I contacted the Hamburg street magazine „Hinz & Kunzt“ and made an appointment for an interview with the social worker, Stephan Karrenbauer.¹

“Hinz & Kunzt” was founded in 1993 as a cooperation of some homeless people and journalists. The magazine is written and produced by journalists and graphic designers, and then sold by the homeless. Through selling the paper, the homeless do not only receive the bigger part of the money they charge for the magazine, but they also regain their dignity and can feel more as a part of the general society. The articles in the magazine are usually focusing on social issues in and around Hamburg, they shed light on homeless and poor people and on their struggle for making a living. As such, “Hinz & Kunzt” is supposed to be an important, socially committed voice of the city. The influence and the circulation of the magazine have grown significantly since its foundation: while the first edition was printed and sold 30,000 times, the monthly average is now at 64,000 units, which makes it the most widely circulated street paper in German speaking countries.²

But “Hinz & Kunzt” is not just a magazine that homeless people can sell and make money from, it is also a physical space where they can get help. The magazine employs two social workers who support the homeless in various ways, e.g. by helping them find an apartment or a place to sleep, by connecting them with other institutions and organisations, and by advising them on drug addiction problems. The social workers also accompany homeless to other services, e.g. the job centre or drug advice centres. Last but not least, they are interlocutors who listen to the stories that homeless people have to tell.³ Stephan Karrenbauer has been working for “Hinz und Kunzt” since 1995 and has an extensive knowledge about homelessness in Hamburg.

During my interview with him, the first thing I learned was that there are two kinds of people: those who accept that they are homeless and are willing to live openly on the streets; and the bigger group that is mostly invisible because they sleep in hidden places, which they go to at night and leave again early in the morning. The second group will thus only become visible in the day rooms, where they are provided with food and shelter. Respecting their decision to stay mostly hidden and not invading their privacy when they want to be left alone, I decided to focus my research on the first group. Hence, my results are certainly biased as they do not represent the homeless in Hamburg in their entirety, but only the more prominent and visible part.

The fact that a lot of homeless people are ashamed of their fate and want to stay hidden also makes it hard to estimate the overall number of homeless people in Hamburg. Moreover, there reportedly is a large number of people who stay at their friends homes, and especially women who can stay at a

1 Stephan Karrenbauer has also been a main source and starting point for the research of Waltraud Kokot and, subsequently, Martin Gruber’s further research. (Gruber, 2005: 45)

2 <http://www.hinzundkunzt.de/das-magazin/fakten/>

3 <http://www.hinzundkunzt.de/projekt/sozialarbeit/>

man's apartment in exchange for certain, often sexual, services. Those people are seldom registered anywhere and therefore do not appear in any statistics. At the time of my research, approximately 2,000 homeless people were estimated to live in Hamburg. The biggest group of them is between 30 and 40 years of age, but the tendency is towards a decrease in age.

Apart from "Hinz & Kunzt", there is a variety of organisations and groups that provide help and assistance for the homeless. Among others, soup kitchens give out food at different locations throughout the city, medical buses provide basic health care, a few medical practitioners take in people without health insurance, and some places distribute clothes. In the city centre one may find a few places where to have a shower, but all in all there are only eight free and openly accessible showers for all the homeless, so there is normally a long queue. Arguably, however, what is missing the most are shelters and homes for the people, because this is at the root of the whole problem.

There is a big misconception among Germans that no-one has to sleep in the streets, and that the state is legally obliged to provide a home for everyone. While it is true that the state is supposed to provide shelter at least for all individuals with German citizenship, there just are not enough rooms and apartments to fulfil that promise. It is, therefore, wrong to assume that homeless people in Hamburg are voluntarily living on the streets. In winter, as I was told by Stephan Karrenbauer, the homeless normally receive more money while begging, but especially during the summer months sympathy for homeless people is quite low.

In fact, in one aspect the warmer summer nights are not much different from cold winter nights. Homeless people always have to be alert, so they can hardly ever sleep peacefully, missing a sufficient amount of deep sleep. They are afraid of being robbed of their few possessions or even attacked physically. This again results in permanent psychological stress. Apart from that, mental illnesses such as depression are common among homeless. Even minor health problems, such as a cold, can be dangerous to homeless people, since they cannot just go to bed, take some medicine and rest until they feel better. If they cannot find a proper place to sleep, they are constantly exposed to different weather conditions. All those reasons, combined with alcohol and drug consumption, which for many provides the only relief from stress, explain the average life expectancy of only 47 years of age among homeless people. (Interview with Stephan Karrenbauer; 06.11.2015)⁴

At the time of my fieldwork in June 2015, the situation for the homeless seemed to get even worse, since it was announced that the biggest shelter, the "Winternotprogramm" (winter emergency programme), would be shut down. Last winter (2014-2015) it provided shelter for up to 926 people in various

4 For more information about the medical situation of the homeless, see also: <http://www.welt.de/regionales/hamburg/article123948693/Lebenserwartung-bei-Obdachlosen-unter-47-Jahren.html>

locations.⁵ One of the locations was converted into a refugee home. It came as a relief when the city authorities announced that they would again provide up to 850 beds from November 1 until March 31.⁶ But even the 926 places in winter 2014-15 had not been enough to house all those in need. Another shelter, “Pik As”, expanded its capacity from 210 to 260 beds, and then again to 400. But even after this enlargement “Pik As” had to decline entry to up to ten people a day because all rooms were overcrowded. Normally “Pik As” would be the last option to go to, for its reputation among the homeless is quite bad. To put it shortly, the “Winternotprogramm” and the “Pik As” were fully occupied until the very last day they offered shelter, even though this last winter had not been a harsh one. All this illustrates the crucial importance of the city authority’s measures.⁷

Research process and experiences

It was when the “Winternotprogramm” closed its doors on 31 March, 2015 that the homeless became publicly visible again on the streets of Hamburg. Especially the busy shopping streets around Mönckebergstraße and Jungfernstieg were suddenly populated by numerous homeless people begging for money. Having said that, it was not in spring but already in winter 2014 that I became strongly aware of the homeless in Hamburg. I worked at a support centre for immigrants and refugees called “Café Exil”, which is located right next to one of the houses of the “Winternotprogramm”. Since the “Winternotprogramm” closed every morning at 8 am, a lot of homeless people visited us to warm up and drink coffee, and with much reluctance we often had to ask them to leave because our space was limited and we could not harbour them.

The social worker at “Hinz & Kunzt” described homelessness as something that can just happen to people: The older people get, the more they are likely to experience difficulties and crises, and if they then get depressed and something unexpected happens, this might just be the literal straw that breaks the camel’s back.

Surely, empathy exerts an influence on the research process. In my case, it made the research “slower”, more intensive, and more of a personal experience. Instead of “ticking off” the questions from my list and then moving on to another person or group, I would stay with one group for more than one or two hours. This, in combination with it being my first field research,

5 <http://www.hamburg.de/winternotprogramm-obdachlose/nofl/4474546/2015-03-31-basfi-ende-winternotprogramm/>

6 <http://www.hamburg.de/obdachlosigkeit/nofl/4595120/2015-09-02-basfi-winternotprogramm-planung/>

7 Lobao and Murray (2005) offer an analysis of the shelter system of Columbus, Ohio, by means of geographical spatial data, which might also be used to improve the availability and accessibility of shelters in Hamburg.

made me feel as if the time frame within the seminar was very short. Still, I was able to gain an insight into individual life worlds of homeless, which ultimately helped me to understand how they use the space in the city centre of Hamburg.

Before I move further into my personal experiences during my fieldwork, I will introduce the research design and methods that Claryce Lum and I developed prior to our fieldwork. Our first plan was to start by interviewing employees of the street magazines “Hinz & Kunzt” and “Straßenfeger” or “Motz”, and through them possibly get in touch with homeless people who would not mind talking to us. We generated a questionnaire together, so we could afterwards compare the answers and already find commonalities and differences in the two cities. In the questionnaire we were focussing on three aspects: economic factors, power structures and prejudice from non-homeless, that we thought would mainly influence their choice of location. During the interviews we then wanted to deepen our understanding of how homeless people use the city spaces available to them. Another method I used was observation in the streets, mainly in the city centre of Hamburg. During my research I went there at different times and days at least twice a week. For more than one hour I would sit on a bench or walk around and watch people and their activities.

Because of the language barrier, Claryce had to change her methods and, instead of interviewing homeless people directly, found an organisation called “Querstadtein”, where ex-homeless people show both tourists and locals “their Berlin” and the places where they used to stay. Claryce went on two tours with two different guides, while I interviewed one of the social workers of “Hinz & Kunzt” and talked to two groups of homeless people. But through the different methods, the research of one complemented the other’s findings. We stayed in touch through the whole process, shared insights and hints as well as different perspectives and provided each other with moral support. At the end of the seminar, we jointly presented our findings to the other participants of the seminar. For me, however, the seminar and the fieldwork were not only about the results, but also about practising field research methods. As I had never conducted fieldwork before, entering an arguably difficult field initially was a challenge. I am very glad to have had the opportunity in this seminar to try out a very interesting and, at the same time, challenging research. I gained practical experience conducting research and in testing various ethnographic methods, changing my approach in the process and adapting it to fit a difficult field. Through the co-operation with Claryce Lum I also discovered the benefits of working together with a partner on the same or a similar project (cf. Lum, this issue).

Prior to my first research experience, I spent much time thinking of how to approach my interviewees and what to give them so I would not just use them as subjects for my study. I later noticed that no-one else was doing any-

thing similar for their research or for an interview. Even though we were discussing the possibility and normality of giving someone chocolate for or after an interview, it appeared I was the only one trying to give something back in that way. One could argue that the homeless as a marginalized group are different from non-homeless and more in need of support and that they would, therefore, appreciate food as an act of kindness. At the other hand, handing over food can also produce the effect of belittling the interlocutor. In hindsight, I may have tried too hard to think ahead and prepare my entrée properly. It only occurred to me after the primary encounters that the greatest gift was not food or cigarettes but respect and time to listen to their stories.

With each group I spent more than two hours; we did not just talk about their use of space but also about homelessness in general, their lives, current events, and future plans. As a side effect, whenever in the following days I would see any of them in the city, we would greet each other. With Ben I talked on several occasions after the first day I met him and his group; he would sit somewhere on one and the same street and beg with his hat, and when I walked past and saw him, I went to sit down with him for a while.

I already briefly described my inability to be objective about the people I met, and my emotional involvement with them. When I met the second group and accompanied them to their sleeping place, I felt very reluctant to leave. It was a cold and rainy day for June and I actually got sick after staying outside for that long, but I just did not want to leave. To me it felt like abandoning them. I could go “home”, whereas they could not. Even though knowing that I am not the cause of their circumstances, a subtle feeling of guilt remained.⁸

During this time, the structure of the seminar, especially the buddy system, was of great help. Even though Claryce Lum did not directly interview currently homeless people but went on city walks guided by formerly homeless people instead, she was also invested in the topic so she understood my concerns better than others. We frequently updated each other about our progress, the methods we used, and our findings. We would then go on to compare our different findings, also complementing each others approaches or asking questions about particular aspects that came up during our individual researches. Being in a team for this research was very important for me, for the emotional support as well as for the research process.

Another important factor in my role as a researcher was that I did not always make it clear that I was in fact conducting a study with the intent to use the material for a paper or for publication. In my request for an interview to “Hinz & Kunzt” I did introduce myself and my role was clear. In the streets, however, especially because of the fluctuation of people in the second group, I was probably perceived as just a guest. I missed the opportunity to make my

8 Gruber describes a very similar feeling to mine when he first enters the field in the chapter “Einblicke in eine Parallelwelt” (Insight into a parallel world) (Kokot 2004).

intentions clear and explain that I was there to research one certain aspect of their lives. That is also the reason why some of the group members were wondering that a non-homeless person was talking to them, which rarely ever happens. My empathy (or lack of distance) may ultimately have been somehow misleading from my interlocutors' point of view. In a future research I would definitely try to introduce myself and always be clear about my role as a researcher. However, I think this is not just a problem that I was facing in this particular fieldwork context, but a general challenge in dynamic settings, where people frequently come and go.

The findings I will now present in the following two sections originate from my interview with Stephan Karrenbauer, the talks with the two groups of homeless, my exchange with Claryce Lum and my observations on the streets of Hamburg in June 2015. Beginning in the next section, I will describe how I approached homeless people and portray the two groups I met during my research.

Groups: segregation and solidarity

The first idea was to initiate contact with homeless people at the office of „Hinz & Kunzt“. Yet it proved less easy than expected to get in contact with street-paper vendors inside the building. Most of them just stayed inside for a short break, to eat and drink something and then go back out to selling the magazine. While working, they are focussed on their job, so disturbing them for a longer period of time was not advisable. Thus it became the social worker I turned to. He told me that a lot of homeless people on the streets are not easily distinguished from non-homeless, until the shops close:

“It is really very depressing when you walk around in the city centre around 9 pm, when the city centre starts emptying out and certain people just remain. Then it becomes apparent how many people just don't have a home and don't know where to go [...].” (Interview with Stephan Karrenbauer; 06.11.2015. transl: Natascha Bregy)

So after most of the shops close at 8 pm, more and more people would go home and the city centre would slowly become deserted – apart from the people who have no home to go to. Therefore, the social worker suggested I just go to the city centre after 9 pm and talk to the people who would then

9 Original quote: “Es ist einfach ein ganz düsteres Bild, wenn man in der Innenstadt so um 21 Uhr ist, wenn sich die Innenstadt leert und es bleiben bestimmte Leute einfach stehen. Dann wird einem erst deutlich, wie viele Leute nämlich kein Zuhause haben und gar nicht wissen wo sie eigentlich hin sollen [...].”

be building their night places.¹⁰ Between 9 and 10, most people would still be awake and there would be less passers-by, resulting in a quieter atmosphere.

During the seminar, we discussed ways of giving something back to the people we research. Especially in my research with a strongly marginalized group, I felt the need to give something back and not just go about my research, write a paper and get my personal recognition for it. The first idea was to give away cigarettes or tobacco. Additionally, we came up with the idea of giving away food like apples or chocolate bars. I did in fact buy all those things before I went out the first time, although ultimately I did not use any of them in the end.

So one evening in mid-June when the shops were just about to close, I went to a downtown street with a bag filled with apples, chocolate bars and a pack of cigarettes. Coincidentally, a piece of paper, coming from the place where two young homeless women were begging, was carried away by the wind. I picked it up and asked one of the two if it belonged to them, which it did not. I then realised that the paper was in fact a menu from a near-by restaurant, but anyhow, a start was made. This is how I came in contact with the first group of homeless people, which I will now briefly introduce.

The two women I encountered were very young; one of them probably 18, the other perhaps 25 years old. The younger one had arrived in Hamburg at the beginning of the summer and had become homeless only recently. The older one had a large dog that only listened to her command and, because she had been attacked by another dog some time before, barked at every dog that came close to her. This latter woman had just recently come to Hamburg from another major city and had been travelling around Germany for some years. A bit later, two men joined the group. They had been at the shopping mall charging their smartphones during the time I met the two women. When they appeared, the women mentioned that each of them belonged to one of the men, which to me seemed to be one way of protecting them from other men on the streets. The older of the two men – he was already in his thirties – turned out to be the leader of the group and his words mostly ended every discussion, whether it be about the place to stay for the night or about the distribution of cigarettes and alcohol. He told me that he had been living on the streets of Hamburg for over 10 years and now knows each and everyone as well as the best places to be in the city. It was probably this knowledge that made him the leader of an otherwise very young (and probably inexperienced) group. The last member of the group, a young man of around 25 years of age, mostly remained silent.

The four of them shared a shopping cart in which they stored, among other things, beer, some dog food, blankets and sleeping bags. They were

10 In German, this is referred to as “Platte machen”. Platte is the place where homeless stay, it can be a night place but also a place where the homeless stay during the day.

begging for money with a self-made device – a cup connected with a string to a long stick, resembling a fishing pole. According to them, to be successful one had to come up with new creative ways to beg every once in a while. After I started talking to the women, I was asked by them to put some money in the cup, which I did. While asking about their life on the street, they mostly referred to it as being fun and adventurous. Their leader was a bit more cautious and also talked about the winters being harsh. The younger woman told me that she will probably rent a room just for the winter, so I assumed she still received some monetary support to afford a room, or just does not yet realise the difficulties of living on the street and being homeless. All in all, this group seemed very carefree and happy, and they hardly talked about hardships and problems that come along with being homeless.

The encounter with the second group happened two days later. It was again shortly before the shops closed when I exited a shopping mall and saw a man around the age of 35 sitting on a bench begging, a hat put in front of him. I went to him and asked in German if it would be okay to sit next to him for a while and ask him some questions. But he did not understand and asked if I could speak English. I proceeded to ask him the same questions in English and he invited me to sit next to him however long I would want. The ensuing conversation with him and his friends happened alternately in English or German, depending on his presence and participation in the conversation.

After sitting on the bench with my initial acquaintance for a while, another man joined us and together we went to a spot where Caritas – the charity organisation of the Roman Catholic Church – distributes food to people in need. There were about 30 to 40 people already waiting, and as soon as the Caritas vehicles arrived everyone neatly lined up in a queue to receive their share. Apart from the main course people also received one piece of fruit, cake, and pudding which the group then shared or exchanged. While eating there was a lot of chatter and small talk, and people enquired about each other's well-being and activities. It was during the meal that the third member from their *Platte*¹¹ joined us. After a while the people dispersed again and I accompanied the group to their sleeping place. There I met the last member of the group, an older woman who just recently joined the *Platte*.

While there are four people in this group, I mainly spoke to the two first men I had met. Therefore, I will focus my introduction on the two of them. The man I met on the bench, Ben¹², told me he had been living in the United Kingdom for eight years before coming to Hamburg to look for work. In a strange set of events the room he rented turned out to be a fraud and with no money to return to Britain he ended up on the streets of Hamburg. He told

11 “Platte” on one hand refers to the sleeping place of the homeless, “Platte machen” on the other hand generally means that someone is sleeping on the streets, being homeless.

12 Name has been changed by the author.

me he had just recently come to Hamburg, though his friend later mentioned that he has been trying to save enough money for his flight back to Britain for the last six months. Since he is not eligible for social benefits in Germany, he needs most of the money he scrounges for purchasing daily necessities. He was very open about his feelings and mental struggles that life on the street entails.

The second man I encountered, Jens¹³, was about 40 years old, very well-groomed and it took me a while to notice that he was actually also homeless. He became homeless about three months prior to our encounter and he was very confident that he would get a job and an apartment before the winter. He had a soft temper, was always very thoughtful and considerate when I asked questions. Because of his pensive and amicable attitude, I completely believed him when he said he would stop being homeless very soon. He can be seen as the “founder” of this group, being the first who stayed and slept at this spot and then taking in the others one by one.

I stayed with those two and the group until very late and gained a very differentiated insight into life on the streets. They knew the group I had met before and also knew of their careless mindset. They told me that those others would usually get drunk and sometimes be quite noisy in the evening. As it happened, the sleeping place of the first group was near enough, so one could sometimes see and hear them while we were talking. Generally, they would ignore the other group and just leave them alone. As an example of how this second group deals with confrontations with other homeless people, there was an instance when Jens had to ask someone to leave the group because while being drunk this person misbehaved towards other members of the group. Coincidentally, this person would sometimes hang out with the first group, as in fact it happened to be the case while I was talking to the second group. Seemingly, neither party held a grudge.

Contrary to what the social worker at “Hinz & Kunzt” told me, I witnessed a lot of solidarity among the homeless. Certainly these acts are mostly quite small, like giving away or sharing food, drinks or cigarettes, but also taking in people that are on their own seems not unusual. The tour guides Claryce Lum engaged with also mentioned solidarity and being in a group as a way of protection against attackers and thieves. This observation can certainly also be applied to Hamburg. As regards solidarity of non-homeless towards homeless people, the support is rarely direct but usually mediated through charities or other welfare organisations. Both groups were wondering why I would talk to them and told me that even people who give them money never speak to them. Therefore, homeless people do build their own group which exists within society but is, at the same time, segregated from it.

13 Name changed

Use of Space in the city centre of Hamburg

Generally, one can discern big differences between night and day, as well as between seasons. The four aspects that I could identify during my research as the most important ones for the choice of places by the homeless were: economic resources, protection, participation and group dynamic. The four aspects are mostly intertwined, they acquire higher or lesser importance depending on the situation. Group dynamic is important in almost every situation since most homeless participate in a group and partly know other homeless people who do not belong to their group.

In winter, the amount of homeless people on the streets is much lower than in summer. This is not only due to the shelters around the city that only open in winter, but also because many homeless people try to sleep at a friend's places during the night. When temperatures drop below zero, even the place with good protection from wind and rain are too cold to stay. From spring on, however, the streets are being filled with homeless people. To me, this was especially conspicuous when walking through the shopping areas of central Hamburg on a Saturday afternoon. Every few metres, someone was sitting with a cup, a hat or some other container to put money in. Apart from these, there were people walking around addressing passers-by directly and asking for money, although not all of them are necessarily homeless.

For economic reasons it is common for the homeless to spend their day at a more crowded place, and then move in the evening. The first group I met was always staying at different places: if a site did not prove to be profitable enough, they would try to find a better one for the remainder of the day. They had their belongings in a shopping cart and would mostly stay together during the day. The second group would split up in the morning and only reunite in the afternoon or evening. Jens was selling "Hinz & Kunzt" magazines in the centre, while Ben was begging, usually called "*Sitzung machen*". Both activities are equally considered work, since they provide (additional) money. Every evening, when the shops were about to close, the two would stop working¹⁴ and go to the food distribution before they move to their sleeping place.

During bad weather most homeless do not stay outside and seek shelter from rain and wind, so the economic aspect takes a back seat, while protection becomes more important. Apart from the day shelters malls function as shelters for the homeless. There, people can hang out without necessarily being identified as homeless. The men of the first group did not only go there

14 See for additional information: Kokot (2004) has a whole chapter about work ("Arbeit").

to buy beer, but also to charge their phones.¹⁵ Then there are bridges or places underneath, which, quite contrary to Berlin, are easily accessible and the police mostly leaves homeless people in peace. Apart from that, homeless people use abandoned buildings around town, or they get on the underground and just travel around for hours. The underground is sometimes also used for shelter during the night and in winter, especially during the weekends when the underground operates throughout the night.

However, most homeless cannot afford to pay for the underground, so they get in trouble if they are caught. For Ben, the inability to travel by bus or underground was one of the main reasons to stay downtown. As most organisations supporting the homeless are located in the city centre, he needed to be there during the day; for the night he would have liked to go to the suburbs. He ended up staying in the city centre because access to these organisations and the economic benefits were more important.

One of the biggest differences between Berlin and Hamburg concerning the city centre was that there seemed to be some kind of symbiosis occurring in Hamburg. While measures to keep the homeless away were installed in many parts of Berlin, the shop owners in the central parts of Hamburg tolerated them for the most part. The city centre is not only popular during the day but also at night. After 9 pm, the streets are quiet and there are almost no passers-by – unlike in St. Pauli (cf. Lunca, this issue). Because of a higher police presence downtown, some people feel more protected against possible violent attacks. Again, the police do not drive the homeless off. Perhaps their presence can be seen as an additional layer of security, which helps to prevent the shops from being robbed. Additionally, they tidy the places where they sleep since it is their “living space”.

Mostly, people would stay at the same “Platte” for a longer period of time, so the above description of these places as living space is not far fetched. The social worker at “Hinz & Kunzt” told me of fights and arguments between homeless about sleeping places. During my research it seemed like the boundaries between different groups had been set and everyone knew their place. The rules of the streets can be tough and being the first at a certain place does not guarantee a place. Being in a group, therefore, is not only functional in terms of social interaction, but a necessity for protection – and sometimes for defending a place against other groups. Jens, who first occupied the space the group used for sleeping, was very aware of that fact and thus relieved when there was no hard feelings after someone left the group.

15 Neither Kokot's, nor Gruber's research revealed any information about the importance or the usage of phones. The main group in their research always met at the same cabin in the centre, even after some of them found a flat and work, therefore they did not need phones to meet or stay in touch. During the short time I talked to the group, it appeared to me that this group was also not using the phones to communicate, but rather to play games as a pastime.

What surprised me most during my research was the aspect of participants. Of course, homeless people need communication and social interactions, as do all human beings. I mentioned before that the shopping malls are places where homeless people are not easily identified as such. There, they may behave and feel like everyone else. When I asked the two women in the first group if they do not feel bothered by people looking at them, they denied. On the contrary, they stated they need to be in public places with lots of busy people, because that makes them feel like part of society. Even though they were clearly identifiable as homeless, being immersed in the bustling city life offered a sense of belonging. For this group, the anonymous urban crowd did not make them feel awkward being looked at or judged, but more “normal” and as part of the city’s everyday-life scenery.

Conclusion

Generally, the results of this short-term research coincide with the previous findings of Waltraud Kokot and her team, as well as Martin Gruber’s thesis. One of the conclusions of their research was that homeless people are specialists for the survival in the city, deserving respect for their way of living and their culture-specific rules (Kokot 2004: 65). I do agree with this group’s findings and see certain strategies which the homeless develop in order to survive on the streets. Their habits and the use of space are adapted to the city centre of Hamburg. They know exactly where they can obtain food, clothes, money and temporary shelter. In that regard homeless people certainly constitute a (sub)culture, created by the necessity to survive on the streets.

The homeless use the city centre during the day to make money, be it through begging, selling the “Hinz & Kunzt” street magazine, or other options. At the same time, the bustling streets give them a sense of belonging to society and being (almost) like everyone else – the same feeling they can achieve if they spend their day at one of the malls, which come to serve as the biggest shelter at times of bad weather. During the night, when the shops are closed, the entrance areas turn into sleeping places for small groups of homeless people. When they have to leave again early in the morning, the cycle begins anew and the homeless go looking for the best places to stay during the day, lest someone else had already claimed them. Violence also occurs among the homeless when individual people or groups are competing for the same space; in these arguments, however, people usually seem to just go their separate ways.

Since I finished my research, major shifts have happened in Europe. The refugee crisis has been a daily topic in the news and we get to see racism along with welcoming acts of friendship. In this discussion, numerous negative comments in Germany were directed at the state, purportedly not being able to care for its own citizens while trying to take in many more “foreign”

people. Similar comments were made when the “Winternotquartier” was closed and transformed into a refugee asylum. Homelessness has been present in Hamburg for such a long time that it has become normal for people to see the homeless begging in the streets; but suddenly homeless people are being utilised as an argument against another marginalised group. The homeless should not be forgotten during this time, but neither should they have to compete with refugees for public attention. As Gruber (2005: 79-80) also mentions in his outlook, what is needed is not just a discussion about one or the other marginalised group, but a broader discussion about poverty and how society should deal with changing economic circumstances and the fact that technological advances will continue to widen the gap between available workforce and the workforce actually needed by the economy; in due time, we might be looking at the majority of the population as marginalised groups simply because technological advances have replaced their purpose within the workforce.

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“Arm, aber sexy” (Poor, but sexy): Homelessness in Berlin

Claryce Lum

Berlin is a fascinating city full of paradoxes. More than a decade ago, ex-mayor of Berlin Klaus Wowereit captured the imagination of the world's creative, hungry and poor by advertising the city with the tagline, “Berlin ist arm, aber sexy” (“Berlin is poor but sexy”) and opening its doors to newcomers of all shapes and sizes; today, Berlin has truly reaped the demographic rewards of such campaigns. The city has become a hub for musicians, technology and web entrepreneurs (Neate 2014), and has also become a magnet for the disillusioned, poor and hungry of Europe and the world searching for respite from financial crises, persecution and violent conflict (Martin and Hack 2015). Today, however, the promise of a “poor” but “sexy” life in Berlin remains an unfulfilled one for many people, particularly the estimated 16,000 homeless people who have no secure long-term residences (BAGW 2015; Stuermer et al. 2012: 6-7). The harsh everyday struggles of the poor and homeless in Berlin have been gradually overshadowed amidst the ongoing financial and refugee crises, the two most challenging crises for the Eurozone project we have yet seen (Fidler 2015; Kallis 2015).

This project hopes to reclaim a small space for the voices of some people who have experienced life on the streets in Berlin. This paper seeks to answer the research question, “Why do homeless people stay in the city centre and what influences their decisions regarding the places they stay at?” In order to answer this question, I carried out fieldwork in Berlin in May and June of 2015 with the aim of collecting data on informants' experiences of homelessness, their relations with other members of the community and their accounts of physical space and locations in the city.

This paper outlines the fieldwork procedures I used to access and collect data on homelessness in Berlin, presents my analysis and interpretation of key data collected, includes some insight on my positionality as a researcher and thoughts about further areas for development. In a small way, I hope to further our understanding of Berlin city as a space of contestation, with the long-term goal of contributing to the existing and growing body of academic knowledge about the ways in which people experience and navigate inclusion and exclusion within city spaces, whether these people are rich, poor, old, young, German or Syrian.

Background information on the project

I am a student of Global Studies and of urban anthropology and I consider myself an outsider to German society. It was thus eye-opening for me to learn

under the tutelage of J. Otto Habeck and Philipp Schröder in the course entitled, “Angst in the City: Ethnographic Research on Emotion and Exclusion in Hamburg and Berlin”, a collaborative effort between Hamburg University and Humboldt University of Berlin. Through a discussion of thinkers on research into emotions and on how the spatial turn impacted methodological, historical and sociological perspectives in Urban Anthropology, I came to a better understanding of how current social and demographic tensions in cities are very often indicators for multilevel political, economic and social flows in the country and the region and how these are experienced by people (Low 2014: 25-26; Bauman 2003: 4-6). Poignantly, Flusty writes about the construction of urban interdictory spaces “designed to intercept, repel or filter the would-be users” in order to “divide, segregate and exclude” (in Bauman 2003: 30-31). This research project was an opportunity for me to develop my interest in the ways in which people experience inclusion and exclusion within the city space of Berlin, how they view the city space as a region of interrelations of places and people, and how these reflect broader patterns of social inclusion and exclusion in urban spaces and communities.

Homelessness is a highly visible form of social exclusion in Germany and the world, and it is a growing problem compounded by ongoing economic and political problems. As of 2014, there were an estimated 335,000 people in Germany without secure long-term residences, including immigrants and transient persons, and this number is projected to increase to 540,000 in 2018 (BAGW 2016; Stuermer et al. 2005: 3-7); these numbers continue to climb in the context of world affairs today. Tasked with a collaborative project on homelessness in Berlin and Hamburg with my academic buddy, Natascha Bregy of Hamburg University, she and I collaborated to formulate a theoretical problem to investigate the tensions and boundaries of exclusion and inclusion of the homeless in city spaces (cf. Bregy, this issue). The research question we agreed on was “Why do homeless people stay in the city centre and what influences their decisions regarding the places they stay at?” We embarked on separate searches for data and fieldwork avenues, eventually coming together to analyse and present our findings at the end of the seminar.

Fieldwork procedures used to access and collect and present ethnographic data on homelessness in Berlin

Geographic and spatial data illuminates our understanding of relations between individuals and the communities they inhabit within specific geographical regions (Cromley 2013: 117-129). With this in mind, I embarked on a search for ways to access informants with data on spatial and relational ways in which they experience homelessness as a way of life in Berlin. I attempted contact with potential informants through informal means by approaching

them in person on the streets. I also attempted to access informants via institutionalised means by approaching organisations and representatives working with people who are homeless in Berlin.

I recognise the fact that people who may be indeed homeless may not always appear so, and likewise, people who appear homeless may not always indeed be homeless. As I did not have access to a clearly representative population of informants, I decided on a mix of convenience and purposive selection methods to identify relevant informants for my fieldwork. As my research question concerned lived experiences of homelessness in the city centre of Berlin, I started my search for informants in the Bahnhof Zoo area of central Berlin, the setting of a successful autobiographical non-fiction work, *Wir Kinder vom Bahnhof Zoo* (1979) by Christiane Felscherinow on her time living on the streets of Berlin. I approached five people who were selling copies of street magazines *Motz*, *Strassenfeger* and *Streem* on public-transport trains calling at Bahnhof Zoo, and also on the streets in the area around the station. Licensed sellers of these magazines are usually authorised by street magazine publishers who are part of the International Network of Street Papers. The aim of these organisations is to provide the urban homeless and unemployed with a source of empowerment and income, while increasing public awareness of related developments in social issues in support of various disadvantaged groups in society (INSP 2015). I reasoned that persons selling these magazines were more likely to be from the homeless population in Berlin, and were most suitable as target informants.

I went about approaching potential informants selling magazines at Bahnhof Zoo between 12pm and 4pm on a single day in May 2015. I first spent time observing the activities of people in a nondescript way by sitting at train station platforms and at the Bahnhof Zoo square, by identifying target informants selling magazines, whether on train platforms, on trains, or in front of high-traffic passage ways or shops, and by approaching them in person to explain my interest in interviewing them for the purpose of a paper on homelessness. During this time, I identified five informants. One informant was offering magazines for sale to people entering and exiting Bahnhof Zoo station on the street facing the main square. A second informant was walking around on the ground level and platform levels of the station respectively to approach potential buyers. On two separate occasions, I identified other informants who were actively walking through train cabins and announcing the sale of magazines. The informant with the clearest marketing strategy was selling magazines at the entrance of the bank branch in front of Bahnhof Zoo, greeting passers-by and opening doors for people entering and exiting the bank as a form of service. The rate of sales for all persons was slow, and I witnessed only two sales during this period of observation, with a few people offering small donations in place of purchasing a magazine.

My initial attempts to solicit information from five separate informants I approached on the streets were unsuccessful. After listening to my appeal for an interview, all of them politely rejected my request. After two initial rejections, I adapted my strategy in approaching the next three informants by purchasing a magazine from a potential informant before requesting an interview. This did not alter my success rate. Two of the informants offered a reason for their response, stating that they were busy and had no time for an interview. After tracking the informants' activities and my five unsuccessful attempts, I decided that an alternative approach to identifying informants would yield more success. Questions of access are an integral part of the research process, illuminating "how people view things, what they want you to see and what they do not, and how they understand your own role" (O'Reilly 2005: 90-91). My limited access thus provided interesting food for thought about my positionality as a researcher. A later section in this paper provides a more detailed analysis of my positionality and its effects on my outcomes.

Through my search for alternative entry points to access informants in the field with information on the homeless community, I located a range of non-profit institutions working to improve the welfare of people who are homeless in Berlin. These included street magazine publishers, organisations providing temporary shelter, food, clothing, first-aid and healthcare, as well as legal, psychiatric and employment counseling, among other services. I contacted two non-profit associations on their programmes, Motz Co. e.V. and querstadtein/ Stadtsichten e.V., and got in touch via email with representatives Sandra Rasch and Elfi Pec from querstadtein, a subsidiary of Stadtsichten e.V.

From the latter, I learnt about and participated in the organisation's series of walking tours on homelessness in Berlin. The objectives of the tours are educational and social. Formerly homeless guides offer groups of locals and tourists insights to how they occupied and understood the city space around them as homeless people. Through this process, these guides are given an avenue for income, as well as an opportunity to build greater empathy, understanding and solidarity between the homeless and the rest of the community. My data collection methods included informal, face-to-face interviews with informants, written and photographic collection of data on route selection and the significance of each stop on each tour, as well as spatial mapping of the routes of the tour.

During the tour, I spoke to my informants, Uwe Tobias and Dieter Bichler, as well as a representative from querstadtein present, Elfi Pec, about my paper and intention to write an anthropological essay based on Tobias's and Bichler's experiences of homelessness. Tobias, Bichler and Pec were open and helpful, and told me that while I could go ahead, it would be ideal if I could contact querstadtein for clarification on and approval for the use of the information I obtained. I later contacted Sandra Rasch of querstadtein via e-mail

with a version of this paper to formally ask for permission to use information on *querstadtein*, its programmes and its tour guides for this paper in the context of an academic publication. Consent was kindly given to me by Sandra Rasch in her email response, along with useful information and clarification on some important details specific to current homelessness statistics and to the context of Tobias's and Bichler's homelessness. Rasch's suggestions, as well as methodological and formal suggestions for improvement by my professors J. Otto Habeck and Philipp Schröder and *Ethnoscripts* reviewers and editors have been incorporated in the final version of this essay, which has greatly improved the accuracy and value of this paper. The following section presents key project data findings and interpretations.

Data findings and interpretations

I embarked on fieldwork with the aim of collecting data on informants' experiences of homelessness, their relations with other members of the community and their accounts of physical space and locations in the city. I conducted interviews and collected data primarily during two sessions, the first, titled "Draußen schlafen ist eine Kunst" ("Sleeping outside is an art"), on 23 May 2015 with Uwe Tobias in Berlin-Mitte, and the second, titled "Berlin City West", on 7 June 2015 with Dieter Bichler in Berlin-Charlottenburg.

Tobias and Bichler were 55 and 46 years old respectively at the time of my fieldwork. Both Tobias and Bichler grew up in and spent a large number of years living in cities of the German Democratic Republic, but they both now identify themselves as being Berliners, with Tobias speaking with a heavily localised "Berliner Schnauze" accent. Tobias previously lived on the streets of Berlin for seven years between 1991 and 1998, and Bichler lived on the streets of Berlin for three months in 2013. Tobias and Bichler both spoke of how their role as tour guides was a source of meaning for them, giving them a chance to gain control over their personal narratives and to shape the opinions of others on homelessness.

Each walking tour group led by Tobias and Bichler consisted of ten to twenty participants, and each session lasted approximately two hours. The format of each session saw each informant beginning the tour by sharing the historical and social contexts of the neighbourhoods the routes were situated in. Throughout the tour, multiple stops were made at sites in the city with accounts of the personal and historical significance of each location. There were opportunities throughout the tour for participants to ask questions, and the broader goal of the tours was to build greater empathy for the subjective experiences of homelessness. When given opportunities to ask Tobias and Bichler questions in a group or in a one-to-one situation, I explained my objective of investigating homelessness for the purpose of an essay, and obtained their verbal consent. I posed semi-structured questions regarding

the nature and effectiveness of networks offering support to people in need, their personal experiences of inclusion and exclusion as well as the forms and types of relationships they shared with people.

The data I collected during my fieldwork included geographical and contextual information on each route, as well as accounts of the subjective significance of each location. A comparison of the geographical routes taken provided an opportunity for me to analyse various forms of spatial inclusion and exclusion. The following two images indicate the route Tobias took (Fig. 1) and the route Bichler took (Fig. 2).

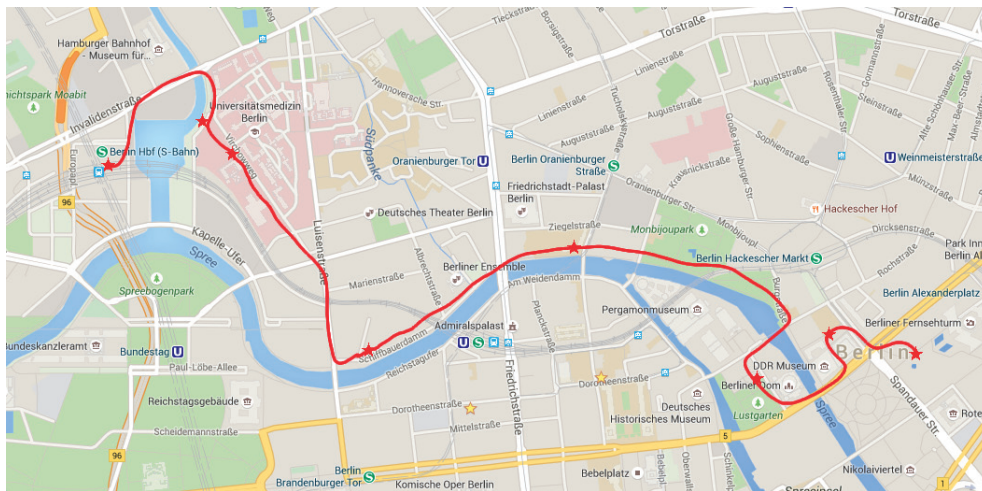


Fig. 1. Tobias's route from Berlin Hauptbahnhof to Neptunbrunnen, Berlin, with a length of three kilometres (GeoBasis-DE/BKG, 2009, annotations in red by C. Lum).

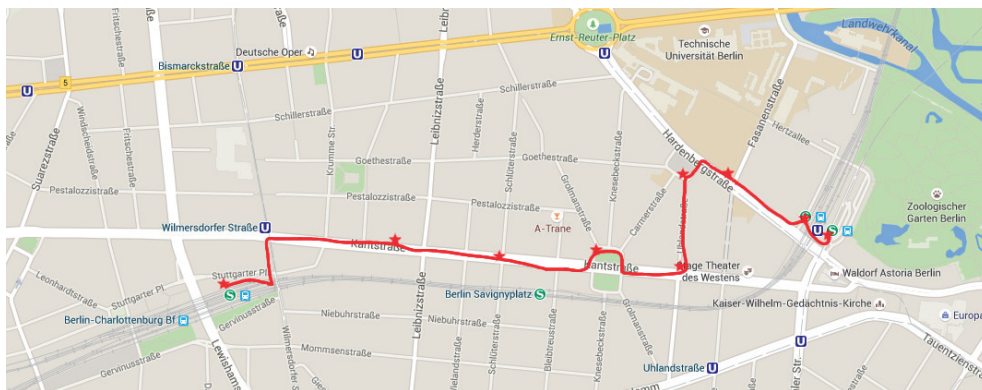


Fig. 2. Bichler's route from Bahnhof Zoologischer Garten to Stuttgarter Platz in Charlottenburg, Berlin, with a length of two kilometres (GeoBasis-DE/BKG, 2009, annotations in red by C. Lum).

Geographical radius

Each walking tour route covers a distance of between 2 to 3 kilometres, a spatial radius the significance of which I investigated through questions to Tobias and Bichler. These were typical of the daily routes Tobias and Bichler

travelled on foot as homeless people, but they represent only a fraction of what Tobias and Bichler walked each day. According to *querstadtein* correspondent Rasch, homeless people often walk for up to 30 km a day, especially if their income depends on bottle refunds, which require them to physically travel to obtain as many bottles as possible. The routes were therefore chosen to be both representative of the daily lives of Tobias and Bichler as homeless people as well as the format of a walking tour, even though both Tobias and Bichler would have liked for the tours to be longer.

While these routes represented a small proportion of the daily routes Tobias and Bichler used to take, I gathered some interesting information from both on aspects of spatial limitations they experienced as homeless people, which could not be fully reflected in the content and format of the tour: 1) homeless people are often denied access to public infrastructure, including public transportation and connectivity, resulting in them being physically restricted to a small geographical area; 2) homeless people find it a challenge to get far on foot as they usually have to consider logistical aspects of transportation, storage, and the security of their belongings; 3) in addition to the challenges above, my informants spoke of the physical and psychological stress of life on the streets, negatively impacting health and fitness, and which in turn affect the amount of energy one has to expend on physical movement; lastly, 4) homeless people are often preoccupied with the daily tasks of finding resources (food, shelter and income), and therefore often turn to familiar locations where they can be assured of access to resources. An investigation of the ways in which homeless people experience the use of city spaces further illuminates how such access is continually negotiated.

Spaces associated with access and denial of access to resources

The routes selected by both informants shared similarities in the types of locations included; each route included spaces where each informant lived, with spaces associated with access, as well as denial of access, to resources. Tobias and Bichler both gave accounts of spaces which were previously accessible to them for the purposes of sleeping, living and access to water or warmth, but from which they were subsequently denied access to (Fig. 3, 4 and 5). In addition to observations about the design of public infrastructure (Fig. 6) and surveillance and security systems (Fig. 5), these accounts were particularly striking examples of interdictory spaces in architectural design today, spaces “designed to intercept, repel or filter the would-be users” (Bauman, 2003: 30-31), illustrating the use of space as “instruments of social control” (Low, 2014: 18), exerting power and control over the behaviour of people.



Fig. 3. A bridge on Invalidenstraße, renovated to introduce physical barriers to limit access to a platform space under the bridge. The space was previously used by Tobias as a sleeping location. Photo: C. Lum



Fig. 4. An inner courtyard leading to an unoccupied building on Schiffbauerdamm, with makeshift fences erected to limit access to the courtyard. The space was previously used by Tobias as a sleeping location. Photo: C. Lum



Fig. 5. A gate across from Bahnhof Zoo, with a surveillance system set up to monitor and limit unauthorised loitering outside the gate and to restrict access to the courtyard. The space was previously used by Bichler as a sleeping location. Photo: C. Lum



Fig. 6. Examples of public installations designed to make spaces unsuitable for extended use. Tobias and Bichler pointed out the value of public installations large enough to sleep on and not directly in contact with the floor, providing a form of insulation against cold and damp weather for people who are homeless. Photos: C. Lum

Spaces associated with negotiated functions

Public spaces are usually designed for the needs of the majority of people in the community; in fact, spaces are sometimes designed to repel people whose use of spaces may be unauthorised (Bauman 2003: 30-31). Nevertheless, my informants showed themselves able to assert their contesting ways of occupying these spaces. My informants' accounts showed how they navigated and appropriated physical infrastructure for purposes that were sometimes unintended in the observable design of these spaces. Spaces were used 1) to negotiate personal visibility; 2) to create opportunities for innovative functions to fulfill particular needs; and 3) to serve as shared knowledge to be transmitted among members of the same group.



Fig. 7. Steinplatz, a park space along Hardenbergstraße with a layout and density of vegetation shielding users from potential passersby and from the noise of traffic. Photo: C. Lum

Tobias and Bichler highlighted instances in which public spaces were strategically occupied or utilised to fulfill specific needs. For instance, privacy is highly prized for people who live on the street, as they have little recourse from the uninvited gaze of strangers. Therefore, selected public places are used as semi-private spaces for the homeless to exert a degree of control over their visibility. Bichler identified two such places he often occupied as a homeless person in Berlin, Steinplatz (Fig. 7 and 8) and Savignyplatz (Fig. 9). The two-meter long benches at Savignyplatz were of particular value to



Fig. 8. A passer-by's obscured view of Steinplatz from Hardenbergstraße. Photo: C. Lum

Bichler and his companions, as they were one of the few suitable resting locations for one of his friends, Boris, who was 1.90 m tall – too tall to rest along the length of regular installations in the city.



Fig. 9. A park space at Savignyplatz along Kantstraße, with benches partially shielding its users' visibility. Photo: C. Lum

The ways in which my informants sought out spaces for alternative uses showed a great deal of innovation and strategising. Tobias and Bichler both shared how essential warm sleeping locations are for people who are homeless to endure and survive bitterly cold weather. The threat of one's body parts freezing from frostbite and one losing consciousness is real in winter as body temperatures fall when one sleeps, particularly if one has had little sustenance. The continuous flow of warm air through ventilation and exhaust vents at the sides of subway stations (Fig. 10) is therefore a highly valued resource, particularly essential for survival in cold weather. Other spaces too were appropriated for uses not originally intended. These included a location at the river Spree at Schiffbauerdamm, used by Tobias as an improvised refrigeration system in warm weather; Tobias used a shopping net to suspend items in the flowing water to keep them cool.



Fig. 10 Ventilation vents at Bahnhof Zoo, spaces with alternative uses as warm sleeping locations for Bichler in cold weather. Photo: C. Lum



Fig. 11 Location at Schiffbauerdamm along the river Spree used by Tobias as makeshift refrigeration system. Photo: C. Lum

Insider knowledge about these spaces and their alternative uses was transmitted among members of in-groups that my informants belonged to, and fellow homeless people also accessed and used these spaces to serve their needs. Access to such knowledge transmissions signals a form of community membership and inclusion, both of which are probably vital for the emotional and physical wellbeing of people who are living on the streets.

The physical infrastructure of the city seems to exert power over the amount of autonomy, behaviour and mobility of people who are homeless, and the people subject to such power constellations struggle to assert legitimacy and control over the spaces they inhabit and their ways of being. “For them, it is inside the city they inhabit that the battle for survival and a decent place in the world is launched, waged, won or lost” (Bauman 2003: 17). My informants’ strategies oftentimes served to fulfill their own needs while simultaneously contesting prescribed uses of space. These findings are illustrative of the ways in which a space can be “a potentiality for social relations” (Low 2014: 21), and how the analysis of space – and how spaces are inhabited or used – illuminates power relations within a society.

Reflections on data, positionality and social context

During my study, I found that, even in my research process, the dynamics of inclusion and exclusion were at play. To assess the validity of my data and interpretations resulting from this project, it is useful for me to present reflections on possible limitations of my study.

Considering the positionality of informants is a key consideration in assessing the broader validity and relevance of the data collected. It is therefore relevant to consider how Tobias’s and Bichler’s experiences may be particular to them, limiting broader generalisation to homelessness studies. Tobias previously lived on the streets of Berlin for seven years between 1991 and 1998, a period briefly after the reunification of Germany. Berlin in the 1990s was sociologically, politically and economically different, and the experiences Tobias had during this time are embedded in a particular context of social change greatly different from the current social problems faced by Berlin today. Bichler lived on the streets of Berlin for three months in 2013, a more recent period compared to that of Tobias. Bichler’s experience of homelessness, therefore, while being shorter in duration from that of Tobias, has more inflections of current socio-political trends in the varied migrant make-up of his social network while being homeless, even if these may not fully capture ongoing socio-political trends which Berlin is a part of. Thus, while Tobias and Bichler both have had experience living on the streets of Berlin for an extended amount of time and are familiar with ongoing struggles of the low-income group of people in Berlin, they both have various “outsider” vantage points which may differ from the experiences of current communities of

people who are homeless, particularly in the context of the current influx of refugees, the resulting straining of social welfare systems, as well as evolving political and social perceptions of “otherness” in Europe and Berlin. These differences in Tobias’s and Bichler’s accounts could produce some variations in perceptions of homelessness from that of homeless people today, whether through conscious or subconscious distancing from or misrepresentation of the current realities of homelessness.

To address this methodological question, I asked my informants Tobias and Bichler on their current levels of involvement with people who are homeless in order to assess their perceptions of their relationship to homelessness today. Furthermore, I asked Elfi Pec, one of the two representatives from querstadtein, on the possibility of engaging people who are currently homeless in the organisation of the tours. My findings revealed an interesting tension between insider and outsider statuses, as well as visibility and invisibility in identifying people of the homeless community. Bichler is currently in touch with friends who are homeless, and he actively forges relationships with homeless people he encounters regularly, reaching out to them as a supporter and informed confidante. Tobias is similarly in touch with friends who were previously homeless as he was, but not with current homeless people, as he expressed a wish to disassociate himself with his own emotional struggles during his time living on the street, and to avoid risking relapsing into previous habits of alcoholism.

Both responses showed an interesting polarisation of insider/outsider statuses within the homeless community, as Bichler was more willing to be visibly associated with the community in his daily life, something which gives him a sense of purpose and value (Bichler has been featured in a series of YouTube videos – “Frag ein Klischee” – in which he debunks misconceptions people have of the homeless. One of these, “Frag einen Obdachlosen: Warum stinken Obdachlose?” can be found at this URL: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2OFElxemVYM>). In addition, according to Bichler and querstadtein representative Pec, fear of visibility is one of the key reasons why recruitment of current homeless people to guide visitors on querstadtein’s city tours has had limited success. According to them, it is more challenging for a person directly living on the street to offer him- or herself to public scrutiny, a result of pervasive perceptions of social stigma associated with homelessness. It is thus important to recognise that this paper’s account of homelessness presents only a limited perspective on the issue, which more in-depth studies can meaningfully supplement.

Additionally, issues of self-reflexivity and my unique positionality as a researcher are relevant considerations in assessing the validity of my findings. My two key informants were both male, aged between 45 and 55, of German nationality, grown up in the German Democratic Republic as part of the working class, and both underwent vocational training and took on

largely unskilled work. As a young female of visibly foreign background, with intermediate language competencies in German and a stated intention to present the information I have collected in an academic context, my profile identified me clearly as an outsider to my informants, with a limited range of comparable social experiences. I felt discomfort at my visible difference, as I entered the field from a privileged class position, which was possibly empathically and intellectually alienating. Sociologist Diane L. Wolf (1996) explains that in ethnographic studies, the ethnographer could in fact be the subject of observation, an “other” which is simultaneously being observed by his or her target study group, potentially shaping or influencing the behaviour and identity construction of informants (in Hoefinger 2013: 43). My positionality, the question of insider/outsider statuses and possible associations of visibility with social stigma, could all account for my initial obstacles in gaining consenting informants willing to share their views with me, and could be a relevant consideration in evaluating how my informants’ portrayal of themselves and their accounts could have been shaped, consciously or not, in response to my presence as an observer. This aspect of ethnographic data collection can be corrected through greater longitudinal studies, with the researcher observing informants across a range of contexts over time, a future project which can be undertaken by a more ambitious study of a similar nature.

Lastly, it is worth recognising that my informants’ accounts were personal narratives, consciously constructed and delivered to an audience with clear organisational objectives. The narrative, subjective nature of such accounts may, on first appearance, be troubling to a social scientist seeking facts that can be empirically proven or disproven. While there is admittedly a need for factual corroboration to ensure that follow-up investigative research is feasible, perceptions of the reality can also be of great value to social scientists, particularly those engaging in ethnographic studies. Epistemological claims to truth are also often troubled, particularly in studies involving identity and self-perception, and, as Kirstan Hawkins and Neil Price explain, sometimes, “truth is not as important as perceptions” (in Hoefinger 2013: 45), and information gathered about informants’ “perceptions of their self-image, agency, decision-making power and status” could be of equal value to truth claims (Hoefinger 2013: 45). From such studies, the ethnographer is given privileged access to how “people view things, what they want you to see and what they do not, and how they understand your own role” (O’Reilly 2005: 90-91). As such, subjective ethnographic accounts are a form of data co-constructed between the researcher and his or her informants, and the outcome of such data has the potential, in combination with statistically verifiable data, to enrich our understanding of discourses surrounding contemporary issues in society and anthropology.

Conclusion and considerations for further areas for development

The considerations of validity of data, positionality and social context above lend themselves to a consideration of possibilities for future development. “Ethnography is essentially a relationship-building exercise” (O’Reilly 2005: 100). Due to the objectives of the course and practical limitations, the duration of my fieldwork was intentionally short and limited to specific contexts. A longitudinal study of informants across time, whether the informants be people currently homeless or people with prior experience of being homeless, will definitely contribute greater value to the field of social anthropological fieldwork, correcting some of the shortfalls of this project mentioned above, and contributing to the existing growing body of academic knowledge about the ways in which people experience and navigate inclusion and exclusion within city spaces.

The very real ways in which physical environments regulate human behaviour, as discussed in this paper, are reminiscent of Foucault’s concepts of governance, biopolitics and subject interpellation of the *homo economicus* (2008), with an assumption of the “intelligibility of [all] behavior as economic behavior” (p. 152) that is rational and responsive to external power centres. This presents two key areas for further investigation in spatialities research of homelessness: 1) the self-perception of homeless people of their marginal place in the economic order of their society; and 2) the perception and nature of danger and fear of people living on the streets, and how such landscapes of fear shape their behaviour and self perception (see Bregy, this issue). Low (2014: 23) discusses how the nature of fear is physically manifested in “new defensive spatial designs, the erosion of public space through privatisation and securitisation, and memorials that constitute and reinforce affective responses to the built environment”. Inclusion and exclusion of the homeless, as portrayed by my informants Tobias and Bichler, reflected the ways in which homeless people encounter acute instances in which they are given or denied access to social groups, resources and spaces. Both accounts presented a retelling of physical and psychological inclusion and exclusion through space, illustrating the intimate ways in which physical spaces shape subjective experiences, as well as the transmission of knowledge about safe and dangerous zones and spaces to navigate and negotiate one’s marginal place within a hostile society. The investigation of fear and the subject interpellation of people who are homeless will provide much value to the study of modern social organisation of resources, spaces and people, revealing the vulnerabilities of an often overlooked group of people in society.

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Exploring the Russian Network at the Dreesch, a suburb of Schwerin

Carmen Ziegler

(translated and edited by Joachim Otto Habeck)

Introduction: Post-Soviet Migrants in a German City

My contribution to the seminar entitled “Angst in the City” is a small-scale network analysis that I conducted in my home city, Schwerin, with the aim to identify social relations among people with post-Soviet migratory background in one of the city’s residential areas.

To contextualise this research, a short summary of the history of migration from the ex-Soviet Union to Germany must be given. In 1989, approx. 2,039,000 ethnic Germans lived in the Russian Federal Socialist Republic (RSFSR), the Ukrainian SSR and Kazakh SSR and other parts of the Soviet Union (Goskomstat 1990). Already before, but mainly after the reunification of Germany, the federal government pursued a policy of re-integrating German diaspora groups, granting German citizenship to virtually everyone who could prove a certain percentage of German ancestorship. In line with an unofficial ceiling of 200,000 immigrants per year, throughout the 1990s and early 2000s ethnic Germans and their relatives migrated from Russia, Kazakhstan, etc. to Germany, reaching an overall number of approximately 2.3 million (Darieva 2005: 154-155). Since newcomers showed the tendency to follow those who had already settled down, some villages, towns, and urban districts in Germany have a markedly higher percentage of migrants from the former Soviet Union than others. Not only ethnic Germans, but also ethnic Russians and Jews from the former Soviet Union (Darieva 2004) came to live in Germany. Predominantly, and as well in the case presented here, their language of communication is Russian, not depending on whether or not they have German citizenship. In my research project I define the “Russian network” as potentially comprising all those who came to the research area (see next paragraph) from the Soviet Union and its successor states at any point of time since 1989.

The research site is a suburb of Schwerin. With currently 92,000 inhabitants, Schwerin is a medium-sized city in the northeast of Germany. Its significance stems from the fact that it used to be the capital of one of the 14 districts of the German Democratic Republic (GDR) and is now the capital of Mecklenburg-West Pomerania, one of the federal states of Germany. Owing to Schwerin’s status of a district centre, considerable investments were made in the construction of housing. As in other GDR cities, residential blocks were erected in the mode of *Plattenbau* (English translation: prefab, light

panel, or slab buildings). The largest of the *Plattenbau* areas of Schwerin was constructed between 1971 and 1983 and came to be known as *Großer Dreesch* or simply *Dreesch*. Located 3 to 4 kilometers off the historic city centre of Schwerin, the *Dreesch* used to be considered one of the most beautifully designed residential areas of the GDR, offering flats which were better equipped than older buildings in Schwerin. Following German unification, however, the *Dreesch* gradually came to be seen as unattractive, leading to a massive outmigration of former inhabitants to the newly reconstructed city centre of Schwerin or to West Germany. Today, many residents of Schwerin perceive the *Dreesch* as a “problematic” area. They see it as a hotspot of unemployed persons, a high number of people with migratory background, and “people who do not look after their children”, as I heard residents of Schwerin sometimes say. As the city council of Schwerin has neglected a sustainable communal-housing policy, inexpensive living space is rare. In consequence, low-income households move to *Plattenbau* areas such as the *Dreesch* because rents are relatively low there.

In addition, it must be mentioned that there has been a considerable increase of people with migratory background in the city of Schwerin since 1993. In that year, the percentage of migrants was 1.4%, whereas in 2003, it had risen to 4.2% (an increase by 150%). In the district Neu Zippendorf, which is part of the *Dreesch* of Schwerin, the percentage of migrants is 14,2 %, which is the highest concentration of migrants in Mecklenburg-West Pomerania. The dominant countries of origin are the Ukraine and Russia (Gerdes and Jakisch 2005). As of December 2015, Schwerin has around 92.000 inhabitants, 6000 of which have non-German citizenship and another 2000 of which are so called *Russlanddeutsche* (Hasselmann 2015), i.e. ethnic Germans from Russia and, in extension, other successor states of the Soviet Union, with German citizenship.

I have been acquainted with the *Dreesch* and its inhabitants for several years. Through voluntary work with “Bauspielplatz Schwerin e.V.” – an open-access centre for children and youths – I have come to know many local families, including those with a post-Soviet migratory background.

The idea for this research started from the observation that these migrants’ patterns of social organisation, distribution, and consumption of goods seemed to differ from those who do not speak Russian as everyday language. In other words: people from the former Soviet Union seem to be more closely economically connected among themselves than those who do not have that regional background. They seem to know each other and often coordinate their activities in ways different from those of long-term resident (German-speaking) Germans. I observed that when problems arose, many of them knew different people whom to ask for support. When, for example, bureaucratic requirements of the employment agency changed, they informed each other to make sure that everyone who belongs to them would share the

knowledge. Further, I had the impression that they use their connections in resourceful ways. Compared to the German colleagues they seemed to have a much bigger and complex network. In my perception, what unites them so strongly is their common Soviet origin and use of the Russian language.

I also observed that their children visited the Bauspielplatz less frequently than “local” German kids (if at all). My colleagues at the Bauspielplatz assumed that the migrants’ children had no time for playing at the Bauspielplatz because they were sent to “good” schools in the city centre and encouraged by their parents to spend their afternoons with sports, music school and extra tuition. My curiosity led me to ask whether there really is such a thing as a Russian network at the *Dreesch*, and if so, how does it function? The seminar with the title “Angst in the City” (see Schröder and Habeck, this issue) gave me the opportunity to investigate these questions.

Before continuing, a few terms and concepts should be specified. The term “Russian network” will be applied to all those with post-Soviet migratory background, be they of German, Russian or another ethnic belonging (in fact, residents of Schwerin use the term “Russians” for all those who use Russian as language of communication, regardless of ethnic affiliation). It may be presumed that they share not only a good command of Russian but also a specific socialist cultural history. Moreover, the Soviet socialist experience, I argue, continues to exert an influence on patterns of distribution and consumption.

A further remark concerns the *Dreesch*, which is used here to include three administrative units of Schwerin: *Großer Dreesch* proper, Neu Zippendorf and Mueßer Holz. My observations and interviews are limited to these three *Plattenbau* areas, and due to the short period of research, I did not interview post-Soviet migrants in other parts of Schwerin.



Figure 1: A square with *Plattenbau* buildings characteristic for this part of the *Dreesch*.

In what follows, I shall first briefly describe the way in which I used the method of network analysis for this research. Thereafter, I will present the results of my network analysis and the observations I made during four weeks of field research.

Research Method and Implementation

Network Analysis

My starting point was the question whether there exists a Russian network at the *Dreesch*. This question can be examined through network analysis. In order to identify the possible existence of networks, it is important to get a general grasp of the structures that shape people's everyday life. Modes of interaction can be of various kinds, ranging from love and intimate relations to the exchange of foodstuffs and the cooperation between corporate organisations. The goal of network analysis is to identify exactly in which ways particular actors or subgroups are engaged in the different modes of interaction. This first step of explanation is often followed by a second, which seeks to explain how the networks have come into being (Schnegg 2008: 210).

Network analysis works with an important assumption: individual actions can be more easily understood if the social relations between the actors are known. Social relations have the potential to engender agency, in that they provide access to resources of material or immaterial kind. By the same token, social relations (re-)constitute social structures, which limit the range of possible actions for an individual as they entail certain obligations and expectations (Schnegg 2008: 210). In order to understand how a network comes into being and what influence it exerts on actors' options in different fields, it does not suffice to have knowledge about the actors' interrelatedness. Basic data about the individuals or groups, such as gender, age or age cohort, citizenship etc. are needed to make sense of existing modes of relatedness. Moreover, dependent on the research question, it may be required to collect more complex data on individuals and groups, for example on their norms and values, attitudes, and motivations (Schnegg 2008: 210). In my study, individuals' activities and their participation in certain micro-cultures¹ reflect basic attitudes and motivations (see below).

A fundamental difference must be made between complete network analysis and egocentric networks, which require different strategies of data collection and analysis. As part of a complete network analysis, the task is to identify all modes of social relations that each actor

1 Microcultures are cultures connected with groups that form for a large variety of reasons and take up part of the members' time. Members need to learn specific cultural knowledge to be able to interact with other members (McCurdy, Spradley and Shandy 2005: 15).

of a given group maintains with every other actor within the group. By contrast, to describe a personal network, the task is to identify all social relations of an actor of a given group with any other actor, regardless of whether or not the latter belongs to the group in question (Schneegg and Lang 2002: 7). Initially I meant to study a complete network, but for reasons explained below, I had to divert from that plan. Instead, I elicited personal networks on the basis of an admittedly small sample, consisting of 10 individuals. During my interviews I wanted to connect the questions about social relations with my local experiences. This will be discussed in the following section.

Research Instruments

Data collection took place in June 2015. I conducted interviews following a predefined guideline that comprises six different categories of questions:

- (1) age, sex, citizenship, household size and average monthly monetary income;
- (2) participation in “micro cultures”, notably the frequency of the interviewee’s or family members’ involvement in collective religious, sportive or music activities, visits to the inner city of Schwerin as well as occasional journeys to the former Soviet Union;
- (3) hypothetical situations that help elicit intended relations in the fields of instrumental support, of advice in crucial situations of decision-making, of intensive emotional support, and lastly, the wider social environment;
- (4) a mapping exercise, within which interviewees were to mark the location of their place of work and the homes of the individuals mentioned under (3) on a map of Schwerin;
- (5) two questions on the language of communication at work and during private occasions;
- (6) finally, a question as to which public spaces of Schwerin are used and for what purpose.

Finding participants for my research was a task more difficult than expected. Initially, my idea was to apply the snowball method in order to use one interviewee for getting me acquainted with others, ultimately with the hope to arrive at a complete network. Notwithstanding my arrangements with a key informant prior to the beginning of my research, this approach did not work out: the contacts of my key informant signalled they had no time or no interest, and sometimes the language barrier was too high (i.e. my knowledge of Russian and theirs of German/English did not suffice to communicate). Therefore, I decided to create my “field” in a different way, approaching individuals directly in three shops that sell Russian foodstuffs and other goods (among these *Berezka*, i.e. Birch Tree, depicted on Figure 2). Additionally,

I contacted interviewees through voluntary educational associations (*Ver-eine*). These associations are specialised on educational programmes for children and adults and different cultural activities.

No longer being able to chart a complete network, I decided to pursue and document personal networks. Owing to the failure of the initial approach, the overall number of interviewees turned out to be rather small. However, even this decreased sample already offers a few insights on the existence and particularities of a “Russian network”, reported in the next section.



Figure 2: Berezka food shop at the *Dreesch*, one of the shops where interviewees were contacted for this study

I conducted structured and partly semi-structured interviews, wrote down the interviewees’ replies and/or let them enter the reply (e.g. for the mapping exercise). Further, I entered the data in Microsoft Excel and compiled them. The compilation process also facilitated a higher degree of anonymity of my interviewees.

Results

Network Analysis Results

Of my 10 interviewees, 70% are between 20 and 40 years of age; 60% are women and 40% are men. Except for one informant with German citizen-

ship all informants hold citizenship of a post-Soviet state: 30% come from Ukraine, 20% from Russia, 20% from Kyrgyzstan, 10% from Azerbaijan and 10% from Belarus. 30% are unemployed and 40% are divorced (with all of the unemployed informants being divorced). 70% have a regular source of income from work. The average monthly monetary income is between 900 and 1200 Euro in 40% of all cases. 20% of the informants have an even lower, 20% a higher income and 20% did not give precise information. As regards the relation between household size and income in my sample, households that consist of one or two persons have an average income of 900-1200 Euro per month. At least 50 % of the households with three or more members have an income over 1200 Euro.

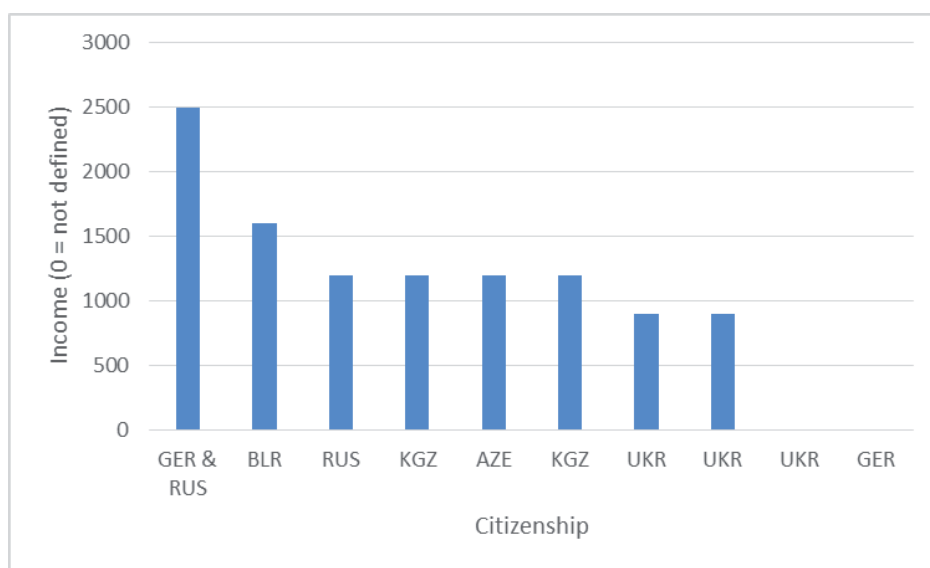


Figure 3: Monetary Income of Interviewees. Note: GER & RUS refers to an individual with double citizenship.

Of particular importance are the results about leisure activities and/or the participation in certain “microcultures”. The following data show that connectedness and networking works particularly strongly in this area through participation in certain microcultures.

Only one informant claimed to be member of a political party or organisation, and it was exactly this question that usually caused a certain awkwardness in interview situations, as will be explained below. However, more than half of the respondents stated that they are working as volunteers, for example giving computer courses or helping children with their homework. Additionally, more than half play or teach a music instrument. 80% of the interviewed people occasionally use the area of the city centre. It also turned out that 80% from time to time visit the countries of the former Soviet Union where they had grown up.

| Informant Number | Religious Community | Sport/Fitness | Political Activities | Voluntary Work | Music School | Visits to City Centre | Travelling to former region of residence |
|------------------|---------------------|---------------|----------------------|----------------|--------------|-----------------------|--|
| 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 2 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| 3 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| 4 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| 5 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| 6 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 7 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 8 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| 9 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| 10 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Percentage | 20% | 40% | 10% | 60% | 50% | 80% | 80% |

Figure 4: Microcultures (discussed below)

The questions of Category (3) were to prompt the interviewees to name people who are part of their personal network. On average, interviewees mentioned 7.8 contacts. Interestingly, there is a telling difference between those employed and those unemployed: the former named 8.4 contacts on average, while the latter named only 6.3. Keeping in mind the limited number of interviewees, it nonetheless seems appropriate to assume that unemployed individuals have less contact than those with a job. Moreover, low income implies a lesser degree of connectedness: of those interviewees with low income (900 to 1200 euros), 50% named only three different individuals whom they would contact when in need of support. A further significant result of this block of questions is that women were more likely to name female contacts whereas men were slightly more likely to name male contacts.

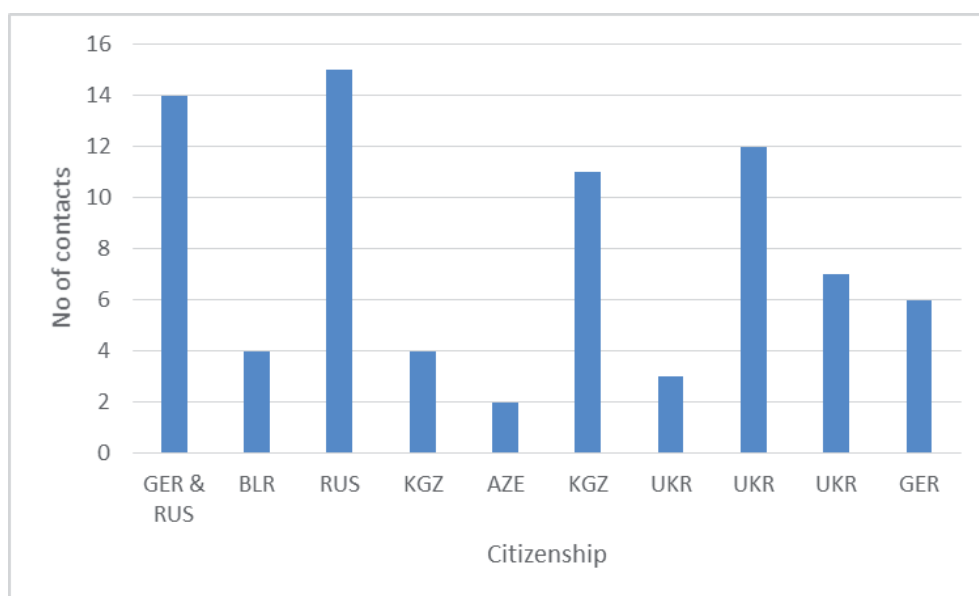


Figure 5: Contacts. Note: GER & RUS refers to an individual with double citizenship.

Highly interesting are the results of the mapping question (4), where the informants had to draw their place of work and social contacts elicited in (3) into a map of Schwerin.² The results show that all informants have contacts to people living at the *Dreesch*, but only 40% have contacts outside this area.

| Informant Number | Place of Residence | | Contacts Living at | |
|---------------------|--------------------|-----------|--------------------|-------------|
| | Home | Workplace | Dreesch | City Center |
| 1 | Stadt | Dreesch | 1 | 1 |
| 2 | Dreesch | Dreesch | 1 | 0 |
| 3 | Dreesch | Dreesch | 1 | 0 |
| 4 | Dreesch | Dreesch | 1 | 0 |
| 5 | Dreesch | Dreesch | 1 | 0 |
| 6 | Dreesch | Dreesch | 1 | 0 |
| 7 | Dreesch | Dreesch | 1 | 1 |
| 8 | Dreesch | Dreesch | 1 | 0 |
| 9 | Dreesch | Dreesch | 1 | 1 |
| 10 | Dreesch | Dreesch | 1 | 1 |
| Total | | | 100% | 40% |

Figure 6: Mapping social contacts at the *Dreesch* and City Centre (1 = social contacts exist, 0 = social contacts do not exist). “Stadt” is a German shorthand for city centre.

Reflections on Some Results – and on Fieldwork

It is well established in Social Anthropology that “the field” is always influenced to some extent by the appearance and the behaviour of the individual(s) exploring it. During my interviews I had the feeling that the description of my study and my university background led to some sort of insecurity or even alienation among potential interviewees, while the circumstance that I was born in the GDR and grew up in Schwerin implied some shared socialist biographical background. In combination with this, my (limited) command of Russian created some atmosphere of proximity.

What bewildered me was the fact that some potential interviewees, even though working in the shops of the *Dreesch*, had no or almost no command of German language; consequently, they had to resort to gestures to make clear they would be willing to participate in my research.

Repeatedly I made the experience that basic questions about age and citizenship were easy enough to produce a positive atmosphere. The question about income was uncomfortable – for me perhaps more than for my interlocutors, many of whom replied to this question in a relaxed and straightforward manner.

Conspicuously laconic were most interviewees’ responses as to their personal contacts. Some of them replied “my family” (i.e. some individual within the nuclear family) to nearly every question of whom to ask for help

² One informant had just recently moved to the city centre; before, this person had also been living at the *Dreesch* for a long time.

in different situations of need. It appeared to me that many interviewees had little or no contact to any “local” (non-migrant) residents.

In response to the question where people usually do their shopping, supermarkets were mentioned almost exclusively. Berezka and other Russian shops are known to all interviewees, but they are less used for daily provisions than for special occasions and events.

Of particular interest is the fact that my questions concerning the interviewees’ membership in political organisations were not only denied (except in one case) but also triggered people to say, “no, I am neutral”, “I am not into politics” etc. My question about religious commitment was met with similar responses. I was amazed by these abrupt reactions. Perhaps these can be explained by the Soviet and post-Soviet socialisation of my interviewees: religious commitment was officially not welcomed, and talks about politics were limited to informal situations while support to people in power was usually performed as a token commitment (Yurchak 2006). Perhaps my interviewees generally perceive religion and politics as uncomfortable topics, to be addressed only once a trustful basis of communication has been established. During a longer conversation, one interviewee did start talking about religious issues, mentioning her Jewish background and the fact that recently a Russian Orthodox Church was opened in Schwerin. This interview, along with some others, made me think about my role as a female researcher: my conversations with women appeared to bear the potential to become deeper and more trustful than with male interviewees. This observation resonates with the insight that female interviewees are more likely to name female individuals when being asked about whom they call on for personal support.

Conclusion

What emerges from the limited set of data is the fact that people with a migrant (post-)Soviet background living at the *Dreesch* are likely to have contacts with people from within the area, and more often than not with people who share a post-Soviet background. Consumption opportunities seem limited, whereas the distribution of resources and reciprocity of favours are of high importance for my interviewees, which is at least partly owed to the low average of household income. The degree of activities in associations (*Ver-eine*) is relatively high, but the family is the centre of social life. If in need of material or emotional support or advice, many would first ask family members and only then friends and neighbours.

As to the question if there is such a thing as a Russian-speaking network at the *Dreesch*, this is surely the case, and what is characteristic for this network is a quite high degree of *local* connectedness in combination with transnational ties between this place and a multitude of places in the former Soviet Union. Familial bonds are of pivotal importance: they are the

economic glue that I tried to identify in my initial hypothesis. Children are induced to participate in associations and become integrated into the network, as are their parents through engagement in microcultures. For most of my interviewees, familial connections are of multiplex character, though there is a slight tendency of gender-specific support, with women providing particularly strong support to each other.

With regard to the research experience, interviewing involved several situations when interlocutors were uncomfortable or even shy. Anthropological field research over a longer period of time would create more trust, and participation in one of the diverse associations (*Vereine*) would be a more productive strategy for developing rapport with Russian-speaking individuals. Such an approach seems to be valuable for exploring networks at the *Dreesch* in more detail, which is definitely a worthwhile endeavour for future research.

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Appendix

1. Questionnaire: Basic Data

| 1. Age | 2. Gender | 3. Citizenship | 6. Household Size | 7. Monthly Income [in euros] |
|-----------|--------------|---------------------|----------------------|------------------------------------|
| under 20 | M | | 6.1. | 0-900 |
| 20-40 | F | 4. | Marital Status | 900-1200 |
| 40-60 | Not | Professional | | 1200-1600 |
| 60-80 | defined | Sphere | 6.2. | 1600-2500 |
| | | | Number of | 2500-3500 |
| | | 5. | Household | 3500 + |
| | | Employment | Members | |
| | | Status | | |
| | | | 6.3. | |
| | | | Number of | |
| | | | Children | |
| | | | | |

2. Micro-Cultures: How often do you/does your family visit...?

| | Where? (Location) | | At least once per week | | At least every 2 weeks | | At least once per month | | Rarely | |
|-------------------------|----------------------|--------|------------------------|--------|------------------------|--------|-------------------------|--------|--------|--------|
| | You | Family | You | Family | You | Family | You | Family | You | Family |
| Religious Activities | | | | | | | | | | |
| Sportive Activities | | | | | | | | | | |
| Political Activities | | | | | | | | | | |
| Volunteering | | | | | | | | | | |
| Music Schools | | | | | | | | | | |
| Visits to Inner City | | | | | | | | | | |
| Journeys to Former Home | | | | | | | | | | |
| Other | | | | | | | | | | |

3. Personal Networks (questionnaire adapted from Schnegg and Lang 2002: 19)

1. Let us assume you were in need of help in home-improvement matters, such as moving a large piece of furniture or installing a lamp. Whom would you ask for help? (Which ethnic group does the person identify with?)
2. Let us assume you had difficulties with filling in a form, e.g. for the job centre. Whom would you ask for help? (Which ethnic group...?)
3. Let us assume you were in need for advice in a very important matter, such as changing your job or relocating to a different place. Whom would you ask for help? (Which ethnic group...?)
4. Let us assume you were ill and unable to do your daily shopping. Whom would you ask for help? (Which ethnic group...?)
5. If you were to borrow money, whom would you ask? (Which ethnic group...?)
6. Who do you go with to a restaurant, for a walk, shopping, or go out with? (Which ethnic group...?)
7. Whom do you meet at least once per month (visiting, playing cards, shopping, etc.)? (Which ethnic group...?)
8. Of the people you know, has anyone recently moved house? If yes, who? From where to where? (Which ethnic group...?)
9. Apart from those already mentioned, who else would you ask for help?
10. Do you have non-Russian [-speaking] friends?
11. Do you have children? If yes, where do they go to school?
12. Where do you regularly buy foodstuffs?
13. Which are you closest five contacts?
14. How often and for how long do you travel “home”?

4. Mapping

On the map below, please mark your place of work and the homes of the individuals you just mentioned. [Interviewees were given a print-out map of Schwerin, source: https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Datei:Ortsteile_Schwerin_Karte.png, scale: c. 1:80,000]

5. Language Skills

Which languages do you speak at home/with friends/while not at work (privat):

German: _____

English: _____

Russian: _____

Which languages do you speak at work:

German: _____

English: _____

Russian: _____

6. Public Spaces

Which public spaces in Schwerin do you use frequently? For what purpose?

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Bad Romance: The Love-Hate Relationship Between Inhabitants of St. Pauli and Their Infamous Hamburg Neighbourhood

Dumitrița Luncă

Introduction

St. Pauli (Sankt Pauli) is the most renowned neighbourhood in Hamburg and possibly in Germany, frequented by tourists and inhabitants alike. To the west and northwest, St. Pauli is bordered by Altona, a rather bohemian neighbourhood, now heavily gentrified, while to the east and northeast lay Neustadt and Rotherbaum, the city's cultural and administrative centres (see Figure 1). Sternschanze, a small neighbourhood situated in the north, is administratively and historically also part of St. Pauli, but has a different spirit and identity, which both inhabitants and visitors clearly identify when they talk about where they live or where they go to have a cup of coffee (Dombrowski 2004: 97). To the south, St. Pauli is bordered by the Elbe River and its harbour, a vicinity which has been instrumental in the crafting of the neighbourhood's character. Situated right outside the walls of the Free and Hanseatic city of Hamburg, some of the first dwellings in St. Pauli, established in the 18th century, were concentrated around the port and were inhabited by dock workers (Goritz 2004: 51-91). The harbour continues to be an intrinsic part of the identity of St. Pauli, as well as one of its major tourist destinations and economic sectors. The other major tourist attraction and financial resource is the night-life industry, which thrives in the *Kiez*, an area situated around the neighbourhood's most important artery, the Reeperbahn – sometimes called *die sündigste Meile*.¹ A third important facet, on which I unfortunately do not touch in this text, is represented by the eponymous football club, which is almost universally loved in the neighbourhood for their sportsmanship, as well as their social and political stances (Tschuschke 2004: 144-161).

By day, the streets in the *Kiez* are populated by tourists of all ages, business men and women, homeless people and inhabitants from all strata of society. At night, St. Pauli becomes the city's red light district. It becomes the realm of loud music and late-night *Döner Kebaps*,² of party people, of girls in uncomfortable high heels, rowdy bachelor and bachelorette parties, buskers, drug dealers, sex workers and their clients. St. Pauli can be dangerous and charming at the same time. St. Pauli is an area of stark contrasts, with luxury hotels and office buildings, with chic apartments, grocery shops,

1 In German: "the most sinful mile".

2 A popular Turkish dish consisting of meats, assorted vegetables and sauces wrapped in a flat bread.

kindergartens, hairdressers, ice cream parlours, jewellery design ateliers and small cafés, as well as with many bars, clubs, BDSM studios, sex shops and brothels. It is a coveted piece of real estate and many natives of Hamburg, as well as newcomers, long to live in this heart of the city. Some even talk of a “*Mythos St. Pauli*”³ – the overarching *idea* of St. Pauli, as propagated in the media, in commercials, by tour-group companies and even inhabitants, an idea which includes sex, drugs, gang violence, human trafficking, alcohol consumption, as well as tolerance, brotherhood, diversity, openness, uniqueness (Dombrowski 2004: 101; Pröpper 2004: 110-143).

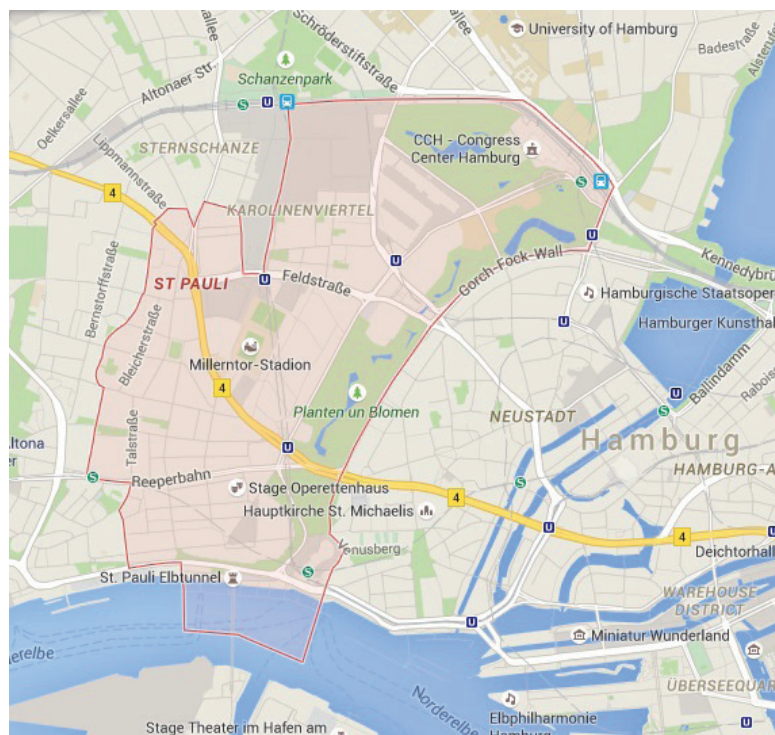


Figure 1: Map of St. Pauli, tucked between the neighbourhoods of Neustadt, Sternschanze, Altona, Rotherbaum and the Elbe River

This research project stems from my desire to understand the neighbourhood I myself accidentally inhabit for the past year. In October 2014, I had already been living in Hamburg for a year, but was desperately searching for a room to rent. I finally, half-reluctantly, found one on Simon-von-Utrecht-Straße, only a few minutes away from the Reeperbahn and its main attractions – Hamburger Berg and Große Freiheit, Davidwache and Spielbudenplatz, to only name a few. The apartment is in a house built around 1900, surprisingly quiet and luminous, with old wooden floors and modern fixtures. It has a balcony in an inner patio – a rare urban oasis – filled with trees and flowers, perfect for morning coffee or summer dinners with friends. Only a few meters away from where I rest my head on the pillow every night, I know

3 In German: „the myth of St. Pauli”

that there are homeless people laying their head on a dirty mattress on the Reeperbahn sidewalk. Some early mornings, when I walk to the S-Bahn station over Talstraße, I see people injecting heroin or smoking crack outside the mission house of the Heilsarmee.⁴ Coming home in the evening, I pass by a brothel for transsexual sex workers (Bulgarians, I am told) who wait for their clients in the windows, like a row of back-lit Mona-Lisas. At the beginning of 2015, someone was shot dead in a bar in Hans-Albers-Platz and, a few months later, a man was waving around a shotgun in broad daylight outside my building. But St. Pauli also has small cafés and parks, it has young punks and old ladies walking their dog, it has an extraordinary mix of old and new, of rich and poor, of locals and foreigners. And this mix is attracting more and more people who want to live there, while, some say, pushing out the original St. Paulianers.

The sheer contrast between my own apartment's comfort and the sometimes rough life happening outside its walls, as well as the contrast between St. Pauli's hedonistic reputation and the suffering I sometimes suspect underneath the surface, is a permanent source of bewilderment and inner conflict. It also reflects the duality of St. Pauli— a small neighbourhood where people know each other and pride themselves on being born and raised St. Paulianers, as well as a red-light district, where broken bottles and screams in the night are not uncommon. Of course, I was always aware of the inequalities of the world, but what is startling about St. Pauli is, I think, the fact that all of it is out in the open, like someone walking around with their insides out. The reality of life, as it happens mostly behind closed doors or in the movies or only to other people, hits you in the face while you go to the supermarket to buy a carton of milk.

Through this small research project, I wanted, therefore, to try and meet others that live in the side streets of the Reeperbahn area, in order to ask them how they feel about their neighbourhood and how, if at all, they come to terms with it. In order to reveal the dialectical nature of St. Pauli and the love-hate relationship which I presumed a lot of my neighbours had, I decided to ask two simple questions: (i) What do you like about living in St. Pauli? (ii) What don't you like about living in St. Pauli?

Additionally, I was curious to know if other people perceive, as I do, a strong contrast between the inside and outside of their homes. And if so, how did they feel about such discrepancies. This later question is rather sensitive and during the interviews, I was sometimes reluctant to ask it. Aside from these fixed questions, I let the interviews flow and had no definite structure. Sometimes I asked people about the party scene, about drugs, gentrification and poverty. In actuality, I think my real question was whether, in spite of the all-accepting, party-central fame that St. Pauli has, others also find it hard to live here sometimes, as I do.

4 In German: "Salvation Army"

Conceptual Frame, Research Methods and Sampling

This small research project was designed during a Master's seminar, at Hamburg University's Social and Cultural Anthropology Institute. The title of the course, "Angst in the City," played on the ambiguity of the English *angst*, which means anxiety and apprehension, and the German *Angst*, meaning fear. As such, we discussed both sentiments in the context of our current urban scapes.

Questions of segregation, stranger danger, homelessness or migration were all discussed, after which students were to find a topic of their own. As far as I was concerned, I chose to research St. Pauli because I was personally interested. Indeed, St. Pauli can generate both fear and anxiety, but it would be mistaken to connect these to Bauman's concept of the urban space as a "mass industry of strangers" or to his idea of the change from "solid modernity" to a super-diverse, globalized, "liquid modernity". On the contrary, St. Pauli's diversity is at its very core, as is its magnetic power to bring together strangers from around the world (cf. Bauman 2003: 8-15). Nor is St. Pauli a racially segregated neighbourhood, a ghetto or a slum, as a large portion of social-sciences literature might suggest when one reads about "rough neighbourhoods".

Its existence seems more closely related to the concept of deviance, which attracts as much as it rejects, thus generating conflict. Legal prostitution, non-stop bars, drinking in the streets, sex shops and other phenomena are widely accepted within the confines of the neighbourhood, in what Steinert (2005: 473) calls a "normalizing movement". They are however generally not accepted elsewhere in the city, which makes St. Pauli a pressure-cooker ready to explode at any moment. Or better yet, St. Pauli would best be described by Foucault:

There are also, probably in every culture, in every civilization, real places —places that do exist and that are formed in the very founding of society which are something like counter-sites, a kind of effectively enacted utopia in which the real sites, all the other real sites that can be found within the culture, are simultaneously represented, contested, and inverted. Places of this kind are outside of all places, even though it may be possible to indicate their location in reality. Because these places are absolutely different from all the sites that they reflect and speak about, I shall call them, by way of contrast to utopias, heterotopias. (Foucault in Foucault and Miskowiec 1986: 24)

In order to investigate how people inhabit this particular heterotopia, I decided to interview people that live in St. Pauli, more specifically around the Reeperbahn. I chose two streets, namely Hamburger Berg and Talstraße, for

different reasons. Firstly, these two streets feature a diversity of kiosks, sex shops, bars, clubs, tattoo shops, restaurants, a salvation army, a bike shop, a guitar shop, a dance-shoes shop, a hidden yoga studio etc. Additionally, unlike Große Freiheit, Hamburger Berg and Talstraße are lined with residential buildings, many of which have businesses on the ground floor, so they are both places of trade and of dwelling. The large array of small businesses, where shopkeepers chat with customers and passers-by, while smoking in front of their shop, the certain groups of people meeting regularly in a certain staircase and the sheer feeling of having literally almost all one's needs met within a very small space, is in stark contrast to the anonymous crowds of the Reeperbahn (Dombrowski 2004: 94). And last but not least, I usually take one or the other street on my way from home to the Reeperbahn S-Bahn station, so I have had ample time to observe their daily life at all hours. In fact, observations, informal interviews and semi-structured recorded interviews were my methods of choice for this project.

In terms of the most appropriate sampling method for the theme and field, I decided to use a randomised one and not to make use of contacts that I could get through friends. I wanted to interview people of different ages and backgrounds. By reaching out indiscriminately, I was also curious to see who would respond and why.

I therefore wrote down all the numbers of houses on both Hamburger Berg and Talstraße. By counting windows, I approximated that there were some 200 apartments in all the buildings. (This proved to be wrong later in the process and I now estimate about 600 apartments, many of which have two, three or more inhabitants.) I then set up an email address and got a new phone number. I wrote a letter in both German and English on either side, in which I explained the project and invited those interested to contact me. I printed 200 letters, to which I later added another 120. Because I did not want to intrude on my neighbours' privacy by ringing at their door, and because I felt it would be hard to explain my project over the intercom, I spent a couple of days making the rounds. I approached people going into buildings on both streets, explained the project and asked for permission to leave letters in the mailboxes, thus gaining access in 15 out of a total 38 houses.

In addition to my sample and prior to the beginning of the actual research process, I also interviewed Julia, a guide that works for the St. Pauli Tourist Point. She has been living in St. Pauli for 10 years and I thought it would help me to have some historical background on the area, as well as an initial glimpse into what it means to be a St. Paulianer. I also thought she might have a special way of seeing the neighbourhood from the outside, since, as a tour guide, she may sometimes see it through the tourists' eyes. One other interview was conducted with someone who did not respond to my letter directly, Jan. He is a friend of Tim's, who offered to give me a good contact, someone with a lot of stories to tell and a lot of history living in St. Pauli.

Respondents

In total, I had nine respondents. As mentioned, two of them (Julia and Jan) I have not met by using my initial sampling method. The other seven (Andrés, Henry, Alexander, Tim, Nico, Marianne and Felix) responded to my letter by email or phone and expressed interest in my project within three to ten days. Their desire to talk about their life in St. Pauli was one of my first small victories, as it confirmed what I had hoped when I had chosen my risky sampling method: some St. Paulianers want to share their experience and are ready to welcome perfect strangers into their homes for it. In fact, five of the respondents (Andrés, Henry, Alexander, Nico and Marianne) invited me to their apartments, which was my ideal scenario, while the other four I interviewed at work. However, seven respondents out of over 300 letters was still a very modest response rate, so towards the end of my research I tried to contact inhabitants of the two streets through friends, to no avail. In the last subsection of the article, I describe my interaction with one of these attempted contacts, a young woman that I did not have a chance to meet in person.

The interviews, which lasted between 30 and 60 minutes, were conducted in English or German (as with Alexander, Tim, Jan, Nico and Felix) and later translated into English. All the names of persons in this ethnography are aliases. Although most of my respondents said they do not mind having their real names printed, I decided to protect their privacy by changing their names.

| # | Name | Age | Short description |
|---|-----------|---------|--|
| 1 | Julia | 29 | Living in St. Pauli for 10 years |
| 2 | Andrés | 25 | Student, living on Hamburger Berg for 6 months |
| 3 | Henry | 24 | Student, living on Hamburger Berg for 3 years, Andrés's flatmate |
| 4 | Alexander | 50 | Freelance photographer and designer, living on Hamburger Berg for 25 years |
| 5 | Tim | Forties | Bar owner, living and working on Talstraße for 13 years |
| 6 | Jan | 32 | Bartender, living on Talstraße for 12 years, Tim's friend and employe |
| 7 | Nico | 37 | Programmer, living on Talstraße for 12 years |
| 8 | Marianne | 25 | Student, living on Talstraße for 6 months |
| 9 | Felix | Forties | Bar owner, living on Talstraße since birth |

Table 1: Brief presentation of respondents

Research Results

In the following section, I expand my description of each informant, using both direct and indirect quotes from the interviews. At the same time, I try to summarize their answers to my questions (*What do you like and what don't you like about living in St. Pauli?*), before drawing some conclusions in the final section of this article.

Julia

Julia is 29 and she grew up in Billstedt, one of Hamburg's less glamorous working-class districts. She moved to St. Pauli ten years ago and has been working for the Tourist Centre for four years. She is very knowledgeable about the neighbourhood and its history. All the tour guides are St. Paulianers (by birth or adoption), so showing tourists the area where they live and the places they love makes their descriptions and recommendations very personal. They are free to choose where they take tourists and what they say about each spot, but they are very careful not to disturb the locals and the sex workers. They seek to present St. Pauli as it is, with both the good and the bad.

Talstraße and Hamburger Berg are on one of Julia's routes and it sounds as if they are some of the more problematic areas. Most of the times, she does not take people on Talstraße, as it is a little too rough, she thinks, and dirtier than other streets around. However, it is becoming increasingly gentrified, with more and more new buildings and trendy eating spots. She tells me that an increased police presence around the central rail station, combined with the closing down of St. Pauli's only open drug use room, where addicts could administer drugs safely, has pushed the hard drug scene towards this street. "For example, if you open your door in the morning and there is somebody smoking crack or doing heroin or stuff, yeah, it's a problem for the people living there, I think." When I ask her about Hamburger Berg, Julia says it has always been a street with bars, mostly for young people, but that now things are different from what they were in her youth.

J: But maybe it hasn't changed, I don't know, maybe it's just my point of view that has changed. But of course, it's a street where very young people go at night and it's called the Baggermeile,⁵ so it's like a flirt area. But flirt is a very positive term. I think it's more like... When I was there, when I was young, there was a lot of sexual harassment. So if you go in the clubs there, it's very tight with people, lots of people, and there were lots of hands, like touching and there ... It was not... For me, now, with a bit of perspective, it was not a nice atmosphere there, I think.

5 The German word „Bagger” means “excavator.” Colloquially it is used to describe a particularly aggressive kind of flirting.

I ask her what she likes about living here and why she moved here in the first place.

J: I moved here ten years ago because I wanted to [her emphasis]. Because I thought it's the most... It's the neighbourhood with the most subcultures, where you can be a bit more punky or where things are a little more relaxed. It's a really villagey feeling here or this is the... how you say? The reputation it has. Of course, things have changed here a lot. Like my grandfather, my great-grandfather and my father they also grew up here in St. Pauli and what they tell about this neighbourhood is completely different from what it is now. So... but it still has this reputation of being different, being a bit more with the people and this is the idea I like. And of course, most of my friends live here too. But of course, I don't mind dirt for example or people using drugs or something. I grew up with it, I grew up in Billstedt, I don't know if you know it. So I don't mind, because I'm used to that thing... but I think also that this brand of St. Pauli is used too often. I think people see more in it than it is actually. For me it's like an empty shell that is now pumped up like St. Pauli is so great, but it's [sic] nothing in it because... yeah, all the old stuff that made St. Pauli famous is not there anymore, it's just commercialised. [...] People, I think, take it a bit too seriously, this authentic St. Pauli thing. Like they think... They have so many ideas behind this St. Pauli bubble. So for me it's empty and people try to defend it what is not there.



Figure 2: Hamburger Berg, view from Simon von Utrecht Straße. A seemingly quiet street by day, a very different sight at night.

Andrés

Andrés, 25, is originally from Mexico. In Hamburg he is doing a Masters in Politics and Philosophy. He has been living on Hamburger Berg for six months, but he was already living in St. Pauli before that, a few streets away. He really likes the neighbourhood and finds a lot of things to do here. He is sharing an apartment with Henry. The two of them were the first to answer my letter and they invited me over. I ask him why he chose to live here and what he likes about St. Pauli.

A: Everyday [there] is something interesting here, that's why it's so cool to live here. The greatest part is that you always see something fun, something weird, someone crazy. I think that gives excitement to your life. Of course in the night it's just people drinking, but in the day you can see the different cultures, you can see a lot of stuff going on, the different characters that St. Pauli has. You have to sit somewhere and just watch the people and you will find them.

Andrés has a very particular way of seeing things, very matter-of-factly. He has a lot of favourite spots, like Park Fiction, Café Stark, Café May or Sorgenbrecher Bar, where he spends a lot of time watching the people of St. Pauli. He sees what may be problematic for others, like the drugs, the homeless, the gentrification and the party scene. He embraces of all these things. He takes pride in saying “Hi” to the drug dealers at the corner and in the fact that they know him as a local. He chats to homeless people and other colourful characters of the neighbourhood and does not feel pity. “Pity is bad.” Life, in all of its glory is present in St. Pauli and he takes it all in.

D: Do you think there is a cruel part to the neighbourhood?

A: I don't think it's cruel. I just think about the reality of things. Normally, the solution for this kind of neighbourhood is just to put everything beautiful and to count the homeless people out and just push them somewhere in another area. In this kind of neighbourhood with this integration, we have students, we have artists [...] It's nice to have this mix, because you can see reality. That's how it should be ordinarily. I think St. Pauli and also Altona, reflect what should be the integration of people. Of course it's extreme, because of the party scene, but actually the people who make the most mess here are the ones who come to the parties, not those who live here.

Henry

Henry is in his first year studying business and psychology in Hamburg. He is 24 and he postponed his studies in order to work and help his family, after which he took a trip to Australia, a dream he had had for a long time. When he came back, he started looking for an apartment with a friend and he narrowed the search to three places. He said that he ultimately chose the one on Hamburger Berg because he would have regretted later not doing so. He has been living in his apartment, which he now shares with Andrés, for three years. He talks about his neighbourhood with passion and it seems it is an important part of his life.

D: Why did you choose this one?

H: Because it's a colourful quarter and... It's always nice to go out. People, when you tell them that you live there, they ask you like "No way! You're living there? Isn't it too loud?" And bla bla bla... A lot of prejudice. It's nice to tell those people it's not how they think about it. Cause they only see it during the night, partying, seeing a lot of drunk people. But it's also very beautiful if you get to know people from here, very diverse. And every time I go downstairs, I see something new, funny [laughs], what you can tell your friends will enjoy.

D: Like what, for example?

H: Like yesterday I just randomly walked into some guys doing some capoeira. So dancing, playing music and kind of fight and dancing combination. Or once, I was very tired in the morning, put up my earphones and walked to the station, because I wanted to go to work and just randomly went through... how do you call it? Like when the police try to catch a guy. Like, randomly I was walking through this and I was like "Wow, what's happening here?" It's a very huge range of things that can happen. Or people just talk to you randomly, just nice people talking to you, okay?

When I ask him about things he does not like so much, he mentions the drug scene, the party scene and the tourists. He tells me about a few bars at the Reeperbahn side of Hamburger Berg which are open 24/7 and the strange look in their patrons' eyes when he passes them by in the morning. But he also defends all of these things, in the light of gentrification and city policies trying to beautify the area. He notices a lot of changes that have happened in the three years he has been living in St. Pauli, like his last favourite bars that

were driven out by rent spikes in order to demolish the buildings and make room for a new building on the Hamburger Berg.

He is not clear about what he means by “beautifying” St. Pauli, but it most probably refers to a series of changes brought about by the increase in the real-estate value of the neighbourhood. As more affluent people and businesses move in, undesirable sights, such as poverty and decay, are often swept under the rug. One such move, to which more than one of my respondents refers to, was the so-called *Esso Häuser*⁶ scandal, which attracted nation-wide attention. In 2009, a large 1960-building complex located in a central area of St. Pauli (named after the Esso gas station in front of it) was sold to a construction company which intended to tear it down and redevelop the area. After a campaign and street-protests from inhabitants of the buildings, mostly middle or lower-class, as well as from many St. Paulianers, to preserve the complex, the owners agreed to do some consolidation work. This has however permanently affected the structure of the walls, leading to the abrupt eviction of the inhabitants in December 2013 and the subsequent demolition of the *Esso Häuser*. As of 2016, the new constructions are being erected but, following general uproar and criticism, the new owners agreed to allocate a portion of the future buildings for social housing. Additionally, a citizens’ action called *Plan Bude* got involved in polling St. Paulianers and former *Esso Häuser* inhabitants as to possible ideas and uses of the space.

H: In the beginning it was worse. Like, we also had some junkies downstairs doing heroin. Like when you opened the door, there was a body there [laughs], like somebody lying there. Or drunk people broke the door, broke the postboxes... [unintelligible]. But you notice the gentrification. The value is rising, because people are doing renovations. The city is trying to kick out the people, to make it more beautiful. [...] For example, the building of the Esso station. The protest where they tried to break the glass and everything... Like how can you kick people out right before Christmas?! [...] It's getting more and more commercial. I mean, it was always like this and everybody knew. But it's different when you feel, like after staying here for longer than two years. Like your favourite bars leave, but problems stay, they're not fading.

He feels that living here has made him more interested in politics and more aware of social problems. Other neighbourhoods lack this type of awareness because they are not confronted with the problems that St. Paulianers see every day, he thinks.

6 In German: “Esso buildings,” a former complex of buildings on the Reeperbahn, named after the Esso gas station situated in front of it.

D: So this is something important for you, that you are in touch with this?

H: I never knew that it would be important for me. But I realise, staying here, it's just a hotspot, a melting pot for cultures. [...] Here there's a lot of party and lot of dirt, maybe people do drugs, or be drunk, aggressive. But also a lot of happy people, who just like to share experiences, like to share, just have a good evening or... I like it! [his emphasis]

Alexander

Alexander is 50 and has been living for about 25 years in the same apartment on Hamburger Berg. Although he says he is not necessarily in love with his street anymore, he is unable to move, due to the rent spike. If he were to leave, he would have to pay much more than what he pays now. But he would not move somewhere further away, either. He finds the location convenient and he likes the fact that many creative people live in the area. I ask why he chose this neighbourhood:

A: Back then I came from the countryside. I had finished school in the South [of Germany] and all I wanted was to go far away and to the big city. [...] We found it very cool, Reeperbahn, when you come from the countryside ... and St. Pauli... Wonderful, it was a perfect fit!

When I ask him to tell me a little about the street, he immediately replies that he is tired of the party scene outside his window and the noise, especially on the weekends. He also mentions the tourists, who swarm in without realising that there are real people living here, as well as the people who urinate on the streets and buildings.

A: What I find hard is the drug scene. It gets on my nerves in the meantime. [Laughs] I can't even go to Penny, here in the corner, without receiving three offers for cocaine.

We talk about how the street was 25 years ago and he says not too different, as many of today's bars already existed when he moved in and Hamburger Berg was even then a night-time destination. Something has changed, though, in the atmosphere and what used to be a cheap understated bar, like Sorgenbrecher, is now a kind of hip place. "It has gotten younger, as I have gotten older." He does perceive change as somewhat normal and is happy about the new construction site on the street where, rumour has it, a student residence will be built. Students will be able to bring new energy to the street, he says.

I ask Alexander about what he likes in the neighbourhood and he says “Overall I find St. Pauli a very tolerant quarter, with very different people.” He mentions the *St. Pauli selber machen* neighbourhood action,⁷ in which he is himself involved, as well as *Plan Bude*, the initiative where St. Paulianers can get directly involved in deciding the fate of the former Esso buildings.

A: I find it's a really good thing that such social actions exist, organised by the inhabitants of the quarter, which take the problems in their own hands and make them public.

Some of his favourite spots in the quarter are Café May, Park Fiction and a friend's garden, which, to him, is the perfect St. Pauli spot for coffee in the sun. He is nostalgic about the former glory of the Reeperbahn, with places such as Café Käse, now replaced by a fish sandwich shop, and the emergence of a lot of fancy, touristy, expensive businesses. He also remembers a time when the doors in his building were often open and neighbours were close to one another. Now, he knows a few people and the relationships are rather formal.



Figure 3: Sex cinema and shop on Hamburger Berg

⁷ In German: *selber* = informal way of saying „yourself“ or “ourselves” and *ma-chen* = to do.

Tim

Tim has been living in St. Pauli for 13 years. He started working here as a DJ 15 years ago and three years later he opened his first bar on Hamburger Berg. Now he owns five different bars on both Hamburger Berg and Talstraße, which are connected by an inner patio, through which he makes the rounds. He is a night owl, working until 7 or 8 am from Wednesday to Sunday, while three days a week he goes to the countryside to visit his daughter. We met in his office above one of the most famous clubs in the neighbourhood. This interview was one of the most exciting I have ever done, as I felt I got a rare glimpse into a world few have access to – the backstage of the famous St. Pauli nightlife. Over the phone, when he called to say he received my letter and would like to meet, I had not even understood properly who he was. As he speaks, he sounds modest and grounded. It is clear that he loves the neighbourhood, but he keeps a balanced view. One of the first things he said about himself is “I enjoy life in St. Pauli very much.” I ask him why.

T: [...] I go out and everything is real. When I go to fancy neighbourhoods, I don't know what happens behind the closed doors. It's not that there's only weird people here. There [elsewhere] it's just as crazy, but hidden. Unseen. You just can't see it. The right word for it is yes, real. That's what I love about St. Pauli. Not always beautiful, but real. That's the most important thing for me. And that's why I live here with pleasure. And you get a lot from the people, you get a sense of reality from them. It's like a microcosmos. It also has clear borders. You go 200 meters further and it's over. It becomes social again. [...] I don't have to look very far to find someone interesting to talk to. Even when I go here to the kiosk, on the corner of Simon-von-Utrecht-Straße and Talstraße, do you know it?

D: Yes, of course.

T: There you're never lonely for too long and you get to know really venerable people that have been living in St. Pauli for 80 or even 90 years and they want to tell their life stories. It's never boring. I love this!

D: And what is not so good?

T: People that lose themselves [...] I see it very clearly. They just can't manage anymore. For example, the homeless people. I wonder very often “Ok, if I were homeless, I would probably look for a nice spot”, but they chose the spot right there on the Reeperbahn between the garbage bins. Those are no nice spots.

I ask Tim about the party scene from his perspective, especially since he is directly involved in it. He seems somewhat conflicted about it. The people are too young and there are too many drugs around, especially cocaine and MDMA,⁸ he says. We talk about homelessness and poverty in the area and he sounds very empathic. About the new building on Talstraße and the stark contrast between very poor and very rich in St. Pauli, he says:

T: On one side, I find this mixture good, of course. It makes for an interesting picture. What I don't like is what is behind it. All these rents going through the roof, which pushes everybody to move out, except the rich. And the poor are pushed out. And it's always these big corporations which make the law in St. Pauli, they have control over everything.

Many of the people he knows are original St. Paulianers. He feels good here, despite everything. Here he can be who he truly is, he says. And he does not understand people that can change how they are and how they act depending on where they are. He stays genuine, a St. Paulianer wherever he goes. Even in the countryside, he says, his neighbours look at him strangely, because he wears black and owns bars on the Kiez. They think living and working in St. Pauli means he sells girls along with the drinks.

Jan

After my interview with Tim, he asked me if I needed more contacts and he promptly called Jan, a friend. He assured me Jan has a lot of stories to tell and sure enough, Jan came to Tim's office ten minutes after the phone call. Jan, who is 32, has been living in St. Pauli for 15 years. He was studying to become a professional nurse for the elderly, but was not allowed to finish his studies, due to an illness. At the age of 18, he started working in a sex shop in St. Pauli. There he met the owner of a popular bar, which also employed girls to entertain the customers. He started working there and, after losing his apartment, sleeping in the bar as well. In 2005, the bar closed down and the owner left him her apartment on Talstraße. Tim and his associate bought the bar and that is how the two met. Now Jan works as a bartender in some of Tim's places.

D: How do you find living on Talstraße?

J: Right now, to be very honest, horrible, really horrible. When I moved in, only real St. Paulianers used to live here. That's all over. New buildings are being built, rich people are moving in,

8 MDMA (3,4-Methylenedioxyamphetamine) is a recreational drug also known as *Ecstasy* or simply *E*. Similarly with cocaine, MDMA is considered a party drug, used at festivals and nights out.

but they don't know how to value St. Pauli. There are more and more shared flats and the personal feeling is getting lost.

What does it mean to value St. Pauli? I ask. He says that the neighbourhood was always for people who live and work here, not for people who just want to live here, but have a “normal” job and then, when they come home in the evening, complain about the party noises.

J: St. Pauli lives with party, prostitution, party, you know? This is St. Pauli. That's why people come here. [...] Now people want it more chic. Yeah, more chic, but with that, the flair of St. Pauli is completely lost.

D: So you like this, this party scene.

J: The party scene... St. Pauli was always for people that didn't fit into the normal life. I couldn't have worked in a normal place. I'm just not made for that.

When I ask him what he does not like, he mentions the drugs. He claims to have never taken drugs. The city politics have pushed drug users from the *Hauptbahnhof*⁹ into St. Pauli and he has never seen so much heroin being cooked and injected on the streets like he happens to see now. He is also critical of a new wave of Eastern European sex workers who have lowered the prices, breaking age-old unwritten rules and spoiling the local market. He cannot imagine living somewhere else, but he thinks he will not cope more than seven years behind the bar, although he does not explain what he means by this. He does say that his dream is to have a nice little old bar of his own, where people could come for a chat and a good time.

Nico

Nico is a programmer and has been living in St. Pauli for 12 years. “I live here because I want to,” he tells me. When he moved into his apartment, it was not yet so cool to live in the neighbourhood and people sometimes looked at him funny, asking him if the area was not too hectic or loud. He says that he soon realised that living here was different from just partying here and life can be quite normal on Talstraße. The atmosphere is different from other neighbourhoods, but it is not something to be afraid of. “It's like a little village in the city. You start recognising the faces.” Another thing he loves about living in St. Pauli is the central location. He works close by, he goes running and cycling by the river and overall enjoys the neighbourhood, with all its businesses.

9 German word for “central train station”.

N: The downside is that it's so dirty here. In the summer it stinks here, you probably could smell it too, the entrance of my building is used as a public pissoir. Especially in the mornings, on Sunday morning, one has to be careful not to step in pee puddles.

He also mentions the people hanging around the Salvation Army or sleeping on the sidewalk in front of it, forcing passers-by to almost step over them. The drug scene is also problematic, as he sees people dealing in the morning on his way to work. He is also annoyed by the noises in his backyard. In the summer especially, there are night tours, where tour guides, sometimes with megaphones, come every fifteen minutes telling the same old text they learned by heart.

N: But it's clear that it comes with the territory. There are moments when, I don't know, I go somewhere, as I don't party here really, to meet friends. We drink a few beers and have a relaxed evening, then I come home, I get off the S-Bahn and have to fight my way through the crazy action that we always have here on Fridays and Saturdays. That's a little weird. That it's always, always so crazy on the weekends. But it is what it is. But you get used to it when you live here.

We talk about homelessness and he says he has gotten used to that too. In the beginning he used to call the ambulance when he saw people lying on the street, but now it happens too often. This too is a side of St. Pauli. He is critical towards the gentrification he has been noticing in the quarter, the rent spike and the new rich moving in. It is all too trendy, too "bio" (organically grown), too yuppie for him and it might be the one thing that drives him out as well.

Marianne

Marianne is 25, she is from Paris and currently studying in Hamburg as an Erasmus student. She has been living in Talstraße for about six months and absolutely loves it. However, the first time she came here she was taken aback.

M: At first I was like "I hate this street, I hate my life now!" and finally I just really like it, because you have all these people in the streets, it's like animated all day and all night long. I really like to hang on my balcony and see all the people going from there to there. [...] I heard a lot of anecdotes with people on drugs, like... But it's really nice at the same time. Even if they are on drugs, they are still polite and nice. [...] Like once they were at the front of my door, the building. And I was like "Okay, it's going to be complicated. There are three guys on drugs and bla bla bla" and

I just came and was like “Entschuldigung...” and they were like “We are sorry, it’s our fault, please get in” and stuff. So, yeah ... Even if you have a lot of drugs and drunk people, it’s still really nice. Even, I mean, as a girl, I don’t feel uncomfortable being here, like, even with dresses and stuff, there is like no violence.

She says she was excited about my project and really wanted to meet me, because she loves the diversity of her street. She also likes how central it is and how lively. She says she does not go much to other parts of Hamburg, as she has everything she needs in St. Pauli. She frequents a lot of the businesses in the area. She has a favourite fast-food place, she is friendly with the bike shop owner and the kiosk owner downstairs.

M: For me, what is really strange is that you have a lot of families in the building. I don’t know how I would feel with children here. For me, as a girl, it’s ok, but with a family it would be a little strange.

One time, Marianne inflated her bike tire too much and it exploded inside the building’s hallway. A few moments later, she passed by a family with two small children, all of them agitated and scared. When they saw her bike, they were relieved: “Oh, that’s so cool, it’s your tire that exploded!’ Because they thought that someone had shot at them,” she remembers. She says she still feels safer here than in Paris, except after 3:30 in the night, when “people on the streets are creepier.”

Felix

Felix was born in St. Pauli 40 years ago in a family of Serbian immigrants. He owns a bar at Hans-Albers-Platz and a café next to Planten und Blomen (a large park in central Hamburg) where we met for the interview. His parents also owned a bar in the area, so he grew up surrounded by the party scene and its characters. He lived all of his life in St. Pauli, but he begins by saying that he does not feel at home anymore in the neighbourhood. In his account, the past and present are very often intertwined and he says that “people just had more class back then.”

F: There are too many people that have moved out, people that have gone to school here, to kindergarten, the ones that grew up together, people that have had shops here for 20 years, book-shops, drugstores, most things are gone. There are maybe a few shops left from 20 years ago, but everything else is gone, due to the rent spike. There are just new people there, new people, everything is more expensive, more hip. People think it’s cool to live in St. Pauli, but that’s not St. Pauli anymore.

He complains about the people who come here, pee wherever they want and throw on the ground whatever they have in their hand. And he misses recognising people's faces on the street, now everybody is a stranger. He remembers all the shops from when he was a child and can draw an imaginary map of the past on top of every new business. Here, where the famous Deniz kebab shop is today, used to be a small grocery; while there, where Café May is today, used to be a key shop for about 20-30 years; and where the cruising spot is now, there used to be a brothel called *Madame Pompadour*.

I ask him whether he thinks that growing up in St. Pauli has shaped his personality, whether it had an impact on his life. He strongly agrees and explains that seeing the effect of drugs and alcohol from early on can be a very good lesson for later. A school for life, he says, implying that growing up surrounded by temptations and their effects on people has actually helped him stay out of trouble.

F: You would lose your innocence very quickly, you would be confronted very early with all possibilities, and all... yeah. The devil is around the corner, as I like to say. But if you can master this, then you have a great advantage.

He likes the freedom, the village mentality and the reality of the place. He sees in St. Pauli the most beautiful and the hardest sides of life at the same time. "It is interesting when you see everything exactly as it is," he tells me, echoing some of my other respondents.

Conclusions

In drawing up my conclusions, I must begin by observing that for all my respondents the advantages of living in St. Pauli outweighed the disadvantages, despite the many problems that they notice. And even though the number of individuals that I interviewed is small, they offered me a good range of ages, social backgrounds and amount of time spent in the neighbourhood. It is, however, not the same for all my neighbours, I am sure.

As I mentioned earlier, at one point in my research, I was trying to find additional respondents through contacts, as I felt my sample was too small compared to the population I had chosen. The young woman whom I had contacted through a friend and who was living at that time on Talstraße was not of the opinion that my respondents shared. She sounded very distressed and said she had had enough of the neighbourhood, enough of all the screaming and the dirt. She refused to meet me at first, but changed her mind later. We were unable to meet, however, due to conflicting schedules. Another woman called me in response to my letter and agreed to meet, but later changed her mind.

| <i>What do you like in St. Pauli?</i> | <i>What don't you like in St. Pauli?</i> |
|---------------------------------------|--|
| People | Drugs |
| Reality | Gentrification/poverty versus money |
| Diversity | Dirt |
| Party scene | Party Scene |
| Good location | City politics |
| Self-organization of people | Tourists |
| Village mentality | That is has changed |
| Street art | Commercialization |

Table 2: Pros and cons of living in St. Pauli, according to my respondents

Table 2 is a compilation of what my respondents liked and disliked about the quarter. On the top rows, I noted the things most frequently mentioned, such as the people of St. Pauli on one side and the drug scene on the other. These were remarked by all of the respondents, although with small differences in their attitudes. While Julia, Andrés, Henry, Marianne, Nico, Tim and Jan said they like how interesting their neighbours are, how colourful, how diverse and how many stories they have to tell, Felix focused more on the people of the past, the original St. Paulianers of his childhood. Alexander liked the people getting involved in social problems, like the *St. Pauli selber machen* and the *Plan Bude* collectives. He, like Felix, as the ones who have been living in St. Pauli for the longest time, 25 and 40 years respectively, remembers a time when neighbours left their doors unlocked and everybody knew each other. In all of the accounts there are clear distinctions between different categories of people: on one side the inhabitants, whether of the present or the past, and on the other side the Others, whether tourists, party people, new people moving in, yuppies or people with ordinary jobs, who refuse to live the way St. Paulianers are meant to be living.

When it comes to (hard) drugs, all mentioned them as an unpleasant side of the quarter, but opinions ranged from condemnation to quiet acceptance of an inescapable state of affairs and even to inclusion, as in the case of Marianne, who says “Even if they’re on drugs, they’re still nice.” In a similar way, gentrification was mentioned by all, in connection to either the contrast between poor and rich, the homeless or city politics trying to beautify the area, pushing the less well-off people out, pushing the problems away. But attitudes here also ranged from condemnation to acceptance. In an interesting turn, Alexander and Henry – the former having made his way to St. Pauli at the time when the latter was still a small child – differ in their views about a particular building site on their street. While Henry misses his favourite bars, now torn down, Alexander embraces the same site, hoping the future student residence will bring new life to the area. The party scene: some love

it, some hate it. For some, like Jan, it is their very livelihood and a sort of historical duty, while for others it is a tiresome business or just too commercial compared to the olden days.

One positive thing that was mentioned by most of my respondents, to my delight, as it echoes my own beliefs, is the extreme sense of reality one finds in St. Pauli. Directly or indirectly, they say one of the things that keep them living there is the fact that the neighbourhood keeps them grounded in real life, with good and bad. As Tim says, all these things happen in fancier neighbourhoods as well, but behind doors, while here you know what you get.

The thing that I had not suspected and which strikes me the most, when listening to all the interviews, is the nostalgia I sense in all but two accounts, Andrés's and Marianne's. Not only are they foreign to the country, which is perhaps irrelevant, they are foreign (or fresh rather) to St. Pauli. Unsurprisingly, Felix, born and raised here, is the one who speaks about the past the most, about the former glory of St. Pauli, about the businesses that have been replaced and the people who are either dead or who have moved out (or on). "There are just new people there, new people, everything is more expensive, more hip. People think it's cool to live in St. Pauli, but that's not St. Pauli anymore," he says. Julia, who has been coming to Hamburger Berg in her teenage years and has grown up with stories from her father, grandfather and grand-grandfather of how it used to be, does not recognise this image in the present day neighbourhood. "[...] All the old stuff that made St. Pauli famous is not there anymore, it's just commercialised." And even Henry, who is 25 and has been living on the Hamburger Berg for three years only, already misses things that have gone and senses a difference between now and then. Alone Andrés and Marianne, young and wide-eyed, while aware of the same social issues as the others, embrace St. Pauli as it is and never speak of "before" – only about "now." It dawns on me that perhaps what people really bemoan is their youth and the moment they fell in love with the Kiez and its ways. Everything seems better and shinier in the past. Perhaps what they remember is this state of grace of the new and the exciting that they experienced, like old couples are nostalgic about the butterflies in the stomach from when they first met. And perhaps I have caught Andrés and Marianne at exactly this time, a time that will become their "before" in a few years' time, when change, inevitably, will happen. The now and then dichotomy seems to mirror Gupta and Ferguson's ideas of imagined and remembered places, although not in the context of displaced people (1992: 11). In St. Pauli, people craft an identity continuously related to time and space, to their idea of what the neighbourhood *should* be and how it *was* before. Those who have inhabited the space for some time, relate to an ideal past, as well as to an ideal possible St. Pauli. Those who are new, are the only ones living in the present. This observation relates back to both Foucault's concept of the *heterotopia*, a

place functioning as an “effectively enacted utopia” (1986: 24) and the idea of the so-called *St. Pauli Mythos*.

Another interesting fact is that all my respondents consider themselves locals, notwithstanding the amount of time they have inhabited the quarter, whether six months or 40 years. Jan, having lived on Talstraße for 13 years, would consider Henry a newcomer after only three, and perhaps Felix, having spent his whole life here, would be right to call everybody else a newbie. But ultimately they are all locals, for to be a St. Paulianer means, most of all, to love St. Pauli as it is.

To conclude with a personal note, the encounters with my neighbours have helped me to deal with the bewilderment and conflict that I spoke about at the beginning of this article: the contrast between the quiet peace of my flat and the disturbing views of homeless or intoxicated people on the street. Each of the interviewees showed me a different facet of “the” St. Paulianer and different ways in which they love the quarter and in which they come to terms with it. Furthermore, at the moment of submitting the final version of this article for publication, almost a full year after drafting the first version, I have myself entered a different stage in my relationship with my neighbourhood. Having lived here for two years already, I recognize the people, the shops and the streets and I notice I feel more and more like home here, in part simply due to the force of habit. I love St. Pauli more also because the time I have spent here has coincided with a period of personal growth, of establishing myself in Hamburg more, of slowly crafting more friendships and having more good memories. By downplaying the bad days and emphasizing the good ones in my own life narrative, I, like my neighbours perhaps, manage to find another reason to love St. Pauli just by inhabiting it. And this might be the final key unlocking the mystery of St. Pauli, the final answer to why we stay despite the problems and why we continue to feed this love-hate relationship with our environment.

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Zwischenräume erkunden, Intentionen ermitteln.

Mijal Gandelsman-Trier und Michael Pröpper im Gespräch
mit J. Otto Habeck

Fangen wir mit einer ganz klassischen Frage an: Wie bist Du zur Ethnologie gekommen?

Ich bin zur Ethnologie gekommen über einen kleinen Umweg – über die Geografie. Als Jugendlicher wollte ich Geografie studieren und habe dann in meiner Heimatstadt Münster damit begonnen. Auf das eine Semester in Münster folgten sehr viele Semester – nämlich sechzehn – an der Freien Universität Berlin. Im Rahmen des Studiengangs Geografie (Diplom) sollte man auch Leistungen in Nebenfächern erbringen, in meinem Fall Geschichte und Ethnologie. Ich war also oft am Institut der Ethnologie der Freien Universität Berlin und kenne die damals dort tätigen Professoren, Georg Pfeffer und Georg Elwert. Zu dem Institut habe ich damals aber keinen besonders intensiven Bezug aufgebaut, außer zu zwei Personen, bei denen ich mehrere Lehrveranstaltungen hatte: Erich Kasten und Ivan Kortt. Und beide unterrichteten mit regionalem Schwerpunkt Sibirien.

War das dann der „Einstieg“ in die Region Sibirien?

Ich hatte mich schon lange mit Sibirien gedanklich beschäftigt, auch mit Osteuropa. Und mich haben damals die regionalen Aspekte stärker interessiert als das Fach Ethnologie mit seinen theoretischen oder inhaltlichen Schwerpunkten.

Bist du in der Zeit dorthin gereist?

Ja, das erste Mal in Rahmen des Studiums. Ich fing 1988 an zu studieren und hatte 1993 das erste Mal die Möglichkeit, im Rahmen einer Exkursion nach Sibirien – genauer gesagt nach Jakutien – zu fahren.

Das war aber eine geografische Exkursion, oder?

Ja, richtig. Und danach habe ich eine selbstorganisierte Feldforschung (wie man das auch damals nannte) in einer anderen Region in Sibirien angehängt. Auch das Thema der Feldforschung lag im Übergangsbereich zwischen Geografie und Ethnologie: Ich bin für einen Monat in einer Region gewesen, wo ich im örtlichen Archiv gearbeitet habe über die Geschichte der Sesshaftmachung von Rentiernomaden in Sibirien.

Kannst Du noch mal kurz sagen, wie es doch zum Schwenk Richtung der Ethnologie kam? Du hast gesagt, diese beiden Dozenten hätten Dich stark beeinflusst, Du hättest da relativ viel gemacht – aber warst Du nicht doch eher in der Geografie beheimatet?

Ja, ich habe auch mein Geografiestudium sehr stark betrieben unter diesem regionalen Aspekt Osteuropa, Sibirien und später Mongolei. Der Schwenk zur Ethnologie kam später, eigentlich erst mit dem Abschluss des Studiums, als es darum ging, wie und wo ich „weitermache“. Ich hatte eine Zusage von einem Dozenten an der Universität Cambridge, Piers Vitebsky, dass er mich betreuen würde. Für mein Forschungsvorhaben dort erhielt ich zum Glück ein Stipendium von der Daimler-Benz-Stiftung, die mir das Promovieren im Ausland ermöglicht hat. Ab dem Moment wurde ich sehr stark ethnologisch geprägt. In Cambridge war ich zwar angesiedelt an einem interdisziplinären Institut, nämlich dem Scott Polar Research Institute. Aber dort waren viele Doktorandinnen und Doktoranden mit ethnologischem Fokus. Zum andern hatte ich auch Kontakt zu den Leuten am Department of Social Anthropology. Das war eine wichtige Zeit, weil ich gemerkt habe, wieviel ich nachholen muss – inhaltlich und thematisch.

Um die Frage nach Deiner Ausbildung abzuschließen: Du hast anfangs gesagt, Du hättest Geografie, Ethnologie und Geschichte studiert. Kann man sagen, dass diese drei Fächer Deine Interessenschwerpunkte innerhalb der Ethnologie umreißen?

Sicherlich ja. Zumindest damals. Weil ich sehr interessiert war an regionalen Kenntnissen, und diese Fächer boten mir dafür gute Bedingungen. Im Nachhinein denke ich, dass es gut war, dass ich diese Fächer gewählt habe. Die wenigen Veranstaltungen, die ich im Fach Geschichte belegte, habe ich auch eher unter dem regionalen Gesichtspunkt ausgewählt. Später ging es mehr um theoretische und konzeptuelle Aspekte (also nicht mehr so stark um das Regionale). Daraus hat sich dann später auch mein Forschungsprofil entwickelt. Das kam aber relativ allmählich.

Vielleicht noch ein Schwenk zurück nach Großbritannien. Also, die Zeit in Cambridge und dann der Kontakt mit Tim Ingold, wie ergab sich das?

Das war eigentlich ein Zufall, weil ich in dem Moment, wo Tim Ingold für ein Drittmittelprojekt mit europäischer Förderung einen Forschungsassistenten suchte, zur Verfügung stand und mein Doktorvater Piers Vitebsky in Cambridge fand, es wäre für mich eine gute Chance, meine Feldforschung zu finanzieren. Insofern kam eines zum anderen, d.h. jemand suchte einen Forschungsassistenten für den Hohen Norden von Russland und ich wollte dorthin, aber stand fast ohne Geld da. Das war für mich die ideale Möglichkeit eine Feldforschung zu machen. Allerdings nicht in der Region, die ursprünglich geplant war [Zentralsibirien], sondern in einer sehr anderen

Region [westlich des Uralgebirges]. Aber das habe ich nie bereut. Der Job als Forschungsassistent hat mich aber auch an eine andere britische Universität geführt, weil Tim Ingold 1999, kurz nach Beginn dieses Projekts, an die Universität Aberdeen ging. Ich habe daher zwei Jahre mit Unterbrechungen in Aberdeen gelebt und gearbeitet.

Wie hat Dich die Zeit in Aberdeen geprägt? Und wie siehst Du sie heute?

Da will ich unterscheiden zwischen der Stadt und der Universität. Was die Stadt angeht, ... – da muss man sich einleben. Das Umland von Aberdeen und die Highlands sind super schön, und ich war häufiger dort unterwegs. Das Department of Anthropology war aus meiner Sicht relativ vielseitig. Und was konkret die Zusammenarbeit mit Tim Ingold angeht, würde ich sagen, dass das eine sehr angenehme Zeit war, weil er mir einen gewissen Freiraum gelassen hat, sodass ich einerseits davon profitieren konnte, seine Texte zu lesen und mit ihm darüber zu sprechen, nicht nur in Seminaren und Kolloquien, sondern auch zwischendurch. Und andererseits hatte ich genug Platz und Zeit, um an meiner Doktorarbeit weiter zu arbeiten und die Verpflichtungen, die mit dem Projekt verbunden waren, umzusetzen. Das darf man nämlich auch nicht vergessen: Wenn man als Forschungsassistent für ein Drittmittelprojekt angestellt wird, dann arbeitet man nicht nur an seiner eigenen Fragestellung, sondern es gibt auch technische und projektorganisatorische Dinge, die man erledigen muss. Und manchmal kann es sehr zeitraubend sein.

Noch einmal zu Cambridge. Gab es Themen, die hinsichtlich der Weiterentwicklung prägend waren?

Prägend war damals wahrscheinlich die Auseinandersetzung... oder genauer: nicht „Auseinandersetzung“, sondern die Ansätze einer Diskussion, die man heute als *ontological turn* bezeichnet. Und dort waren einige Doktoranden, die heute in dieser Ontologie-Debatte sehr bekannt sind. Ein dänisches Dreigespann – Martin Holbraad, Morten Pedersen und Rane Willerslev – und noch einige weitere, die unter der Dokormutterschaft von Caroline Humphrey sich mit ontologischen Fragen beschäftigt haben. Damals war das ein großes Thema.

Wie lange warst Du in Cambridge?

Von 1997 bis 2001 bzw. 2002, aber zwischendurch eben auch in Aberdeen und außerdem elf Monate auf Feldforschung in Russland. Und ich glaube, dass Cambridge für mich, was Großbritannien angeht, doch wesentlicher prägender war – auch als Stadt. Ich habe viel Zeit investiert, um mich in der Gegend umzuschauen Ich hatte zunächst den Eindruck, dass die Stadt zu hübsch ist oder zu idyllisch. Dadurch, dass ich Ausflüge gemacht habe, allein oder auch mit Kollegen, erhielt ich eine ganz gute Vorstellung davon, was East Anglia bedeutet, was London bedeuten kann, aber auch wie monoton

die Vorstädte sein können, die dazwischenliegen. Tja, dann gibt es dieses universitäre Flair und eine Art akademische Welt, in die man sich erst hineinversetzen muss. Beispielsweise die Dopplung von (Universitäts-)Institut und College. Für mich war das College nie so sehr Heimat wie das Institut, in dem ich gearbeitet habe. Für viele ist das College, an dem sie sind, identitätsprägend. Darwin College ist ein College, an dem viele internationale Studenten sind. Es gibt Colleges in Cambridge, die sehr elitär sind. Es gibt andere Colleges, wo überwiegend oder ausschließlich Frauen als Mitglieder akzeptiert werden. So hat jedes College eine gewisse Identität, so wie auch ein Institut eine Identität haben kann – man versucht sich dort einzugliedern, und auch im College versucht man, sich zu integrieren. Dann noch die ganzen alten Gebäude der Universität mit allem, was daran hängt... mit den Traditionen der Universität, die erst einmal erschlagend wirken können, aber andererseits auch sehr amüsant und erfrischend, weil man auch selber Teil der Tradition wird, indem man sie weiter betreibt – oder auch mal neue Elemente der Tradition erschafft.

Das Ende Deiner Zeit in England war die Promotion?

Das Ende meiner Zeit in England war kurz vor der Promotion, d. h. zu dem Zeitpunkt, wo abzusehen war, dass ich fertig sein würde. Damals (2003) habe ich mich beworben am Max-Planck-Institut für ethnologische Forschung in Halle an der Saale. Konkret wurde ein Koordinator für das neu gegründete Sibirienzentrum gesucht.

War zu dieser Zeit in England schon klar, dass Du in Richtung einer akademischen Laufbahn gehen würdest?

Doch, für mich war klar, dass ich in der Forschung oder Forschungskoordination arbeiten möchte. Es war weniger klar, dass es vielleicht auf Forschung und Lehre hinausläuft, also die Aufgaben, die ich jetzt habe. Aber ich war durchaus interessiert in den Bereich der Wissenschaft zu gehen, sehr viel stärker als in andere Berufsfelder.

Dieser Wechsel von Cambridge nach Halle ist ziemlich groß von dieser traditionellen Universität nach Halle und dann mit einem vollkommen neuen Aufgabenfeld. Du bist auch dort sehr lange geblieben. Kannst Du ein bisschen skizzieren, was für Dich wichtig in dieser Zeit in Halle war? Was Deine Tätigkeiten waren? Deine Schwerpunkte?

Ja, hinsichtlich der Funktion ist es einfach zu sagen, als Koordinator des Sibirienzentrums war ich verantwortlich dafür, gute Leute zu gewinnen, überwiegend Post-Docs, aber auch *PhD students*, also Doktoranden. In dieser Konstruktion war das Grundprinzip, dass die Leute drei bis maximal fünf Jahre bleiben und dann eine andere Stelle oder Anbindung suchen. So kam es, dass die Post-Docs im letzten halben Jahr ihrer Tätigkeit in Halle gedanklich bereits woanders waren. Das halte ich insgesamt für ein Problem, das

alle Nachwuchswissenschaftler betrifft, dass alle nach drei Jahren wieder nach einer neuen Chance Ausschau halten müssen.

Persönlich und emotional war Halle für mich eine wichtige Zeit. Ich hatte übrigens zunächst nicht den Eindruck, dass es sich so großartig von Cambridge unterscheidet, auch weil die Arbeitssprache Englisch ist. Der eine Gründungsdirektor, Chris Hann, ist durchaus mit der Social Anthropology, wie sie für Cambridge typisch ist, verbunden. Das Institut in Halle war für mich eine interessante Kombination von British Social Anthropology und einer Soziologie Bielefelder Prägung (das Fach Sozialanthropologie wird in Bielefeld an der Fakultät für Soziologie unterrichtet). Günther Schlee, der andere Gründungsdirektor des Max-Planck-Instituts, war vorher mehrere Jahre in Bielefeld, er hat aber auch Bezüge zu Hamburg, da er hier studiert hat. Anfangs hatte das Max-Planck-Institut zwei Abteilungen. Es kam in weiterem Verlauf eine dritte hinzu. Die war damals als Projektgruppe schon im Keim vorhanden, geleitet wurde sie von Keebet und Franz von Benda-Beckmann, daraus wurde dann später eine dritte Abteilung. Dieses Max-Planck-Institut war zunächst [2003] noch sehr klein. Damals arbeiteten dort 60 bis 70 Personen, heute sind es etwa 200.

Du hast über Cambridge und Aberdeen gesprochen, über das Umfeld, die Stadt und die Region. Wie siehst Du das mit Bezug auf Halle?

Die Stadt Halle hat zunächst wenig internationales Flair, sie hat allerdings viele internationale Bezüge, was die Geschichte der Stadt und auch die Geschichte der Ethnologie angeht. Aber sie wirkt doch sehr viel homogener und sehr viel mittelstädtischer als beispielsweise Hamburg. Manche Leute finden, dass Halle einen etwas verschlossenen Eindruck macht. Ich habe das anders wahrgenommen, weil ich in den ersten Wochen in Halle wiederum sehr viele Leute außerhalb des Max-Planck-Instituts und außerhalb der Uni kennengelernt habe. Außerdem fand ich Halle als eine ostdeutsche Stadt durchaus faszinierend – mit seinen Plattenbauten und alten Industrieanlagen, mit seiner sozialistischen Vergangenheit.

Du hast vorhin beschrieben, was Du am Max-Planck-Institut auf Management-Ebene gemacht hast. Du hast aber sicherlich auch selbst geforscht in diesen elf Jahren?

Ja – und auch inhaltlich gewisse Schwerpunkte gesetzt. Meine Forschung ging ein bisschen weg von dem Thema, das ich in Cambridge bzw. Aberdeen bearbeitet hatte, „Rentierhaltung“ inklusive der Frage, wie Rentierhalter Klimawandel wahrnehmen. Ich wollte „raus“ aus der Tundra, fühlte mich nicht mehr wohl in dem „Feld“, in dem ich gewesen war. Als neues Feld habe ich Nowosibirsk gewählt: eine Stadt mit 1,5 Millionen Einwohnern. Dort habe ich mich zunächst mit der Musikszene und dann mit dem Kulturbetrieb beschäftigt.

Aus dieser Idee, Kulturbetrieb in einer großen Stadt zu beleuchten, entstand dann relativ schnell ein Projekt, das wir als Sibirien-Team gemeinsam durchgeführt haben. Da ging es um den Vergleich von verschiedenen Kulturhäusern. Diese Kulturhäuser sind deswegen so bedeutend, weil sie erstens in fast allen ländlichen Gemeinden in den meisten postsozialistischen Staaten existierten oder noch existieren. Sie sind oder waren Teil eines großen, landesweit organisierten Apparats. Und zum zweiten war es relevant, weil von uns Ethnologen in Russland und speziell in Sibirien ständig erwartet wird, dass wir ins Kulturhaus gehen sollten, denn da passiert ja schließlich „Kultur“ – da kommt sie zur Aufführung. Da wird Ethnizität [in idealisierter Form] vorgeführt, deswegen war es naheliegend ins Kulturhaus zu gehen, auch wenn niemand von uns das wollte – bis zu dem Moment, da wir uns ganz bewusst vorgenommen haben nachzuschauen, was dort eigentlich „läuft“. Nicht nur ich, sondern auch andere waren vorher der Meinung gewesen, dass „authentische“ Kultur nicht im Kulturhaus existiert, sondern in der Tundra oder im Wald. Und dann plötzlich die Neugier: Was passiert eigentlich im Kulturhaus? Wie überlebt diese Institution, die [bis Anfang der 1990er] ganz stark in die Propagierung einer staatlich vorgegebenen Idee von Kultur eingebunden war? Das war ein super interessantes Projekt. Es hat auch methodisch, vom Forschungsdesign her gut funktioniert.

Darauf folgte ein weiteres Projekt, wo es weiter darum ging, in einem Forscherteam mit vorab gemeinsam entwickelten Forschungsinstrumenten ein und dasselbe Thema zu erkunden in verschiedenen Orten. Thematisch war es abstrakter. Bei dem Kulturhausprojekt ging es um eine bestimmte Institution: da sind die Grenzen viel klarer. Das Thema des zweiten Teamprojekts bestand in der Pluralität von Lebensstilen. Es gibt ziemlich konkrete Definitionen dessen, was Lebensstile ausmacht. Aber wie untersucht man das? Wo setzt man die Grenzen? Wenn befragt man? Schon das Sampling war nicht einfach. Wir haben als Methode *photo elicitation interviews*¹ eingesetzt, damit haben viele von uns gute Erfahrungen gemacht, auch für die meisten Interviewpartner war es eine sehr angenehme Erfahrung. Insofern hat auch dieses Projekt Spaß gemacht.

Ist es nicht auch ein methodisches Problem, das in der Forschung in urbanen Räumen oft auftaucht? Wie findet man überhaupt Gesprächspartner? Was wird als Feld definiert? Das ist ja, denke ich, ein generelles Problem – oder hat es etwas mit den konkreten Bedingungen in Nowosibirsk zu tun?

Es ist ein generelles Problem: Im Fall von Großstädten ist es meistens schwieriger, ein Feld zu definieren und Zugang zu Personen zu erhalten, die man nicht kennt. Die Erfahrung haben wir schon während des Kulturhausprojekts gemacht. Je größer oder „zentraler“ der Ort, desto schwieriger war es,

1 *Photo elicitation interviews* sind Interviews auf der Basis von Fotografien. Im konkreten Projekt wurden die Interviewten gebeten, vorab Fotos, die sie in für sie wichtigen Lebenssituationen darstellen, auszuwählen.

an die Leute heranzukommen. Bei dem Projekt über Lebensstile war das dann noch deutlicher zu spüren.

Du sagst, Du sitzt immer noch dran dieses Projekt zusammenzufassen. Ist das Fernziel ein Buch (... oder ist es ein Nahziel)?

Ja. Als Sammelband. Die Beiträge sind alle da. Die Einleitung ist noch nicht fertig. Und wir haben uns lange überlegt, bei welchem Verlag wir es einreichen wollen – oder ob wir versuchen sollten, es als Sonderheft bei einer Zeitschrift einzureichen. Letztendlich fiel die Entscheidung dann für einen Sammelband. Und da kommen wir zu einigen Aspekten, die den akademischen Alltag so sehr prägen, ohne dass man als einzelner Forscher immer versteht, wie es dazu gekommen ist. Für einen Sammelband gibt es wenig institutionelle Anerkennung. Man soll heutzutage publizieren in möglichst renommierten, international führenden Fachzeitschriften. Es gibt in unserer Disziplin eine Top Ten-Liste, angeführt von *American Anthropologist*, *American Ethnologist* und *Current Anthropology*. Wenn man da etwas publiziert hat, dann wird das als großer Erfolg gewertet. Alles andere zählt vergleichsweise weniger. Also versuchen alle ihre Artikel bei eben diesen *journals* einzureichen.

Ähnlich ist es mit den Verlagen. Viele finden die Universitätsverlage in den USA sehr prestigeträchtig. Andere Verlage, die vom Verlagsprogramm her vielleicht sehr passend erscheinen, haben eine weniger hohe Reputation. Wie geht man damit um? Unterwirft man sich den [bei einer wissenschaftlichen Evaluation relevanten] Kriterien oder nicht? Ich glaube, diese Form von *ranking* nimmt uns teilweise die Kreativität und Freiheit und Flexibilität, die wir eigentlich haben sollten als Wissenschaftler: wo und wie wir zu Wort kommen wollen und unsere Beiträge platzieren wollen.

Ich habe jetzt weniger Zeit für längerfristige Feldforschungen in meiner jetzigen Funktion als Professor. Andererseits gibt es Leute, die ihre Zusammenarbeit anbieten und Leute, mit denen ich gerne zusammenarbeiten möchte. In einem Fall hat das dazu geführt, dass ich 2015 innerhalb von vier Wochen eine sehr intensive Feldforschung durchgeführt habe – eine, in der es um Zäune und Fassaden ging. Das bedeutete, per Fahrrad eine sibirische Stadt von 300.000 Einwohnern zu erkunden – Jakutsk – und Zäune zu dokumentieren. Zäune, Zäune, Mauern, Zäune ...

Zäune?

Ja, ich habe Zäune, Straßen und Geländer im öffentlichen Bereich fotografiert. Das war mit der Frage verbunden, ob sich so etwas wie *segregation* oder – genauer noch – *partitioning of urban space* abzeichnet. Also eine Aufteilung des öffentlichen Raums, der früher sozialistisch und in mancher Weise kollektiv genutzt war – in der Theorie wohl mehr als in der Praxis. Zu Zeiten des Sozialismus wurden große Wohnsiedlungen mit Plattenbauten errichtet, zwischen denen keine Zäune waren. Jetzt gewinnt man häufig den

Eindruck, dass die Bewohner sich abgrenzen, eingrenzen und ummauern wollen. Das war die These, die hinter diesem Zäune-Projekt stand.

Diese sehr kompakte Feldforschung habe ich genutzt, um mit einer jakutischen Kollegin einen Artikel zu schreiben. Das ging sehr schnell – zwei, drei Wochen für das Manuskript. Dann noch mal zwei, drei Wochen, um zu schauen, in welcher Zeitschrift wir den Artikel platzieren wollen, wer sonst dort publiziert, welche Debatten dort geführt werden (z.B. über Gated Communities) und wie wir uns dazu positionieren. Die Reviews waren relativ positiv. Wir haben dann nochmals einen Monat benötigt, um die Kommentare der Reviews zu berücksichtigen und den Text fertigzustellen. Das heißt, von der Feldforschung bis zur Veröffentlichung hat es sieben oder acht Monate gedauert. Eine Sache, die ich gelernt habe: Je mehr Autoren, umso mehr Zeit braucht man. Mit zwei Autoren ist es relativ einfach, mit acht bis zehn Autoren geht es nur, wenn zwei oder drei den Artikel entwerfen und zu Ende schreiben – die andere liefern Ideen, Textblöcke und Graphiken. Warum erzähle ich das? Weil die Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaften oft im Vergleich mit den Naturwissenschaften gesehen werden, wo ein Artikel mit zwanzig Namen drüber keine Seltenheit ist. Und weil oft gefordert wird, wir sollten interdisziplinär arbeiten. Das bedeutet, dass wir mit anderen Leuten gemeinsam veröffentlichen sollen. Man soll also auch veröffentlichen in Zeitschriften, deren Stil und Kultur man gar nicht kennt. Was für eine „Schreibe“ ist typisch für die Zeitschrift? Worauf achten die Herausgeber besonders? Was wollen sie sehen? All diese Aspekte finde ich interessant und sie beschäftigen mich im Moment sehr stark.

Du hast dies erzählt als Beispiel für eine neue Wahrnehmung der Arbeitsbedingungen in Deiner neuen Position am Institut hier in Hamburg. Offenbar war die Kurzzeitfeldforschung mit dem daraus resultierenden Artikel eine durchaus eine positive Erfahrung.

Es war eine positive Erfahrung, die wohl teilweise auch dem Zufall geschuldet ist. Vielleicht wird es klarer, wenn ich darüber spreche, wie ich hier in Hamburg meine Aufgaben im Bereich Forschung und Lehre sehe.

Ja, dann reden wir jetzt über Hamburg!

Für jemanden, der aus dem Bereich der Forschung und Forschungscoordination kommt, ist es nicht ganz einfach, sich in den Lehrbetrieb hineinzufinden. Regionale Kompetenzen zählen zwar, aber man muss auch in der Lage sein, Überblicke zu vermitteln. Während der Sprechstunden kommt es vor, dass ich nacheinander mit drei oder vier Studierenden über den Inhalt ihrer Bachelorarbeiten rede. Das geht in völlig verschiedene thematische Richtungen. Insofern ist die Gefahr da, dass man sich gelegentlich verheddert in dieser Vielfalt von Themen, die an einen herangetragen werden. Vielleicht ist das der Grund, weshalb Professoren im Ruf stehen zerstreut zu sein. Aber

dennoch – ich habe in den bisher zwei Jahren am Institut sehr gute Erfahrungen in der Lehre gemacht.

Darüber hinaus sollte und möchte man selbstverständlich weiter Forschung betreiben. Trotz der größeren Entscheidungsspielräume muss man manchmal auch Kompromisse machen. Ich habe als Professor natürlich auch Freiheiten und kann Forschungsfragen selbst definieren. Ich kann ganz bewusst bestimmte Themen intensiv betreiben und Anträge auf Förderung stellen, zum Beispiel bei der DFG. In meiner vorigen Position [am Max-Planck-Institut] wurde von mir erwartet, dass ich vorhandene Mittel nutze und Forschung koordiniere (ohne dass es eine Lehrverpflichtung gab). Jetzt geht es sowohl um Lehre als auch um Forschung, um das Schreiben von Artikeln und auch von Anträgen. Bei Drittmittelanträgen geht es ja auch u.a. darum, Möglichkeiten zu schaffen für Doktorandinnen und Doktoranden, deren Projektideen zu meinen thematischen Schwerpunkten passen ... also für die Leute, die jetzt dort stehen, wo ich damals stand (die Forschungsassistentin in Aberdeen ermöglichte mir, mein PhD-Studium ohne Finanzsorgen zu Ende zu führen).

Was sind Deine Zukunftsvorstellungen, in welche Richtung willst Du gehen in der Forschung?

Das eine Forschungsthema geht zurück auf das, womit ich mich im Geografiestudium beschäftigt habe, damals 1993, im Rahmen der Exkursion nach Jakutien. Permafrost [Dauerfrostboden] war das zentrale Thema der Exkursion. Mich hat interessiert, wie die dortige Bevölkerung Landnutzung unter den Bedingungen des Permafrosts betreibt. Oft heißt es, *climate change* würde dazu führen, dass diese Permafrostböden auftauen, und das wäre eine Katastrophe für die indigene Bevölkerung. Ich selbst denke, die Dynamik des Klimawandels und des Permafrosts hat die Landnutzung in diesen Regionen bereits seit langer Zeit beeinflusst. Mehr noch, vor etwa 500 Jahren sind bestimmte Gruppen in diese Region [Zentraljakutien] migriert, weil das Auftauen von Permafrost die Landschaft verändert hatte und es gute Bedingungen für Viehzucht gab. Teilweise haben die Viehhalter [in späteren Jahrhunderten] bewusst versucht, das Ökosystem zu verändern, Senken trockenulegen. Für die Permafrostforschungs-Community, die üblicherweise die indigene Bevölkerung als Opfer von Umweltwandel betrachtet, ist das zunächst einmal irritierend, aber eben auch interessant.

Eine weitere Fragestellung, die mir wichtig ist, betrifft die asymmetrischen Geschlechterverhältnisse im Hohen Norden, also *gender asymmetries* oder *gender shifts in the Far North*. Das ist das Thema, das nicht nur mich interessiert, sondern zu dem ein Forschungsnetzwerk von etwa 20 Personen entstanden ist. Wir haben *gender asymmetries* mit Bezug auf Nordrussland und auch Skandinavien inklusive Finnland analysiert und wollen uns gern vernetzen mit Leuten, die in Nordamerika dazu arbeiten.

Einige wissen, dass ich [im Wintersemester 2015-16] die Lehrveranstaltung „Queer Studies meets Social Anthropology“ angeboten habe. Die Resonanz darauf war sehr positiv. Viele Studierende fragen, wann es das nächste Mal angeboten wird. Das ist auch als Forschungsthema relevant. Ich weiß nicht, wie produktiv es ist, Queer Studies mit Bezug auf den Hohen Norden durchzuführen. Sinnvoll wäre es schon allein, weil bisher kaum Arbeiten in dieser Richtung existieren. In Ergänzung zu *gender asymmetries*, *brain drain* und geschlechterspezifischer Abwanderung. Dass die Frauen aus der Tundra, dem Wald und den kleinen ländlichen Gemeinden in die Städte abwandern, dass zur übrigbleibenden Bevölkerung relativ viele lethargische Personen zählen, dass die Rentenbezüge der im Dorf verbliebenen älteren Frauen manchmal die einzigen monetären Einkommen darstellen – all das fällt unter das Stichwort *gender asymmetries*. Aber darüber hinaus sollten auch Aspekte der Sexualität und Intimität betrachtet werden. Gibt es persönliche Freiräume und Lebensentwürfe jenseits des „Normalfalls“ Kleinfamilie? Was passiert mit den Leuten, die unverheiratet alt werden in einer ländlichen Gemeinde von 150 Einwohnern? Was ist mit den Müttern, die sagen, sie hätten lediglich einen „Erzeuger“ gebraucht, um ein Kind gebären zu können, aber bewusst darauf verzichten einen Miterzieher zu haben? Es geht also um familiäre und soziale Konstellationen, die vom normativen Familienbild abweichen. Ich glaube, dass diese Thematik für die Ethnologie wichtig ist.

Und es gibt noch ein viertes Thema – Raumwahrnehmungen und auch Umweltwahrnehmungen –, zu dem ich durch meine Arbeit für Tim Ingold gekommen bin und welches mich bis heute nicht loslässt. Aber ich möchte diese Fragen der Raumwahrnehmung stärker in den städtischen Raum eintragen ...

„Angst in the City“ ist das Schwerpunktthema dieser Ausgabe von Ethnoscripts. Geht es dabei um Raumwahrnehmung? Um eine Wahrnehmungsveränderung?

Ja. In der Beschreibung, die ich jetzt gegeben habe, ist es ein Puzzleteil, das bestimmte andere Teile verbindet. Es ging aus der Frage nach Pluralität von Lebensstilen in einer Region wie Sibirien hervor. Was sind die Bedingungen, was sind die Begrenzungen der Pluralität von Lebensstilen? Bei der Beantwortung dieser Frage kommt man relativ bald zu dem Schluss, dass bestimmte Lebensstile kaum lebbar sind, weil sie zu stark sanktioniert sind. Darunter fallen schwule und lesbische Identitäten, die durchaus auch Aspekte eines Lebensstils haben können, die sich aber in bestimmten Bereichen nicht leben lassen, weil sie zu stark dem Risiko ausgesetzt sind, auf offen homophobe Stimmungen zu stoßen. Daher kam die Idee, Interviews zu führen mit Männern in [der Großstadt] Novosibirsk, die sexuelle Beziehungen zu anderen Männern haben, und zu fragen: Wie verhält sich ihr Gefühl der Sicherheit im städtischen Raum? Wo und wie sehr fühlen sie sich bedroht? Gibt es für sie

bestimmte Orte in der Stadt, die ein *no-go area* darstellen? Und da sind wir wieder bei der Frage der räumlichen Wahrnehmung und der Vorstellungen über *gender*. Ich glaube, die Verknüpfung zwischen Homophobie und Xenophobie [Philipp Schröders Forschungen zur Situation kirgisischer Migranten in Novosibirsk] in diesem Projekt mag zunächst etwas willkürlich wirken; aber ich halte es für sinnvoll, über Xenophobie und Homophobie in einem gemeinsamen Rahmen zu arbeiten, weil Angehörige beider Gruppen dem Risiko von Beleidigungen und gewalttätigen Übergriffen ausgesetzt sind.

„Angst in the City“ war auch interessant als Lehrveranstaltung. Wir haben den Studierenden gesagt: „Schaut selbst nach konkreten Beispielen und versucht konkrete Ideen umzusetzen“, wobei der Zeitplan dafür relativ knapp war – ein Monat für die eigene Forschung. Sehr gut gefallen hat mir an dem Seminar die Kombination aus Studierenden aus Berlin und Hamburg. Manche haben sich mit Obdachlosigkeit befasst, andere mit Netzwerken von Migranten ... aber das steht ja in der Einleitung zum Themenschwerpunkt!

Herr Professor Habeck, wir danken für dieses Gespräch!

Gern geschehen.

Dr. J. Otto Habeck ist Professor am Institut für Ethnologie der Universität Hamburg und derzeit Leiter der Abteilung.

Mijal Gandelsman-Trier ist Lehrbeauftragte am Institut für Ethnologie der Universität Hamburg.

Dr. Michael Pröpper ist wissenschaftlicher Mitarbeiter am Institut für Ethnologie der Universität Hamburg.

Bericht zur Tagung der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Völkerkunde 30.09.2015 - 03.10.2015 in Marburg

Lena Borlinghaus, Karla Dümmler, Susanne Lea Radt, Anuschka Roudi

Reflexion und Eindrücke zur DGV-Tagung

Tagungsthema: Krisen. Re-Formationen von Leben, Macht und Welt

Als Masterstudentinnen der Ethnologie erhofften wir uns von einem Besuch der Tagung der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Völkerkunde in Marburg, einen ersten Einblick in die wissenschaftliche Praxis außerhalb des Studiums zu bekommen. Wir freuten uns auf neue Perspektiven, Inhalte und Begegnungen.

Flüchtlingskrise, VW-Krise, Griechenlandkrise, Klimakrise, Biodiversitätskrise – viel beredet und auf der DGV-Tagung häufig als Einstieg in die verschiedensten Themen zu Krisen verwendet. Im Zentrum der Auseinandersetzung standen besonders Umweltfragen, vor allem in Bezug auf das Thema Klimawandel. Zudem wurden die Herausforderungen einer öffentlich involvierten Ethnologie, das Zusammenspiel von Machtverhältnissen und Krisen, sowie die Frage, ob Animismus als umfassende Theorie zu Mensch und Leben dienen kann, thematisiert.

Bleibenden Eindruck hinterließen bei uns besonders internationale Gäste. In der Plenarveranstaltung IV zum Thema “Toward an anthropology of life time in times of multiple crises”, die am Vormittag des 03.10.2015 im Audimax stattfand, beeindruckte uns besonders Nancy Scheper-Hughes, die mit ihrem leidenschaftlichen Vortrag „The end(s) of the body: sacrificial and political violence in defense of saving lives“ zum Thema Organhandel deutlich machte, dass Ethnolog_innen mit ihrer Arbeit bedeutenden Einfluss auf die Politik nehmen können. Im selben Panel eröffnete uns Istvan Praet mit seiner Präsentation „An argument for the equivalence of animism and biology“, in der es um Parallelen zwischen Astrobiologie und Animismus ging, Einblicke in diese uns bisher wenig bekannten Themenbereiche. In der Plenarveranstaltung III am Vormittag des 02.10.2015, die unter der Fragestellung „Machen Krisen Macht, macht Macht Krisen?“ stand, verschaffte uns Antonius C.G.M. Robben mit seinem interessanten Beitrag „Crises of life and death: mourning and recovery in post-authoritarian Argentina“ im Bereich der Anthropologie des Todes bereichernde Perspektiven auf die lateinamerikanische Geschichte und das Zusammenspiel von Staat, Trauer und Wiederherstellung des Lebens der Hinterbliebenen.

Nicht weniger spannend war es, einen umfassenden Einblick in die verschiedenen Forschungsgebiete der anwesenden Wissenschaftler_innen, die sich innerhalb der Ethnologie bzw. Sozial- und Kulturwissenschaft betätigen, zu erhalten. Wir besuchten unterschiedlichste Workshops, die unseren individuellen ethnologischen Interessensgebieten entsprachen. Im Bereich der Umweltethnologie inspirierten Lena Borlinghaus und Susanne Lea Radt besonders die Vorträge im Workshop „Klima in der Krise. Multiple Antworten auf ein allgegenwärtiges Problem“ am 01.10.2015. Hier wurden verschiedene Herangehensweisen an die ethnologische Erforschung des Klimawandels präsentiert. Anja Bohnenberger zeigte anhand ihrer Forschung in Hidalgo, Mexiko zum Thema „Der Mensch und das Klima. Divergierende Sichtweisen und Strategien der Klimabeeinflussung in einer indigenen Gemeinschaft Mexikos“, welches kulturspezifische Verständnis die dortige indigene Bevölkerung von Klimawandel und -ursachen hat und wie sie mithilfe von sozialen Praktiken versucht, diese zu beeinflussen. Thomas Friedrich warf innerhalb seines Beitrags zur „Lokalisierung des Klimawandels“ die Frage auf, wie sich der globale Klimawandeldiskurs mit lokalem, ökologischen Wissen über Natur, Umwelt und das Wetter verbindet. Er stellte seine Forschung auf der Philippinischen Insel Palawan vor und zeigte, wie wissenschaftliche, klimarelevante Begriffe und globale Wetterveränderungen in den lokalen komplexen Wissens- und Bedeutungszusammenhang integriert werden.

Im Rahmen des Workshops 22 „Veränderung der natürlichen Umwelt. Soziale Auswirkungen, Handlungsräume, Interaktionen“ am Freitag, den 2.10.2015 reagierten Timo Duile und Michaela Haug mit ihrem Vortrag „Multiple Ontologien? Natur, Kultur und Wandel in Kalimantan, Indonesien“ auf die „ontologische Wende“ in der Ethnologie. Trotz der aktuellen Popularität von Ontologie im Fachdiskurs sei selten die Rede von parallel existierenden Ontologien, sogenannten „multiplen Ontologien“. Stattdessen, so die Vortragenden, würden Ethnien noch immer mit einer Ontologie gleichgesetzt. Dieses Vorgehen wurde von Haug und Duile kritisiert, da es die Gefahr einer neuen Exotisierung berge. Mit dem Konzept der „multiplen Ontologien“ wurde hier eine Möglichkeit vorgestellt, der tatsächlichen Komplexität von Wirklichkeit(en) und ihrer Wahrnehmung besser gerecht zu werden. Im Anschluss an den Vortrag ergab sich eine rege Diskussion, die in erster Linie in Frage stellte, ob es tatsächlich möglich sei, sich innerhalb mehrerer Ontologien gleichzeitig zu bewegen.

Die besondere Relevanz der ethnologischen Auseinandersetzung mit Mensch-Umwelt-Beziehungen wurde durch die Neugründung der AG Umweltethnologie unterstrichen, die ebenfalls am Freitag stattfand. Lena Borlinghaus erhielt mit ihrer Teilnahme an der ersten Sitzung einen spannenden Einblick in das Arbeiten und die Funktion der DGV-Arbeitsgruppe. Neben der Formulierung erster Ziele, wie beispielsweise das Zusammenbringen der verschiedenen Ansätze der Umweltethnologie, wurde die Relevanz der Sub-

disziplin für die Zukunft der Ethnologie und ihrer theoretischen Ausrichtung betont. Im Rahmen dieser Sitzung wurden Ursula Münster zur Sprecherin der AG und Carsten Wergin zum Vertreter der Sprecherin gewählt.

Anuschka Roudi nahm am Samstag, den 03.10.2015 am Workshop „Gerechtigkeits-Gefühle. Zur emotionalen Re-Formation nach Krisen und Konflikten“ teil, der von Olaf Zenker und Jonas Bens geleitet wurde. Darin stellte Jan Christoph-Marschelke „Das sogenannte Rechtsgefühl (...)“ vor und bot eine interessante neue Perspektive auf die emotionale Dimension von Gerechtigkeit. Jonas Bens erörterte in seinem anschließenden Beitrag „Gerechtigkeitsgefühle als Legitimationsfaktor des Internationalen Strafrechts?“, wie sich Gerechtigkeitsgefühle mit ethnologischen Methoden und Theorien erforschen lassen, damit das Fach einen Beitrag in der sozialwissenschaftlichen *Transitional Justice* Forschung leisten kann.

Von der AG Migration, Multikulturalität und Identität wurde am Mittwoch, dem 30.09.2015 ein interessanter Workshop zum Thema „Migration as crisis, so what?“ organisiert. Heike Drotbohm begeisterte Karla Dümmler und Susanne Lea Radt mit ihrem Vortrag „Care & Krise. Eine transatlantische Sicht auf Verhandlungen der Sorge in Momenten biographischer und gesellschaftlicher Transition“, bei dem sie von ihrer Forschung auf den Kapverden, in Lissabon und Boston berichtete. Der Fokus lag auf dem durch die Schuldenkrise ausgelösten Druck auf Migrant_innen, auf die vormals marktwirtschaftlich oder staatlich gewährte soziale Sicherheiten abgewälzt werden. Hierdurch entstehen neue Abhängigkeiten und Vulnerabilitäten auf individueller und familiärer Basis, die Drotbohm vorrangig mit dem Begriff der Sorge analysiert.

In der von Hauke Dorsch geleiteten Podiumsdiskussion I unter dem Titel „Krisen, Medien, Ethnologie. Expertise im Zeitalter der Kommentarfunktion“ am Donnerstag, 01.10.2015 diskutierten Journalist_innen und Ethnolog_innen über die gegenseitigen Erwartungen des Fachs Ethnologie und der Medien. Im Zuge der neuen Kommunikationstechnologien und Social Media erhalten ethnologische Beiträge eine neue Bedeutungsdimension. Im Plenum wurde darüber debattiert, welche Bedeutung wissenschaftliche Fachexpertise für die Öffentlichkeit hat und wie ethnologische Perspektiven präsentiert werden sollten. Die Veranstaltung regte uns im Anschluss zu einer beherzten Diskussion an, in der wir kontrovers die (Selbst-)Darstellung von Ethnolog_innen und ihrem Fach in der Öffentlichkeit sowie die Anteilnahme ihrer Beteiligung in der aktuellen Medienlandschaft debattierten.

Im Verlauf der Konferenz lud uns immer wieder die Begrifflichkeit der Krise zum Weiterdenken ein: Wo fängt sie an? Wo hört sie auf? Wie lange dauert sie? Wann ist sie „nur“ ein Konflikt? Wann gar ein Krieg? Was bedeutet das Label der Krise? Ist sie Gegenstand der ethnologischen Auseinandersetzung oder eignet sie sich viel mehr als Rahmen, innerhalb dessen unterschiedliche Phänomene untersucht werden können?

Neben der inhaltlichen Auseinandersetzung bekamen wir auch Einblick in die Organisation und innere Struktur der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Völkerkunde. Im Rahmen unserer ersten Teilnahme an einer DGV-Mitgliederversammlung wurden wir als neue Mitglieder aufgenommen und machten anschließend direkt von unserem Wahlrecht Gebrauch. Hansjörg Dilger wurde dabei mit seinem Berliner Team als neuer DGV-Vorstand gewählt. Wir freuen uns schon jetzt auf die nächste Konferenz in zwei Jahren in Berlin, bei der wir uns voraussichtlich mit dem spannenden Thema der Zugehörigkeit(en) auseinandersetzen können.

Insgesamt hat uns die Teilnahme an der Tagung außerordentlich gut gefallen und inspiriert. Wir bedanken uns beim Institut für Ethnologie der Universität Hamburg für die Unterstützung.

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