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# **Introduction**

## **SQUATTING AND AUTONOMOUS ACTION IN EUROPE, 1980–2012**

*Bart van der Steen, Ask Katzeff, and Leendert van Hoogenhuijze<sup>1</sup>*

IN RECENT TIMES, urban revolts and radical movements have become a frequent topic of discussion.<sup>2</sup> Since December 2010, people have occupied spaces, made political demands, and clashed with the authorities in major cities across the globe: from Tahrir Square in Cairo to Zuccotti Park in New York, and from the capitol building in Madison, Wisconsin, to the Puerta del Sol square in Madrid. Their demands have above all focused on democratic rights. For most of those involved, democracy is not solely defined as the right to vote but more fundamentally as the possibility to take control of one's own life and community and to truly participate in society and decision-making processes.

The first spectacular wave has by now passed. Its consequences are still being felt, however, not only in the Middle East, where the revolts have made way for long-drawn, arduous, and at times violent struggles for democracy and social justice that have encountered considerable setbacks, but also in the United States and Europe, where the Occupy movement has fanned out into a multitude of movements struggling against austerity politics and repression.

Even though these protests are taking place simultaneously, the protests and revolts in the United States, the Middle East, and Europe are not directly connected. Although the Occupy movement did refer explicitly to the Cairo movement as an example, and the protesters on the Tahrir Square proclaimed their solidarity with those in Madison, the contexts in which these movements are active are very different.<sup>3</sup> The symbolic power of a shared form of struggle is strong, but intensive political bonds between these different movements have not developed.

Europe, too, has witnessed a series of intense social conflicts the last few years. Most of these unfolded in an urban setting and involved large numbers of youths who clashed with the authorities. Examples are the riots in the Paris *banlieues* (2005), the December revolt in Athens (2008), the

London riots (2011), the 12 March Movement in Portugal (2011) and the M15 movement in Spain (2011).<sup>4</sup> Some of these protests in France involved mainly ‘second generation immigrant’ youths who responded to their underprivileged position and police brutality. Initially, this was the impression in London as well, but studies have shown the involved ‘feral underclass,’ as the secretary of justice called them, to be of a more ‘mixed’ nature. Both events were widely denounced in the mainstream press as apolitical and destructive. Other conflicts, such as the protests in Greece, Portugal, and Spain, explicitly attacked the austerity politics of their respective governments that had been forced upon them by external bodies like the EU and the IMF and triggered by the financial crisis. These protests were initiated by university students and were to some degree promoted as being unaligned to political parties or even apolitical. The student protests in London in 2010, now completely overshadowed by the 2011 riots, can be seen in a similar light. In yet others, youths resisted commercialisation and exclusionary urban politics and demanded a ‘right to the city’ for all. Such movements unfolded, for example, during the struggle for the Youth House in Copenhagen and the Gängeviertel complex in Hamburg.<sup>5</sup>

These urban conflicts and the political issues they touch upon are reminiscent of the wave of urban revolts of 1980. In St Pauls, Bristol, predominantly black youth clashed with the police after a police raid on a popular café. Also in 1980, youths in Zurich, Amsterdam, and Berlin occupied buildings and public spaces and clashed with the police.<sup>6</sup> The latter wave of occupations soon spread to others cities and countries and heralded a new cycle of protest in which the urban, youth culture and public space played a central role.<sup>7</sup> In 1981, riots broke out in both France and Britain, starting with the Brixton Riots, all in response to police brutality and racism.

A significant actor in these revolts was the squatter movement: a radical libertarian youth movement in which radical politics merged with underground culture. Squatters organised occupations, demonstrations, and often also clandestine sabotage actions. In cities such as Amsterdam and Berlin, the movement grew rapidly. In 1981, J.W. van der Raad counted more than 206 squatted buildings in Amsterdam, housing more than 1,300 activists. Around the same time, West Berlin counted 284 squats.<sup>8</sup> But squatting also spread to other cities and smaller towns.

Because of the movement’s focus on squatted houses and autonomous social centres, youth culture, alternative ways of living, and radical politics were from the start directly interlinked. Large squatted complexes often housed punks, runaway youths, artists, and political activists. In squatted social centres, political meetings were organised next to punk shows and alternative art exhibitions. Squatting was a political practice, a way of living, and also part of a youth subculture.

Most political activists, however, did not limit themselves to the occupation, running, and defence of buildings. Rather, squatted houses often served as an infrastructure from which other political actions were organised. As squatter activists began participating in the struggle against nuclear weapons and power plants, large infrastructural projects, neo-Nazi groups, and government cuts, the term 'autonomous movement' came to replace the initial 'squatter movement.' 'Autonomous' also made explicit the links with radical movements of the 1970s, such as the Italian *Autonomia* movement.<sup>9</sup>

In Germany, for example, the terms *Hausbesetzer* (squatter) and *Instandbesetzer* (a combination of the terms *Hausbesetzer* and *Instandsetzer*, that is, renovator) were soon replaced by the term *Autonom*. This happened as early as 1982, when the massive wave of squatting in West Berlin came to an end. The term signalled the movement's broadening field of action.

In Spain, too, the term 'squatter' preceded the term 'autonomous.' In fact, the first squatter group in Barcelona used the English term: it was called Colectivo Squat de Barcelona. After that, the term *okupa* became standard, while later autonomous became more common.

In Denmark, the term *besætter* (occupier) remained dominant throughout the 1980s, with the abbreviation *BZ* referring to the movement as a whole. In the 1990s, however, it became more common to refer to the movement as autonomous, partly because opportunities and possibilities for squatting had changed drastically and squatting became less prominent in the movement's action repertoire.

In the Netherlands, the term *kraaker* (squatter) always remained dominant. The term 'autonomous' was used from 1980 onwards, but only incidentally and by a specific faction of the movement. The term 'kraaker' refers to the Second World War period, during which resistance groups used the term (previously referring to burglary) to refer to illegal sabotage actions and break-ins. Most probably because of the associations it thus triggered, it soon pushed aside the activists' previous name: 'housing pirates.'

There were also cities where the term 'squatter' or 'autonomous' never became common. In Athens, for example, the movement first referred to itself as 'wild youth' and later claimed the term 'anarchist.' Even so, in their way of organising, their action repertoire, and ideology, they remained very similar to the previously mentioned movements.

The squatter/autonomous movement of the 1980s has received some attention from journalists, social scientists, and historians. There are contemporary studies, often commissioned by governments, that try to analyse social composition and demands of these movements, often with the goal of assessing the extent to which they (will keep on) threaten(ing) public order.<sup>10</sup> Furthermore, there are social science studies that mainly focus on the inner dynamics of these movements, such as an examination of their interaction with the media and the authorities, or of processes of radicalisation.<sup>11</sup>



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Pro-squatting graffiti in Barcelona, 2009. Photo: Josh MacPhee.

Authors close to the movement have also aimed to reconstruct the movement's histories.<sup>12</sup>

The historiography that has thus come into being is scattered and unbalanced. First, the available literature tends to focus on a specific number of cities, known for their 'spectacular' movement histories. These cities include Berlin, Amsterdam, Zurich, and Copenhagen.<sup>13</sup> Other cities are often ignored, especially in English-language publications. Accordingly, little information is available on squatter/autonomous movements in Vienna, Barcelona, or Poland. The problem does not seem to be based on language alone: the British city of Brighton, for example, has a vivid movement and movement history that have still not received much attention.

Additionally, the cities deemed central in movement histories are all set in Northwestern Europe. Historian George Katsiaficas, for example, wrote the only truly wide-reaching history of European autonomous movements. While starting his story in the industrialised cities of Northern Italy and devoting some time to Zurich, he focuses mainly on Amsterdam, Copenhagen, and especially Berlin.<sup>14</sup> This has led some scholars to view autonomous movements as mainly a Northwestern European phenomenon. Most of these link their inception and development directly to the specific political systems and welfare regimes in this region.<sup>15</sup>

Finally, most studies limit their time frame and focus to the 1970s and 1980s. London has been an exception, with most studies focusing on the 1960s and 1970s,<sup>16</sup> but these too have understood the autonomous movement as something of the past.

Limiting the focus to a period of ten years and one specific region of Europe leads to a distorted image of the movement's history, neglecting almost twenty years of more recent movement history and leaving out the experiences of activists in many other cities. The resulting image of these movements is thus distorted, important factors influencing their development are obscured, as well as the effects they can have. To get a clearer view of what these movements are, how they develop, and what influence they (can) have, it is important to see the whole movement: not only in Northwestern Europe during the 1980s, but in the whole of Europe over the last thirty years.

This collection aims to expand the historiography both geographically and with regard to the time frame. It includes studies on the squatter/autonomous movements in Vienna, Poznań (Poland), and Barcelona, cities that have so far received only little attention in English-language publications. The case studies also cover a time span of thirty years or more, from the early 1980s or earlier to the 2010s, while also discussing the movements' possible futures. By doing so, they provide not only a more complete, clearer image of these movements, but an overview of the movement's history, with an eye to the future.

## EXPLAINING THE FOCUS ON 1980S NORTHWESTERN EUROPE

There is a strong current in the present historiography that focuses (1) on autonomous movements in Northwestern Europe, and (2) on the 1980s. How can this be explained and how has it affected the literature? In part, the focus on this region can be explained by the fact that the centre of the youth revolts of 1980 indeed lay in cities in Germany, Switzerland, the Netherlands, and Denmark. In Italy, the youth revolt of the 1970s had been effectively repressed by 1980, with a great number of activists either imprisoned or exiled, leading to the 'Italian winter' of the 1980s after the 'hot autumn' of the 1970s.<sup>17</sup> In other Southern European countries, such as Spain and Greece, social movements were only just recovering from the dictatorial regimes and the democratisation struggles of the 1970s. This was the case in cities such as Barcelona and Athens. These movements were not yet connected to movements in the Northern and Eastern Europe, still in the grip of communist dictatorship.

The protest wave of 1980 in Northwestern Europe has also been explained by structural sociopolitical factors. Social scientist Hans Peter Kriesi and his colleagues have done so in their impressive research project, based on systematic newspaper analysis, through which they constructed a data set of social movement actions in Germany, France, the Netherlands, and Switzerland from 1968 to 1989.<sup>18</sup>

According to Kriesi et al., there were more political opportunities for new social movements such as the squatter movement in Northwestern Europe than in Southern Europe, because the conflicts between labour and capital had been pacified in the North through a corporatist economic system.<sup>19</sup> This diffused the conflict lines between traditional left and conservative parties, and opened up space for new social movements and movement parties such as the Greens. In Southern Europe on the other hand, the political lines of conflict between labour and capital remained much more antagonistic, thus tying the public to the traditional left and right parties. Here, the previously mentioned new social movements thus had much less influence. According to this framework, the influence and size of new social movements such as the autonomous movement are thus linked to a specific sociopolitical system and welfare regime.<sup>20</sup>

## NEW DEVELOPMENTS AND OLD NARRATIVES

The research of Kriesi and his team encompasses the thirty years from 1968 to 1989. Though large in scope, it also leaves out a number of European countries, especially those in Southern Europe and the United Kingdom. Furthermore, it does not cover the 1990s and after. Were social movements as marginal outside of Northwestern Europe?

The case of Italy, 'the only country where the [1968 youth] rebellion turned into a workers' revolt,' seems to disprove this point.<sup>21</sup> Here, the 1970s saw

massive radical youth and social movements, which reached the peak of their strength in 1977.<sup>22</sup> There were active squatting and radical action movements in Southern Europe and in Britain in the 1980s as narrated by the chapters on Barcelona, Athens, and Brighton in this collection. In his chapter on squatting in Poland, Grzegorz Piotrowski additionally speaks of squatted houses in 1980s East Berlin and Hungary.<sup>23</sup>

Especially in the 1990s, squatting again took a leap in Italy with the social centre movement: houses were squatted or rented with the aim of giving them a public function as a centre for both local residents and activists.<sup>24</sup> Not long after, Britain followed suit.<sup>25</sup> At the same time, squatting spread to Eastern Europe: not only to East German cities such as East Berlin and Leipzig but also to Poland and Slovenia (the Metelkova City Autonomous Cultural Centre in Ljubljana). Thus, squatting is a practice that can clearly take root and flourish in very different political settings and regional constellations.<sup>26</sup>

Interestingly, the new cycle of occupations in the early 1990s in Southern and Eastern Europe coincided with a deeply felt crisis among older activists in the Netherlands and former West Germany, the earlier hot spots of autonomous action. In these years, a part of their infrastructure disintegrated. In Amsterdam, for example, the important squatter weekly *Bluf!* was discontinued (1988) and an intense conflict within the movement led to the hospitalisation of a number of activists (1987).<sup>27</sup> The movements seemed to be losing activists, strength, and know-how. Important squats were evicted. This crisis experience was voiced in a number of, occasionally controversial, texts.<sup>28</sup> The German writer Geronimo, for example, who had gained fame for his first history of the autonomous movement in Germany in the 1980s, *Fire and Flames*, dubbed his second book, covering the first years of the 1990s, *Glow and Ashes*.<sup>29</sup>

The coinciding of squatting waves in some parts of Europe and crises in others signify that the protest cycles were not yet synchronised. This would happen later, with the rise of the alterglobalisation movement at the end of the 1990s. But most importantly, it showed that squatting and autonomous movements were not limited to a specific region or era, or to a specific socio-political system.<sup>30</sup>

The post-Cold War practices of squatting in Great Britain and Southern and Eastern Europe offer possibilities to expand the narrative of 1980s Northwestern European autonomous movements. In her work, Nazima Kadir shows that, at least for Amsterdam, this has not yet been the case. Rather, the movement there seems caught in a linear narrative, focusing on one specific protest cycle that covers the years 1979–1988, which influences not only research but also the expectations and imaginations of activists.<sup>31</sup> The 1980s movement is idealised and projected unto the imaginations and desires of activists who envision the perfect movement as massive, militant, and capable of spectacular occupations and street fights. The image of the movement has thus become static, blind to the movement's evolution, and the cause of many of the

current activists' experience of a 'schizophrenic' world, in which the real movement and its myth continuously clash.

This mythic movement also idealises a specific vision of militancy. According to this vision, radical movements in the 1980s were able to beat police forces during street fights and ward off evictions by barricading houses and sometimes even entire streets. Major examples are the Vondelstraat barricades in Amsterdam in February–March 1980, the Ryegade blockade in Copenhagen in September 1986, the Barrikaden-Tage in Hamburg in November 1987, and the eviction of the Mainzer Strasse houses in Berlin in November 1990.<sup>32</sup> In all these cases, the barricades lasted several days. The movement has often been pronounced dead because it would no longer be able to pull off such actions.<sup>33</sup> But this perspective both overestimates the strength of the movements of the 1980s and underestimates the subversive potential of the movements that came after. It is based on a far too limited understanding of what militant politics could be.

To extend the field of research and to broaden our vision to include movements from other regions and from more recent times, we need to move away from the classic linear grand narrative and the myths surrounding the autonomous movement of the 1980s. Instead, we need to acknowledge that this movement represented only one specific protest cycle after which many have followed and will follow in the future.

## CONTINUITIES AND CHANGE

Since 1968, Europe has witnessed a continuity of radical urban youth movements in which radical politics merge with underground culture, libertarian principles prevail, and direct action is preferred.<sup>34</sup> This collection focuses on the development of autonomous movements after 1980, taking into account experiences from different European cities. When we compare the case studies in this collection, what similarities and differences can be observed? What are the main continuities and changes? What are the effects of these movements and what factors influence its development?

One continuity we see is the libertarian way of organising. In general, parties, trade unions, or other forms of institutional politics are dismissed in favour of small and local groups. Direct, participatory democracy is central and often political affinities and personal friendships overlap. This has been the case not only in 'traditional' movement cities such as Amsterdam or Copenhagen but also in 'new' places such as Poznań. This, however, does not mean that there are no leaders. Rather, there are informal hierarchies, as is shown in the chapters on Amsterdam and Poznań.

A second constant is the link between radical politics and subculture. The emphasis on specific political issues may shift from urban restructuring to anti-fascism. The form of organising may change from networks of squatted houses to an emphasis on rented social centres. The dominant music styles

and subcultures of activism may change from punk to hardcore in the 1980s to acidtechno and freetekno 1990s to drum and bass and dub soundsystems in the 2000s. But the focus on the urban, on emancipatory politics, on youth and alternative lifestyles remains a constant. The Poznań squat, for example, started with a punk concert. The most recent protest wave in Copenhagen was triggered by the eviction of the Youth House that, along with others, functioned as an important scene for alternative music.

A third continuity is the localism of these movements, centering on urban development and a city for all. Squatting, therefore, is a central action method: it claims houses and social centres for public goals. But localism goes further. The movement in Vienna, for example, started with the Burggarten movement of 1979, which lifted the ban on walking on the grass in public parks. In Barcelona, squatters supported the construction of a local park and helped protect it against plans to build a sport complex. Similar protests also unfolded in Athens. In Brighton, a store in the city centre was squatted to protest high rent prices and gentrification.

The same goes, finally, for direct activism, and militancy. Autonomous movements tend to verge on the boundary between civil disobedience and confrontational politics. Here too, emphases may shift; for example from street fight militancy to more symbolic forms of confrontation. In Copenhagen, for example, autonomous activists refrained from engaging in violent confrontations for a while after a large eviction wave in 1990. Instead, they focused on forging alliances and peaceful demonstrations. However, after an anti-EEC demonstration met with brutal police force in May 1993, the movement again started to engage in intense confrontations with the state. Thus, while the movement acts more militantly at some moments than others, the goal remains to subvert traditional hierarchies and to question state authority.

### THREE DECADES OF AUTONOMOUS MOVEMENTS

As the case studies in this collection show, some general lines of development can be observed in the movement culture from 1968 onwards. Compared to the social movements of '1968,' the youth revolts of the 1980s seemed more pessimistic and dystopian. Instead of pacifist 1960s flower children or radical activists fighting for a certain victory, disenchanted and disillusioned youths with 'no future' rose up, seemingly less organised and theoretical but more militant and embittered than their 1960s counterparts. The revolting youth seemed to have lost faith in society: in the welfare state, political parties, the economy, the trade unions, popular culture, etc. They denounced grand political programs and the idea of (workers') revolution and instead sought to establish small, liberated islands for experiments with autonomy and self-management.

Even though our collection takes the 1980 youth revolt as its starting point, the movements that emerged that year did not appear out of nowhere.



Rather, they built upon movements and experiences from the 1970s. Cities such as Amsterdam, Copenhagen, London, Berlin, and Frankfurt had seen the rise of radical urban and squatter movements in the early 1970s. The first documented squatter action in Germany took place in the run-down Westend neighbourhood of Frankfurt on September 19, 1970.<sup>35</sup> The first squatter action in Amsterdam had already taken place five years earlier: in January 1965.<sup>36</sup> As these movements picked up speed in the early 1970s, the foundations were laid for the movement that would fully develop from the 1980s onwards. The movements of the 1980s built upon previous experiences, networks, and knowledge. Furthermore, many characteristics such as the action repertoire, the merging of radical politics and underground culture, and the focus on direct action and anti-parliamentarism can be traced back to the 1970s and even earlier. It is thus not surprising that many of the contributions in this collection take the 1970s as their point of departure.

Even so, some significant shifts can be observed from 1980 onwards. In contrast to the movements of the 1970s, the squatters of the 1980s were not only more pessimistic, they also seemed younger and less theoretically inclined. One could even say that anti-theoretical attitudes were dominant in the movements of the 1980s. This was influenced by several factors, to start with, the fact that the activists were younger and often more proletarian than their forerunners of the 1968 student movement.<sup>37</sup> The movement also built upon radical feminist approaches that aimed at overcoming the divide between leftist theory and practice.<sup>38</sup> As a result, actions became more important than their theoretical underpinning. Furthermore, a reevaluation of romanticist sentiments played a role. Most importantly because the squatters' movement resisted plans and governments that were still very much influenced by technocratic and rationalist ideas.<sup>39</sup>

But the anti-theoretical stance was in part also a reaction to the decline of the radical movements of the 1970s. Both those in Marxist-Leninist groups, groups supporting armed struggle, and radical student leaders of that era wrote long and often overly theoretical texts. By the end of the 1970s, however, these seemed to be written to draw attention away from the movement's trajectory towards insignificance or increasing moderation, rather than to prove a point. The frustration of younger activists with radical intellectuals was voiced, for example, in an influential song by the German punk band Slime, '*linke Spießler*': 'Always critical and political / Marx and Lenin on the bedside table / But you've got something against clashes / And you happily make room for the police. . . . And when we become aggressive / You are all suddenly conservative.'<sup>40</sup>

The lyrics of Slime seem to convey the aggression and lust for confrontation that was characteristic for the punk subculture and nourished by the 1980s squatter movement. This militant stance was also conveyed through the

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Left: Graffiti on the former site of the Youth House/Ungdomshuset in Copenhagen—'69' references the street address of the squat, 2007. Photo: Josh MacPhee.

movement's posters and publications, which often showed lone street fighters with balaclavas facing large crowds of riot police.<sup>41</sup>

In comparison to the 'dark' and confrontational 1980s, the 1990s movement on the other hand seemed driven by new optimism. It has often been claimed that social movements suffered from the end of the Cold War. The Copenhagen movement, for example, felt driven under attack because 'everything that smacked of socialism and collectivist politics was on the defensive.' It does not appear so for Vienna. As Robert Foltin states, 'Rather, the fall of the so called "Iron Curtain" was followed by a flourishing of new social movements in Austria and Vienna.' Thus, the influence of the fall of the Berlin Wall seems rather mixed. In several places, the early 1990s witnessed a new wave of squats, while in other places such as East Berlin and Poznań, squatting became possible for the first time.

Punk and hardcore music remained important, but squats proved nourishing environments for experimentation. Electronic avant-garde music transformed into acid house and techno and in several places, the movement's infrastructure proved vital to the inception of new party scenes. In the summer of 1988, Britain's youth culture was hit by a sudden wave of illegal rave parties, in which ecstasy was widely available and used. This 'second summer of love,' referencing the first of 1967, soon resonated through to the rest of Europe and more hippie-like values counterbalanced the aggression and partly anti-social stance of punk.<sup>42</sup> Writing on the situation in Brighton, the Needle Collective and the Bash Street Kids even observe a current gaining influence in the movement called 'fluffiness.' This 'mystical belief in the transforming power of "positive energy"' was explained by one youth: 'It can't happen as a confrontational revolution, [but] a consciousness revolution. . . . If people can change the way they think, all these problems would suddenly lift.'<sup>43</sup> Even so, punk-like mentalities never fully disappeared, but rather found new ways of expression in darker more monotone music styles like tekno and hardcore.

This relative shift towards more pacifist values was also reflected in changing drug consumption. The 1980s had seen a steep rise of use of stimulants such as speed and cocaine among youths. In the squatter movement, speed had been more prevalent because of its price. Some youth cultures, such as punk and techno, explicitly flaunted the use of drugs. In Britain, an important 1980s punk magazine was called *Sniffin' Glue*. The 1990s on the other hand witnessed a tendency towards 'party drugs' such as ecstasy and in some circles LSD, both of which became very popular in the techno scene.<sup>44</sup>

In the 1990s, both gender relations and militant politics changed. In the 1980s, images of militant politics had traditionally focused on physical street confrontations that forced the police to retreat. This stimulated a masculine image of the ultimate street fighter. In the 1990s, this image changed, partly because of the growing influence of feminism and queer politics in the movement.<sup>45</sup> Already during the 1980s, radical women, lesbians, and gays had played a significant role in the movement and challenged traditional gender roles.<sup>46</sup>

Punk played an important role among others because of its dress codes: as male punks started wearing heavy make-up and leggings while women started wearing leather jackets, this tended to obfuscate the differences between male and female punks.<sup>47</sup> But in the 1990s, the influence of queer politics caused the movement to become more receptive to understanding homosexuality, transgender issues, and gender-based violence. In several places gender politics became a central issue within autonomous scenes.

A second factor influencing the changing form of militancy was the growing strength of the police apparatus that often made the 1980s tactics seem obsolete. It became less common, and more difficult, to carry helmets or other 'riot gear' to demonstrations. In several countries, even balaclavas were forbidden. The inflow of new activists in the 1990s through the alterglobalisation protests also influenced the tactics of the movement. In their chapter on Copenhagen, Flemming Mikkelsen and René Karpantchof show that letting go of the original militant attitudes was a prerequisite to forging links to this new movement. More recently, the same happened when Athens anarchists allied themselves with activists from the *indignados* movement. This only became possible after the first accepted the latter's emphasis on nonviolence. Even so, the black bloc has remained a central part of the autonomous movement and the black clothing style of many autonomous scenes still conveys a decisive militant stance.<sup>48</sup>

The 2000s witnessed a number of other significant developments. As the alterglobalisation movement and the rise of anti-summit protests led to stronger links between local movements. Grand international networks were fostered through international anti-summit mobilisations, social forums, and no-border camps. For relatively isolated movements such as the one in Poznań, these international contacts and gatherings were of great importance, stimulating global exchange of information and tactics. The political trends of 1990s developed further, as movements and scenes opened to strengthen already existing alliances and forge new ones with other social movements and organisations. This was in part due to the shrinking size of the movement in several places. As movements lost the power to mobilise independently, it became both easier and more necessary to cooperate. Again, this often influenced the militant stances of these movements. But the changing political climate in many European countries, showing a sharp shift to the right, also furthered this development.

## RADICAL POLITICS, LIFESTYLE, AND SUBCULTURE

In autonomous movements, radical politics and youth subcultures are inextricably linked, though not always easily so. The range of possibilities for overlap were made visible again recently in the urban conflicts in Paris, London, Portugal, Spain, and Greece.

During the first two conflicts, no explicit political demands were made. This, of course, does not make these revolts unpolitical, as they are direct reactions

to the underprivileged position of migrants and migrant youth and more generally an underclass in both countries. Many politicians and observers, however, have denounced these clashes as expressions of plain hooliganism and anti-social behaviour.<sup>49</sup> Often the responses were openly racist. When in the UK a large section of the looters and rioters turned out to be native British or 'white,' reality was conveniently reinterpreted by one historian on BBC *Newsnight* to match the nation's prejudice by exclaiming 'the whites have become black.'<sup>50</sup>

Other movements, such as those in Greece, Portugal, and Spain, have taken a more openly political stance, in both cases against governmental austerity measures. The political character of these movements could be one explanation for the movements' longer periods of activity, in comparison, for example, to riots in London and Paris, which subsided after a few weeks. But even here, 'non-political' youth cultures played an important role. In Greece, for example, football hooligans took part in clashes with the police.<sup>51</sup> In Spain, political protest was linked to alternative party scenes.

The link with youth cultures thus does not render these movements less political. Rather, a strong connection with youth subcultures is essential for political movements to move from a small group to a large movement. The 1980 Zurich movement, for example, started only after political activists, demanding an autonomous youth centre, mixed with youths coming from a Bob Marley concert.<sup>52</sup> In Amsterdam, punks played an essential role in the squatter movement's shift from pacifism to militant politics.<sup>53</sup> Autonomous and social centres consciously cater to both youth cultures by hosting or organising concerts and practice rooms and by organising political meetings, debates, workshops, and so on.

But these links can also cause tensions, because youth subcultures can be essentially apolitical and don't necessarily conform to the politics and norms of political activists. Most youth cultures have a 'political' wing as can be observed with punk, hardcore, and techno, as well as football subcultures.<sup>54</sup> In the 1980s, punks would go to demonstrations and activists to punk concerts. But all the aforementioned youth cultures also have more 'hedonist' wings, in which drug use, deliberately posing as political incorrect, machismo, and sexism can play a role. This leads to conflicts in which activists attack others for their unreflected attitudes, sexism, and anti-social behaviour, while the other party denounces the politically influenced social norms of the activists as killjoys and detrimental to the 'everything goes' and spontaneous nature of their subculture. These conflicts happen time and again and are as old as the radical youth movements themselves and demand continuous engagement.

Historically, both radical movements and youth cultures have taken almost diabolical pleasure in appropriating dismissive terms assigned to them by conservative journalists and politicians. The words 'punk' and 'queer,' for example, have these origins. In a similar manner, German squatters dubbed themselves as 'the people our parents always warned us about.' In more recent times however, movements seem to aim more at presenting themselves as sta-

ble, politically conscious and worthy. Again, the stronger links with other, more moderate parties may have played a role in this.

## POLITICAL OPPORTUNITIES AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT

The development of squatter and autonomous movements is influenced by several factors, such as legitimacy crises of governments that emerge out of financial scandals or political controversies. In West Berlin, for example, the city government lost its authority with regard to housing policy because of a fraud case in December 1980. The city government lost more than 125 million Deutschmarks when the fraudulent construction entrepreneur Garski went bankrupt and was then arrested. This situation furthered the rise of squatting, which took a big leap in subsequent months.<sup>55</sup>

Disagreements among or within ruling parties, such as was the case of West Berlin, during which the ruling social democrats were divided over the question how to deal with the squatters, can also be a factor. In this instance, a moderate wing wanted to resolve the issue by legalising most squats and opposing police repression. A more conservative wing, however, wanted to evict all squats and uphold the rule of law. Elections were underway, with the social democrats being challenged both on the left (by the Greens) and on the right (by the Christian Democrats). Only after the latter had won the elections, and a clear policy was formulated and implemented, did the squatter wave subside.<sup>56</sup>

Loss of authority and inner divisions among the governing can thus create space for political actors from below. Legal standings also play an important role, such as can be seen in the Netherlands. The importance of squatter law for movements is further explained by Lucy Finchett-Maddock in her chapter on the United Kingdom, in which she demonstrates that there is a gap between the law itself and how it is enforced 'on the ground' and that movements are often intensely occupied with the law, as squatter collectives offer legal advice and write handbooks on how to deal with the forces of law. Further, squatter groups often lobby to change laws already in place, block or change proposed laws, or lobby to change the way they are enforced. While Finchett-Maddock focuses her chapter on initiatives in London, similar cases can be observed in other cities.

The issue of ownership also plays an important role, as can be seen in Poznań, and the lack of clarity around the ownership of the squatted paint factory now called Rozbrat. A similar situation unfolded in East Berlin after the fall of the Berlin Wall, when the ownership of many buildings was unclear. In other cities too, ownership is important. In most cities, preferred sites of occupation are complexes belonging to large (international) firms or the (local) government, since both can be pressured with bad publicity. This provides activists with a stronger negotiating position.

Urban development also influences the opportunities and limits of squatting and autonomous movements. When squatters moved to the city cen-

tres in the late 1970s, cities across Western Europe had been in the midst of a prolonged crisis, struggling with a long list of socioeconomic ills, since the end of the 1960s. Industry and a substantial part of the middle class were leaving the city because of transportation difficulties and living conditions. As de-investment led to decay and depopulation, poverty and crime increased. As a result, large urban areas were left empty, thus forming an ideal material basis for squatting. Autonomous activists turned to the inner cities as an arena for experimenting with autonomy and self-management. However, as squatters brought new life to the inner cities and deindustrialisation led to a definitive turn to service industries, the city centres became popular again and capital returned. Through the 1980s, Europe's inner cities became ever more intensely commodified, resulting in the often violent displacement of everything and everybody that did not produce a profit or fit the city brand.<sup>57</sup> As a result, in many cities, squatting moved from the city centres to the outskirts.

But not only external factors influence a movement's development, as the strength of a movement also lies in its capability to mobilise support and convince others of the rightfulness of their claims and demands. To be successful, movements must be able to form alliances with other political actors.

## SIGNIFICANCE AND YIELDS

Radical youth movements have been a constant political factor in European cities since at least the 1970s. What has been their significance? What have they achieved? Traditionally, squatter movements have influenced urban development by their resistance to large urban restructuring plans. They have also influenced the cultural climate of many cities by using social centres and squats as facilitators for alternative music and art galleries. They have influenced the local political climate, by forming often sizeable activist scenes. And, at times, they have even played a role in national and international politics.

With regard to the movement's influence on urban development, the Dutch sociologist Hans Pruijt was one of the first to give a detailed and systematic account of the influence of citizen's protest against the Amsterdam urban redevelopment plans of the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s. He assigns a central role to squatting in these protests. Initially, urban renewal plans foresaw the demolition of large parts of the houses in the city centre (with the exception of the mansions around the canals), the construction of broad roads through the city, and the construction of flats on the city's edge. The protest against these plans first caused significant delay, and then brought about a policy shift towards renovating the existing houses and preserving the historic city centre.<sup>58</sup> In Berlin, the squatters' movement has played an equally influential role.<sup>59</sup>

A great number of squats—according to Pruijt, at least 126 houses—were legalised in Amsterdam. In this sense, Amsterdam was exceptional. In most cities, the number of successful squat actions and subsequent legalisations

has been much lower. In places where the conditions for squatting have been exceptionally negative, activist groups have often chosen to rent places and use them as autonomous social centres.

These autonomous social centres have often played a significant cultural role by providing performance spaces for underground bands and budding artists, such as the German bands Die Ärzte and Einstürzende Neubauten, and the British band Crass. A number of musical styles have their roots in squats and squatter bars, such as punk, hardcore, new wave, and various strands of electronic music.

In his chapter on squatting in Berlin, Alex Vasudevan raises an additional point regarding how the squatter movement has also heralded new styles and aesthetics of living and interior design. Characterised by functionalism, transparency, and do-it-yourself attitudes, both the interior and the furniture of squats were intentionally makeshift, 'raw,' and without unnecessary accessories. Squats were furnished with second-hand and self-made furniture and people painted directly on the walls rather than hanging up paintings; in this way, the interior (and exterior) of squatted houses and social centres gained their own particular style.

The K77 collective, for example, a house in former East Berlin in the early 1990s, aimed at creating a space with room for experimenting and constantly changing interiors. As one of the activists explained: 'New spaces were largely laid-out through flexible and self-built wallboards. Wall partitions were accordingly fitted with omissions. Light openings, room connections, or breaks in the wall were designed so that they can be closed and reopened at any time. Overall, design decisions were left to individuals.'

The squatters' style came to influence the mainstream. Grzegorz Piotrowski remarks that several commercial and high-end bars and cafés in Berlin have taken over the style of earlier squatter bars and some styles have been incorporated by large furniture chains.

While squatter movements have formed an important part of local activist scenes, at times they have also played a role in national politics through engagement in anti-nuclear and anti-apartheid actions in the 1980s, and the global justice/anti-globalisation movement in the late 1990s and 2000s. In Vienna, for example, left libertarian activists played an important role in the months-long protests against the first government with FPÖ ministers. Earlier, the movement was part of the alterglobalisation movement and its international campaigns. In a similar way, the movement has played an important role in the protests against austerity politics in Spain and Greece.

In sum, buildings have been saved and urban renewal projects blocked, delayed, or altered. Significant contributions have been made to local cultural life and at times the movement has played an important role in grand political campaigns, such as protests against apartheid, nuclear energy and arms, right-wing politics, international summits, and austerity politics.

There are, however, also critical voices that claim that the autonomous movement has unwillingly functioned as a forerunner of gentrification. Exactly those areas where the autonomous movement has been at its strongest have often become popular areas for yuppies and tourists. This goes, for example, for Kreuzberg in Berlin. As students, tourists, and yuppies move to these areas, both rents and prices rise. Or, as one observer put it, 'First come the squatters, then come the cocktail bars.'<sup>60</sup>

Saving run-down neighbourhoods from demolition and improving the living quality thus seems to be a double-edged sword. By adding value to the neighbourhood, eventually squatters get driven away by higher prices. Activists have noticed this problem, but formulating a solution proves to be difficult. Recently, the German left weekly *Jungle World* articulated the frustration in the face of these developments in an article on the successful defence of the Piranha squat in Cologne: 'Much praise in advance for the squatters who wish to leave their mark on the neighbourhood by organising workshops, artist studios and nonprofit cafés. But they will not be able to prevent that their mere presence makes the old workers' district Kalk more attractive for students and artists.'<sup>61</sup>

One of the results of this development is that squatter and autonomous movements are driven out of the inner city to the city's periphery. This is discussed in the case studies on Brighton and Barcelona. Activists have responded in different ways to this development. In Brighton, activists squatted a complex in the city centre to protest the high rents in the city centre. In Barcelona, squatters chose to move away from the city centre to the Sierra de Collserola mountain range just outside Barcelona. The running of a rural squat close to the city can create a new dynamic that retains its link to the city, while not being dependant on it. How this will play out in the long run remains an interesting question.

The causes and dynamics of gentrification have in recent years become a topic of heated debate.<sup>62</sup> Even so, the demands and action repertoire of squatters and autonomous movements seem to have remained more or less unaltered: they respond to gentrification by demanding a right to the city for all. In doing so, they join hands with tenants' groups, neighbourhood associations and others, and form broad political coalitions with a differentiated action repertoire ranging from petitions and moderate forms of action to direct interventions such as occupations. The protests are not only directed against rent and price increases but also revolve around the quality of living. Thus in Barcelona in the early 2000s, a park was occupied to resist the construction of a parking garage. Similar successful campaigns were organised in Athens as well, and Gregor Kritidis shows that these sort of struggle go back to the mid-1980s. Gentrification is thus intensely debated within the left, but has not significantly altered its politics.

## CONCLUSION

A brief overview shows that squatter and autonomous movements are active within every larger city in Europe. Still, the existing literature is heavily influenced by the idea that squatter movements are mainly a phenomenon belonging to 1980s Northwestern Europe. To get a real sense of the scope of these movements, their evolution and potential, we must broaden the field of research both geographically and temporally. By doing so, local histories that have up to now received only scant attention are uncovered and larger comparisons can be made.

Such comparisons show a great number of continuities and similarities within squatter and autonomous movement history in Europe, ranging back to the early 1970s. They focus on the urban and demand a city for all; they organise informally, combine radical politics with underground youth cultures, and prefer direct action over parliamentary politics. Although the form and emphasis of the movements may shift, their basic structures remain the same.

Squatter and autonomous movements are active all over Europe and lastingly influence the cultural life within cities, playing an important role in local protest movements and at times gaining national or international significance. The development of these movements is influenced by political opportunities, legal situations, and capital flows, as well as how successful they are at mobilising sympathisers and forming alliances with other political groups.

In recent years, new protest movements have developed across Europe, directed against austerity measures and voicing the demand for 'true' democracy and a right to the city for all. Most of these movements are active within the urban landscape, and autonomous and squatter activists play an important role in them. This collection places these movements in their due historical contexts by covering the period from the 1980 protest wave to the most recent one. In doing so, it shows that radical protest movements are not something of the past or situated on the fringes of society. Rather, they are at the heart of it.

## NOTES

### PREFACE

- 1 Bart van der Steen, *Between Street Fight and Stadtguerrilla: The Autonomous Movement in Amsterdam and Hamburg during the 1980s* (PhD thesis, 2012), 36.

### FOREWORD

- 1 The term used by the communist rulers to account for the ‘differences’ between communist reality and the socialist utopia.
- 2 Karl-Werner Brand et al., *Aufbruch in eine andere Gesellschaft. Neue soziale Bewegungen in der Bundesrepublik* (Frankfurt: Campus, 1986), 202–3.
- 3 Michael Haller, ed., *Aussteigen oder rebellieren. Jugendliche gegen Staat und Gesellschaft* (Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1981).
- 4 *Häuserkampf I: Wir wollen alles. Der Beginn einer Bewegung* (Hamburg: Laika, 2012).
- 5 The nowadays uncommon term ‘Tartuffe’ refers to a seventeenth-century comedy by Molière in which he caricatured the intrigues and swindles of Catholic obscurantists at the court and subjects them to a, for his time, revolutionary criticism. Naturally, the societal role of women at that time was in no way similar to that after the bourgeois revolution.
- 6 *Handbuch für Hausbesetzer*, [http://raz.blogspot.de/images/hfhhb\\_01.pdf](http://raz.blogspot.de/images/hfhhb_01.pdf), 2002.
- 7 Polizeischutzamt Hamburg, *Hausräumung Eckhofstrasse, 23 Mai 1973*, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=146v6DR1eIM>.
- 8 ‘Hausbesetzung in Freiburg,’ deutsche Indymedia, February 15, 2007, <http://de.indymedia.org/2007/02/168494.shtml>.
- 9 Amantine, *Gender und Häuserkampf* (Münster: Unrast, 2011).
- 10 *Ibid.*, 158.

### INTRODUCTION

- 1 We would like to thank Detlef Siegfried and Jasper van der Steen for their valuable comments to earlier versions of this text.
- 2 David Harvey, *Rebel Cities: From the Right to the City to the Urban Revolution* (London: Verso, 2012); Paul Mason, *Why It’s Kicking Off Everywhere* (London: Verso, 2012); Wolf Wetzell, ed., *Aufstand in den Städten: Krise, Proteste, Strategien* (Münster: Unrast, 2012).
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- of Egyptian protesters with Madison, see Medea Benjamin, 'From Cairo to Madison: Hope and Solidarity Are Alive,' *Huffington Post*, [http://www.huffingtonpost.com/medea-benjamin/from-cairo-to-madison-hop\\_b\\_826143.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/medea-benjamin/from-cairo-to-madison-hop_b_826143.html). The article shows a photo from a Tahrir square protester holding a sign stating 'Egypt supports Wisconsin workers.'
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- Duivenvoorden and Grauwacke. Although both claim in their title to cover the history of the movement in the whole of the Netherlands and Germany respectively, they in fact focus on Amsterdam and Berlin.
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- 17 Birgit Kraatz, 'Der Traum vom Paradies. Über die Stadtindianer und Autonomia in Italien' in *Aussteigen oder rebellieren*, Haller, ed., 35–47; Peter Birkner and Robert Foltin, 'Toni Negri. Postoperaismus als Theorie in Bewegung' in *Linke Philosophie Heute. Eine Einführung zu Judith Butler, Antonio Negri und Slavoj Žižek*, Bart van der Steen et al., eds., (Stuttgart: Schmetterling, 2012), 52–92, 69; Antonio Negri et al., *Books for Burning: Between Civil War and Democracy in 1970s Italy* (London: Verso, 2005).
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- In recent times, more data sets have been generated, which can be downloaded. A database on European Protest and Coercion Data can be found on: <http://www.nsd.uib.no/macrodataloguide/set.html?id=52&sub=1>. This database offers 'valid interval data' on protest and coercion in twenty-eight European countries from 1980 through 1995. Next to this, there is a data set on protest events in Germany: PRODAT Dokumentation und Analyse von Protestereignissen in der Bundesrepublik and can be found on: <http://www.wzb.eu/de/forschung/beendete-forschungsprogramme/zivilgesellschaft-und-politische-mobilisierung/projekte/prodat-dokument>. This database collects information on protests in Germany from 1950 to 2002. See also Dieter Rucht and Roland Roth, 'Soziale Bewegungen und Protest. Eine theoretische und empirische Bilanz,' in *Die sozialen Bewegungen in Deutschland seit 1945. Ein Handbuch*, Dieter Rucht and Roland Roth eds. (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 2008), 635–68.
- 19 New social movements pick up issues not directly linked to the world of labor such as housing, environmental issues, and gender relations, and often consist of people not falling under the classic definition of industrial laborers. Introductions to new social movement history and theory are: Donatella Della Porta and Mario Diani, *Social Movements: An Introduction* (Malden: Blackwell, 2006); and Sidney Tarrow, *Power in Movement: Social Movements, Collective Action and Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).
- 20 This argument complements the work of Gøsta Esping-Anderson, who identifies three different welfare systems in the Western world: liberal, corporatist, and social democratic. The second and third are mainly situated in Central and Northwestern Europe. Esping-Andersen, *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*.

- 21 Angelika Ebbinghaus, 'Was bleibt vom Operaismus' in *Kontroversen über den Zustand der Welt: Weltmarkt, Arbeitsformen, Hegemoniezyklen*, eds. Marcel van der Linden and Christoph Lieber (Hamburg: VSA, 2007), 45–62.
- 22 Next to Katsiaficas, *Subversion of Politics*, see also Donatella Della Porta, *Social Movements, Political Violence and the State: A Comparative Analysis of Italy and Germany* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); and Sidney Tarrow, *Democracy and Disorder: Protest and Politics in Italy, 1965–1975* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989).
- 23 See his chapter in this volume, 233–53.
- 24 Pierpaolo Mudu, 'Resisting and Challenging Neoliberalism: The Development of Italian Social Centres,' *Antipode* 36 (2004), 917–41; Consortio Aaster et al., *Centro sociali: Geografie del desiderio. Dati, statistiche, progetti, mappe, divenire* (Milan: Shake, 1996), [http://www.inventati.org/apm/archivio/P5/09/02/Centri\\_sociali\\_Geografie\\_del\\_desiderio\\_1996.pdf](http://www.inventati.org/apm/archivio/P5/09/02/Centri_sociali_Geografie_del_desiderio_1996.pdf); Mavi Maggio, 'Urban Movements in Italy: The Struggle for Sociality and Communication,' in *Possible Urban Worlds: Urban Strategies at the End of the 20th Century*, ed. Richard Wolff (Basel: Birkhäuser, 1998), 232–37; Vincenzo Ruggiero, 'New Social Movements and the 'Centri Sociali' in Milan,' *Sociological Review* 48, no. 3 (2000): 167–85.
- 25 *What's This Place? Stories from Radical Social Centres in the UK and Ireland* (Leeds, 2008), <http://socialcentrestories.wordpress.com>; Stuart Hodgkinson and Paul Chatterton, 'Autonomy in the City? Reflections on the Social Centres Movement in the UK,' *City* 10 (2006): 305–15.
- 26 For East Berlin, see: Susan Arnd et al., *Berlin Mainzer Strasse: 'Wohnen ist wichtiger als das Gesetz'* (Berlin: BasisDruck, 1992). For Leipzig: BetsetzerInnenkongress, *Reader zum Bundesweiten BesetzerInnenkongress vom 12–14 Mai in Leipzig* (Leipzig: Conne Island, 1995); Dieter Rink, 'Der Traum ist aus? Hausbesetzer in Leipzig-Connewitz in den 90er Jahren,' Dieter Roth and Roland Rucht, eds., *Jugendkulturen, Politik und Protest: Vom Widerstand zum Kommerz?* (Opladen: Leske + Budrich, 2000): 119–40; 'Leipzig schwarz-rot—Ein Rückblick auf 20 Jahre autonome Linke in Leipzig,' <http://www.anarchismus.at/die-autonomen/6118-20-jahre-autonome-linke-in-leipzig>; Conne Island, ed., *20 yrs: Noch lange nicht Geschichte* (Berlin: Verbrecher Verlag, 2011). For Metelkova, see: Maja Breznik, 'The Role of Culture in the Strategies of "City Regeneration,"' Nada Švob-Đokić, *Cultural Transitions in Southeastern Europe* (Institute for international relations: Zagreb, 2007), 81–94, [http://culturelink.org/publics/joint/cultid08/Svob-Djokic-Creative\\_City.pdf#page=89](http://culturelink.org/publics/joint/cultid08/Svob-Djokic-Creative_City.pdf#page=89).
- 27 See the chapter of Nazima Kadir in this volume, 21–61, and the film *It Was Our City* (dir. Joost Seelen, 1997).
- 28 For Amsterdam, see: Politieke vleugel van de kraakbeweging, *Parels voor de zwijnen: Het verhaal en het verraad binnen de actie-beweging in Nederland* (Amsterdam, 1987). For Germany, see: Fels, *Die Heinz Schenk Debatte: Texte zur Kritik an den Autonomen. Organisationsdebatte. Gründung der Gruppe 'Für eine linke Strömung'* (Berlin: Fels, 2011), [http://fels.nadir.org/multi\\_files/fels/heinz-schenk-debatte\\_0.pdf](http://fels.nadir.org/multi_files/fels/heinz-schenk-debatte_0.pdf); 'Ich sag' wie es ist' in *Interim* no. 26 (1988): 1–37.
- 29 Geronimo, *Glut und Asche: Reflexionen zur Politik der autonomen Bewegung* (Münster: Unrast, 1997).
- 30 The factors influencing the rise and development of squatter movements is discussed later in this introduction.
- 31 Relatively new studies such as Owens, *Cracking under Pressure*, and Uitermark, 'Framing Urban Injustices,' keep on focusing on the 1980s and are uncritical of the established grand narrative, even though they attempt to also incorporate the more recent history of the movement.
- 32 For the barricades in the Vondelstraat, see Anderiesen, 'Tanks in the Streets.' For the Ryesgade, see the contribution on Copenhagen in this volume, 179–205, and the film *BZAT – Ni dage bag barrikaderne* (1986), <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bZZmwKJz5JM>. For the Hamburg Barrikadentage, see the film *Irgendwie, Irgendwo, Irgendwann* (1986–

- 1987), <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eBD1eBEKcmc>, (fragment). For the Mainzer Strasse: Arnd, *Berlin Mainzer Strasse*.
- 33 See, for example, Katsiaficas's foreword to the 2006 edition of his *Subversion of Politics*, in which he writes on the autonomous movement: 'The surge of movement actions . . . has decidedly subsided. . . . Scattered building occupations occur; squatted bars and collective centers remain open . . . Autonome tactics . . . remain a practical contribution to the question of organization. . . . Yet are the representative assemblies and collectives of the Autonomen sufficiently powerful organizational forms for today? Clearly the answer is no.' Ten years earlier, in 1995, the social scientist Ruud Koopmans predicted that the autonomous movement in Germany would probably not disappear, but had become politically insignificant. See: Koopmans, *Democracy from Below*, 210–14. That same year, the left liberal newspaper *Tageszeitung* commented on an autonomous conference with the question, 'Wie lange wird es die Autonomen noch geben?' ('How long will the autonomen go on?') (*Tageszeitung*, April 18, 1995).
- 34 Johannes Agnoli, *1968 und die Folgen* (Freiburg: Ça Ira, 1998); Axel Schildt and Detlef Siegfried, eds., *Between Marx and Coca-Cola: Youth Cultures in Changing European Societies, 1960–1980* (Oxford: Berghahn, 2006).
- 35 According to a broadcast of the Westdeutschen Rundfunk, [http://www1.wdr.de/themen/archiv/stichtag/stichtag\\_uebersicht100.html](http://www1.wdr.de/themen/archiv/stichtag/stichtag_uebersicht100.html). See also: Häuserrat Frankfurt, *Wohnungskampf in Frankfurt* (Munich: Trikont, 1974); Serhat Karakayali, 'Lotta Continua in Frankfurt, Türken-Terror in Köln. Migrantische Kämpfe in der Geschichte der Bundesrepublik,' in *Vorwärts und viel vergessen: Beiträge zur Geschichte und Geschichtsschreibung neuer sozialer Bewegungen*, eds. Bernd Hüttner et al. (Bremen: AG SPAK, 2005), also available on the website of *grundrisse.zeitschrift für linke theorie und debatte*: [http://www.grundrisse.net/grundrisse14/14serhat\\_karakayali.htm](http://www.grundrisse.net/grundrisse14/14serhat_karakayali.htm).
- 36 Duivenvoorden, *Een voet tussen de deur*.
- 37 The descriptions of squatters, journalists, and researchers of the early 1980s movement seem to prove this point. See: Stefan Aust and Sabine Rosenblatt, *Hausbesetzer: Wofür sie kämpfen, wie sie leben und wie sie leben wollen* (Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe, 1981, <http://anarch.an.ohost.de/schriften/Aust,%20Stefan%20&%20Rosenblatt,%20Sabine%20-%20Hausbesetzer.pdf>); Bock, *Zwischen Resignation und Gewalt*; Annegriet Wietsma et al., *Als je leven je lief is. Vraaggesprekken met krakers en kraaksters* (Amsterdam: Lont, 1982).
- 38 Gisela Notz, 'Die autonomen Frauenbewegungen der Siebziger Jahre. Entstehungsgeschichte, Organisationsformen, politische Konzepte,' *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte* 44 (2004): 123–48.
- 39 This for example plays an important role in the argument of Virginie Mamadouh in *De stad in eigen hand: Provo's, kabouters en krakers als stedelijke sociale beweging* (Amsterdam: Sua, 1992).
- 40 The song appeared on their album *Alle gegen Alle* (1983). In German, the lyrics are: 'Immer kritisch und politisch / Marx und Lenin auf dem Nachttisch / Doch ihr habt was gegen Rabatz / Und macht den Bullen gerne Platz . . . Und werden wir mal aggressiv / Seid ihr auf einmal konservativ.'
- 41 See for the posters and visual history of the German autonomous movement: HKS 13, ed., *hoch die kampff dem: 20 Jahre Plakate autonomer Bewegungen* (Berlin: Assoziation A, 1999); HKS 13, ed., *vorwärts bis zum nieder mit: 30 Jahre Plakate unkontrollierter Bewegungen* (Berlin: Assoziation A, 2001). For an extensive overview of German autonomous posters and flyers, see: <http://plakat.nadir.org>. For a similar overview of Dutch posters, see Henk Hofland et al., *Een teken aan de wand: Album van de Nederlandse samenleving* (Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 1983); Eric Duivenvoorden, *Met emmer en kwast: Veertig jaar Nederlandse actieaffiches, 1965–2005* (Amsterdam: Fort van Sjakoo, 2005); and <http://www.iisg.nl/staatsarchief/affiches/index.php>.
- 42 For the relation between punk and hardcore and the autonomous movement, see Gerrit Hoekman, *Pogo, Punk und Politik* (Münster: Unrast, 2011); and Gabriel Kuhn, *Sober*

- Living for the Revolution: Hardcore Punk, Straight Edge and Radical Politics* (Oakland: PM Press, 2010). For the relation between techno and the 1990s party scene and radical politics, see: Tim Malyon, 'Tossed in the Fire and They Never Got Burned: The Exodus Collective' in *DIY Culture: Party and Protest in Nineties Britain*, ed. George McKay (London: Verso, 1998), 187–207; and Torsun Burkhardt and Daniel Kulla, *Raven wegen Deutschland. Ein Doku-Roman* (Mainz: Ventil, 2011).
- 43 See the chapter on Brighton in this volume, 152–77.
- 44 There are to our knowledge no detailed studies yet on the history of (attitudes towards) drug consumption within the autonomous movement. For more general overviews, see: Stephen Snelders, 'LSD en XTC in de westerse maatschappij,' *Groniek* no.138 (1997), 61–71; Klaus Weinhauer, *Freedom of Choice? Drug Consumption in Berlin and London (1960s–1980s)* (Houndsmill: Palgrave, 2013); and Klaus Weinhauer, 'Drug Consumption in London and Western Berlin during the 1960/70s. Local and Transnational Perspectives,' *Social History of Alcohol and Drugs: An Interdisciplinary Journal* 20 (2006): 187–224.
- 45 For the influence of feminism and queer politics on the movement in Germany, see Amantine, *Gender und Häuserkampf* (Münster: Unrast, 2011). These discussions also affect the self-representation of the movement. For Germany, the social scientist Jan Schwarzmeier comments: 'From the end of the 1980s . . . [the movement] distances itself from all too martial images on printworks. Thus, instead of disguised and armed persons with cocky attitudes, the rebellious child is ever more often used for autonomous posters since the 1988 anti-IWF-campaign. . . . It comes across "not threatening, but creative and playful" and undermines the gendered position of militancy as a masculine behavior.' Jan Schwarzmeier, *Die Autonomen. Zwischen Subkultur und sozialer Bewegung* (PhD thesis, 1999), 197, note 2.
- 46 Amantine, *Gender und Häuserkampf*.
- 47 See the foreword to Adilkno, *Cracking the Movement* by Mik Ezdanitoff. See also: Uto Poigner, 'Das Schöne und das Häßliche: Kosmetik, Feminismus und Punk,' in *Das Alternative Milieu*, eds. Siegfried and Reichardt, 222–43.
- 48 See for example the history of the Göttingen Autonome Antifa (M), who consciously used a militant pose without engaging in militant confrontation: Bernd Langer, *Operation 1653: Stay Rude, Stay Rebel* (Berlin: Plättners, 2004), 206–13; and Schwarzmeier, *Die Autonomen*, 159–70.
- 49 Some however have explained the lack of political demands by the fact that in both settings racism played an important role. They could thus be compared to the 1965 Watts riots, which played an important role for the civil rights movement. However, because the traditional demands of civil rights movements—equal opportunities, integration, and participation—have in present-day Europe been incorporated by the neoliberal government discourse, social movements are literally left speechless. See, Kollektiv Rage, *Banlieues*, and Altenreid, *Aufstände, Rassismus und die Krise des Kapitalismus*; and Felix Klopotek, 'Klasse ohne Plan,' *Konkret* no. 8 (August 2012): 54–55.
- 50 Historian David Starkey in BBC *Newsnight*, December 8, 2011, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-14513517>.
- 51 Sagris, *We Are an Image from the Future*, 370; and Gabriel Kuhn, *Soccer vs. the State: Tackling Football and Radical Politics* (Oakland: PM Press, 2011).
- 52 Nigg, *Wir wollen alles, und zwar subito!*.
- 53 Jerry Goossens and Jeroen Vedder, *Het gejuich was massaal: Punk in Nederland, 1976–1983* (Amsterdam: Mets, 1996), 80–81.
- 54 See for example: Hoekman, *Pogo, Punk und Politik*; Kuhn, *Sober Living for the Revolution*; Malyon, 'Tossed in the Fire and They Never Got Burned'; Burkhardt and Kulla, *Raven wegen Deutschland*; and Kuhn, *Soccer vs. the State*.
- 55 See *Der Spiegel* 51 (1980).
- 56 For a detailed chronology of the Berlin squatters' movement and the influence of the state's response, see: Grauwacke, *Autonome in Bewegung*, 36–85.
- 57 See for this development and the role of capital and neoliberalism: Neil Smith, *The New*

- Urban Frontier: Gentrification and the Revanchist City* (London: Routledge, 1996); Neil Smith, *Uneven Development: Nature, Capital and the Production of Space* (New York: Blackwell, 1984); and David Harvey, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).
- 58 Hans Pruijt, 'The Impact of Citizens' Protest on City Planning in Amsterdam,' in *Cultural Heritage and the Future of the Historic Inner city of Amsterdam*, eds. Léon Deben et al. (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2004), 228–44.
- 59 Harald Bodenschatz et al., *Schluß mit der Zerstörung? Stadterneuerung und städtische Opposition in West-Berlin, Amsterdam und London* (Giessen: Anabas, 1983); and Andrej Holm and Armin Kuhn, 'Squatting and Urban Renewal: The Interaction of Squatter Movements and Strategies of Urban Restructuring in Berlin,' *International Journal of Urban Research* 35 (2011): 644–58.
- 60 Bart van der Steen, 'Eerst de krakers, dan de cocktailbars,' *De Groene Amsterdammer*, July 1, 2010, <http://www.groene.nl/2010/1/eerst-de-krakers-dan-de-cocktailbars>.
- 61 Christian Werthschulte, 'Das Autonome Zentrum in Köln wird doch nicht geräumt,' *Jungle World* 14 (April 7, 2011), <http://jungle-world.com/artikel/2011/14/42951.html>.
- 62 In this context, the work of Andrej Holm is of particular interest. See: *Wir bleiben alle! Gentrifizierung, Städtische Konflikte um Aufwertung und Verdrängung* (Münster: Unrast, 2010); *Stadterneuerung in der Berliner Republik. Modernisierung in Berlin-Prenzlauer Berg* (Opladen: Leske + Budrich, 2002); Holm and Kuhn, 'Squatting and Urban Renewal,' and 'Gut gemeint statt gut gemacht,' *Jungle World* 33 (August 16, 2012), <http://jungle-world.com/artikel/2012/33/46043.html>; and his blog: <http://gentrificationblog.wordpress.com>.

#### AMSTERDAM

- 1 I would like to thank the following people for their support and feedback during the writing of this text: Bart van der Steen, whose patience, support, and analytically incisive comments went far beyond the call of duty of any editor; Martin Hertzberg, whose invaluable critique served to challenge my thinking and were integrated into the text; and Elise van Nederveen Meerkerk, whose strategic feedback helped me to unlock a structural puzzle while writing.
- 2 Lynn Owens, *Kraaking under Pressure: The Decline of the Amsterdam Squatters' Movement* (PhD thesis, 2004), 49.
- 3 Eric Duivenvoorden, *Een voet tussen de deur: Geschiedenis van de kraakbeweging (1964–1999)* (Amsterdam: Arbeiderspers, 2000), 52.
- 4 Paulus Tesser, *Rapportage Minderheden 1995: Concentratie en Segregatie* (The Hague: Sociaal-Cultureel Planbureau, 1995), 56.
- 5 Virginie Mamadouh, *De Stad in eigen hand: Provo's, kabouters en krakers als stedelijke sociale beweging* (Amsterdam: Sua, 1992).
- 6 Maria van Diepen and Ankie de Bruijn-Muller, 'Kraakakties in Gliphoeve. Sociale chaos als voorwaarde voor kapitalistische ontwikkeling,' *Zone* no. 2 (1977): 27–44.
- 7 Personal conversation with Martin Hertzberg, SPOK, May 23, 2012.
- 8 Francesco Alberoni, *Movement and Institution* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984).

#### ATHENS

- 1 'Occupation without Reason, Just to Make the Experience,' *Kathimerini*, October 19, 2008.
- 2 Fotopoulos, a philosopher and economist who emigrated to London in 1966 and became an activist in the students' movement there, and is editor of the *International Journal of Inclusive Democracy*, which promotes the tradition of libertarian socialism.
- 3 Maria Margaroni, 'Greek Anti-fascist Protesters "Tortured by Police" after Golden Dawn Clash,' *Guardian*, October 9, 2012, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2012/oct/09/greek-antifascist-protesters-torture-police>.
- 4 See <http://www.viome.org>.