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MEMORY 'WITHIN', 'OF' AND 'BY' URBAN MOVEMENTS

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Introduction

In the narration of the 'long', 'red' and 'global' 1970s, many cities of the industrialized West experienced a concentrated though uneven development marked by economic and ideological changes. In this transformative context, there was a widespread perception of an urban crisis in industrial, deindustrializing and non-industrial cities.[1] In engaging with this crisis so-called new social movements developed diverse kinds of relationships with and within the 'old' institutions of the labour movement.[2] Against the growing interest in the history of new social movements and the 1970s in general it is remarkable that historians have somewhat overlooked the particularly *urban* movements that have sought to gain control over the transformation of their cities and neighborhoods, and offered platforms for such entanglements between old and new social movement cultures.[3] This chapter discusses two almost parallel urban movements within their very particular settings during the 1970s: the initiatives for the preservation and against the privatization of historic workers settlements in the deindustrializing German Ruhr (often called *Arbeiterintiativen*, in English 'workers initiatives'), and the more than 40 campaigns of the so-called 'Green Bans' operating predominantly between 1971 and 1975 during the construction boom in Sydney, Australia. A good number of suburbs, as well as parks, and most famously Sydney's old town, were preserved by the Green Bans who caused major disruptions to Australian politics and capital investment. When the Green Bans movement declined in Sydney in the mid-1970s, the workers settlement movement in the Ruhr, counting 33 initiatives in 1976, kept on expanding until the early 1980s to probably over 50 initiatives.[4] Not all of them were successful but both movements blocked extensive developments that would have changed the faces of their cities. Both cases selected for this comparison represent not only different kinds

of positions of workers within the urban movement, but also strong conserva-
tionist ambitions. Their engagement with a changing heritage discourse opened
new opportunities for cross-class alliances.[5]

The movements' labels were designed to suggest that the former stood in the
tradition of the old labour movement, whereas the latter was part of the then
growing (new) environmental movement. They did not conceptualize themselves
primarily as urban movements. Today the public memory of the *Arbeiterinitiativen*,
a name chosen for distinction from the widespread *Bürgerinitiativen* (*Bürger* in Ger-
man can mean both citizen as well as bourgeois), has been firmly integrated in the
institutionalized and to a great extent de-politicized industrial-heritage landscape
of the Ruhr which has been central to its regional identity under conditions of
deindustrialization.[6] The fast-growing public memory of Green Bans has taken
a more diversified form, in which also ideas of the labour movement and the en-
vironmental movement continue to operate, along with an extensive public rec-
ognition of the Green Bans' agency in Sydney's heritage preservation. Recently
the memory of the Green Bans has been used to provide new urban movement
actions in Sydney with historical legitimacy. The Green Bans themselves, that is,
their actions and leadership, have become urban heritage.

In this comparison, I will suggest three different perspectives on the relations
between collective memory and social movements: first, I shall look critically at
the role of memory *within* the two movements. Memory can inform collective
identities, which some scholars in the field view as important for the existence
of social movements.[7] Memory, moreover, can be used by social movements to
instigate and legitimate political action. Second, I will discuss how social move-
ments are publicly remembered today. The memory *of* social movements can
be highly political, and be subject to contestation as well as banalization over
time. Third, I shall discuss the relations between memory *within* and memory
of the movements in order to gain insights of how historical cultures have been
shaped *by* the two movements, and confront social movements' agency with their
intentionality. I will finally argue that the memory *within* the two movements
discussed here, *of* the movements and *by* the movements have been fundamen-
tally elite driven and cannot be seen as disconnected from each other. After the
demise of the movements, movement elites, that is, the informal, intellectual and
cultural leadership of the movements, continued to play important roles in the
shaping of historical cultures, even if neoliberal urbanism has ultimately proved
more powerful than the sensitive structures of movement memory in its capacity
to install alternative futures.

History, memory and social movements over the city

Urban movement action and studies have become very apparent in recent years,
as urbanization and the neoliberalization of cities is advancing.[8] Their theoret-
ical frameworks in many ways have been derived from the long 1970s, even if
the memory of the actual urban movements during that period is surprisingly

absent among activists today. The slogan of 'the right to the city' as disseminated with Henri Lefebvre's and David Harvey's work has become a common reference point among recent groups fighting gentrification.[9] These social scientists, interestingly, had their own historical reference points. Most prominently, the Paris Commune of 1871 was represented as some kind of archetype of an urban movement.[10] Historians today are paying increasing attention to the history of social movements, trying to transcend the more presentist perspectives of social scientists, who have dominated social movement studies, and drawing connections to the strong tradition of labour historiography.[11] However, while historians are actively shaping the memory of social movements, historical studies of urban movements still remain comparably rare.[12]

Urban movements differ from other social movements organizing themselves within cities: the city as such is their primary object of contestation. Nevertheless, there is no agreement on the conceptual spectrum that defines what an urban movement actually is, as on the one side urban movements might be acting under the umbrella of much wider political movements and, on the other, might take the form of extremely localized NIMBY actions. Further, cities as objects of contestation do not only comprise changing material structures but also comprise changing and disputed structures of meaning and memory attached to the built environment. Movements primarily concerned with urban memoryscapes could thus also be conceptualized as urban movements. Memory, as embodied in the built environment, often takes the form of 'banal memory', which is repetitively consumed by the masses without active reflection.[13] Activists, seeking to prevent or produce changes, may turn such banal memory into 'hot memory'. Memory activism, for example, over monuments, museums, or street names in cities can thus be studied from an urban movement perspective.[14] Similarly, actions for the construction or changes in urban heritage when claimed by civil-society groups can be viewed from such a perspective.

In the long 1970s, alternative ideas of history, memory and heritage grew stronger. Self-congratulatory narratives of nations' past were increasingly confronted by more self-critical assessments that sought to make visible the dark sides of history. On top of that, and in correspondence with widespread calls for democratization processes in Western societies as well as the popularization and reformation of Marxist ideology, historians decided to write history also 'from below' in attaching greater agency to the working classes; history became more social.[15] Left-wing intellectuals became fascinated by the life-world of the working classes, sought to forge revolutionary alliances with them, and industrial heritage was discovered. This could be interpreted as a widespread quest for authenticity in aesthetics and lifestyle, but also had to do with the growing appeal of left-wing ideology.[16] Urban movement action then often went beyond, for example, efforts for rent control and the improvement housing conditions, to prevent the construction of a highway or to reduce costs for public transport, but particularly for the preservation of working-class milieus or 'communities'. Evocations of working-class pasts could now serve as

a common ground for sections of the *old* labour movement as well as *new* social movement activists in the formation urban movements.[17] New ideas for a post–Fordist city ultimately corresponded with new conservationist practices and forms of public memory.[18]

Two cities of urban movement action: Sydney and the Ruhr

Urban structures, political cultures and historical cultures correspond, to some degree: place matters. But the local cannot be sufficiently analysed without taking into account the transnational and transurban transfer of ideas, people and capital. Local, regional and federal governments in Germany, Australia and many other countries around 1970 sought to encourage comprehensive urban renewal measures. Many Western cities in the long 1970s have witnessed local variants of deindustrialization and economic transitions to tertiary sector jobs.[19] The labour movement was faced with the challenges of what has been historicized as a structural break with the postwar boom.[20] At the same time, they experienced a clash between Fordist city planning and neoliberal visions with the visions of a then growing section of people that believed in a post-capitalist future, based on equality and diversity.[21] Intellectuals and activists such as Jane Jacobs in the United States or Alexander Mitscherlich in West Germany then called for an urban aesthetics where citizen solidarity rather than capital speculation should be the primary focus of future developments. Their demands would become popular among citizen initiatives trying to gain greater control over their transforming urban environment.[22] Thus, it was not only ideas of the past that were pulling apart during this highly politicized period, but also ideas of the future.[23]

As an extremely suburban country with comparably low levels of social inequality, with a relatively small population at the periphery of the world's economic system, and with a relatively derivative intellectual culture, the former British settler colony down-under was internationally certainly not regarded as a hub of radical social-movement action in the long 1970s. But the Green Bans movement with its charismatic leader, Jack Mundey, attracted international attention.[24] Like many other cities of the deindustrializing West, Sydney faced large-scale re-development plans, which threatened the existence of heritage, green spaces and traditional neighborhoods. The city had been the economic heartland of the Australian nation-state. The inner suburbs and the old town, which have been built along the foreshores of the Sydney Harbour and the mouth of Parramatta river, were about to lose their face. During Sydney's building boom, radical labour unions, supported and to some extent controlled by the local Communist Party, which followed an unorthodox Eurocommunist ideology, offered a powerful organizational structure to residents asking them for help. The local citizen initiatives then emerging across the city, the Coalition of Citizen Action Groups (CRAG) and local residents appealed to the union leadership. This comprehensive support over several years represented a new understanding of 'workers control' in shifting the focus of action beyond

the workplace into the city. The unions active in Sydney's urban movement were most prominently the NSW Builders Labourers Federation (NSWBLF), but also, for example, the Federated *Engine Drivers*' and Firemen's Association (FEDFA), the Building Workers Industrial Union (BWIU), and the Seamen's Union of Australia (SUA). Despite the importance of the institutionalized labour movement, which was absent in the example of the Ruhr, however, it has not dominated the representation and memory of the urban movement, as I shall argue in more detail further below. The union leadership connected new social movements and expressed solidarity, for example, with indigenous, environmental, anti-nuclear movement, feminist, gay and lesbian and other 'new' social movements, and of course heritage activists. Such cross-movement alliances did indeed also play a role in the Ruhr. Apart from the strong affinity with the industrial-heritage scene in the Ruhr, there were also connections with, for example, the environmental, anti-nuclear, squatters, and youth centre movement as I have argued previously.[25]

The Ruhr, despite its large size, has neither been associated as a hub of (new) social movement action or great intellectual and cultural vibrancy. The Ruhr has developed in an even more polycentric structure than Sydney; the industrial infrastructure that has determined the organization of districts and settlements has been referred to as 'Ruhrbanity'. This peculiar urban structure, following the industrial logic of the coal and steel industries that have given birth to the region, had direct effect on the way urban movement action has been articulated: the initiatives were extremely decentralized as the major umbrella organization that was founded by a working group (*Arbeitsgemeinschaft der Arbeitersiedlungsinitiativen im Ruhrgebiet)* at the Eisenheim settlement in Oberhausen in the early seventies lacked the strong instructional structure that the labour unions in Sydney were able to offer. It presented itself as the working-class version of the citizen initiatives that mushroomed in the Federal Republic in the early 1970s. The Eisenheim group organized the *Ruhr-Volksblatt*, a paper that sought to connect the local initiatives and provide information among them as well as to the outside world. There were also more local organizations in the cities of the Ruhr, which sought to promote solidarity among the individual initiatives across the region. In the Ruhr, the unions with the mining union (*Industriegewerkschaft Bergbau und Energie*) as the most powerful representative, as well as the Social Democratic Party, which became very strong in the Ruhr after the Second World War, were largely opposed to the 'workers intiatives', as they had a strong interest in the valorisation of the properties and a re-development of the Ruhr, which had been dominated by the declining coal and steel industries. The Ruhr's regional identity became strongly dependent on a slowly emerging industrial-heritage movement in which leaders of the 'workers initiatives' sought to embed the urban movement. This connection would become important also for the memory of the urban movement, which I will show below. New Left ideology mattered for the leadership of the initiatives, but not

so much for the local residents who gained support from intellectuals, such as academics, artists, architects, Protestant priests and alternative local newspapers, as well as a tenant movement fighting exorbitant rents, and an emerging squatters movement. Such mixed group constellations were important both in the Ruhr as well as Sydney.

Memory within the movements

Different and often overlapping sets of heritage were operating in the historical cultures of the two movements discussed here, that is, the way they articulated their visions of the past: working-class and labour-movement heritage, particular urban and national heritages, as well as environmental heritage. Both movements were representative of a new international heritage discourse employed by the left with a focus on urban conservationism with a social orientation (*sozialorientierte Stadterhaltung*), with communist-led Bologna as a captivating example for many activists and planners.[26] Heritage, like history in general, can be highly political, as social groups with unequal means and agency negotiate the meaning, construction and maintenance of the past in the future. Their memory activism often aims at the institutionalization of heritage in the official historical culture of places, which fluid identities are thus subject to manipulation from below and above. During this process, heritage as originally articulated by social-movement organizations might become alienated from its original meaning and possibly de-politicized and de-historicized. Nevertheless, the original aims and historical perspectives of former activists can later be re-invoked through the construction of memory by future protest generations that seek retrospective alliances as I shall show further below in this chapter.

The urban movement in the Ruhr evoked liberal rights such as 'citizen participation', used social democratic solutions such as the well-established model of housing co-ops that had gained in popularity over the previous 100 years in Germany, and presented itself as part of a transnational tenant movement against exorbitant rents and for social housing. The movement also drew on more radical social movement practices such as hunger strike.[27] More importantly, like in the case of Sydney, urban movement action in the 1970s Ruhr was often presented as a continuation of workers struggles over the production site. It was seen in the tradition of the labour movement and workers' emancipation in transcending the focus to the urban environment.[28] The major 'workers party' in the Ruhr, the Social Democrats, however, were supported by the vast majority of the inhabitants of the workers settlements, including movement leader Roland Günter who had been a member of the SPD's left wing, only very hesitantly provided assistance to the initiatives.[29] And the German unions were indifferent or hostile to the initiatives. Nevertheless both urban movement networks in Sydney and the Ruhr could draw on a repertoire of cultural and political practices derived from labour movement traditions. But there were important similarities and differences between the two.

Since the movement in Sydney was much more institutionalized, labour unions were able to transfer their action repertoire from the workplace to the city more directly. Strike action was directed not primarily to protect rights and welfare of the workers involved but on behalf of the wider community and interest groups beyond the common worker. In the Ruhr, however, the movement could not draw directly on the institutional repertoire of memory offered by the labour unions, simply because the unions in Germany were opposed to its claims. But the cultural repertoire of memory offered by the labour movement, which especially the older generations of tenants in the Ruhr's workers settlements could communicate during the urban protests in the 1970s, was certainly important to the historical culture of the movement in Germany's industrial west. This was beautifully demonstrated by the music of Frank Baier, one of the movement leaders in Duisburg, who collected historic workers songs from the Ruhr.[30] Baier also rewrote well-known German songs as local movement songs,[31] and I will get back to his long-term agency in movement memory later in this chapter.

In the Ruhr, movement leaders predominantly presented working-class heritage embodied by the local communities and architecture of the workers settlements as greatly endangered. In the 1970s, intellectual sympathizers of the movement began to work towards greater public recognition of the architectural, social and cultural values embodied in the history of the workers' settlements.[32] The Ruhr–Volksblatt (RVB) regularly included sections on the particular histories of various workers settlements and the way they had been constructed.[33] Immaterial heritage mattered significantly. The working-class traditions movement leaders sought to preserve also included 'values' of cohabitation, forms of communication and the social life in general, which could not be maintained outside of the settlements. The movement paid, for example, great attention to the preservation of the working-class dialect of the region, which it saw mispresented in the public, or the working-class tradition of pigeon breeding,[34] and rabbit breeding.[35] The regional history of the Ruhr, that is, predominantly its labour history, provided a major memory framework for the urban movement, ranging from catastrophic mining accidents[36] to celebrations of the labour movement, such as 1 May.[37] The RVB also published the personal histories, for example, in the form of autobiographical abstracts on lives that were presented as typical for the Ruhr or in the form of interviews with older dwellers.[38] Legislative history, such as the evolution of tenant rights in the early twentieth century,[39] or 1919 law for the protection of allotment gardens, was used to legitimize protest against privatization. As the RVB editors found, 'after the revolution in 1919 a good number of good laws was produced'.[40] The RVB remembered the November revolution 60 years before also to draw parallels with their own struggles.[41] Again, this is an important aspect of the memory structures within the movement of the Ruhr: while it was highly critical of the role of the trade unions – who acted as agents in the commodification of urban spaces and homes and, thus, were antagonistic to the protests against demolition and privatization – the urban movement activists in the Ruhr still solidarized

with labour unions' history and actions. Despite the antagonism, the RVB published chronicles of the 1970s strikes in the local steel sector.[42] At the end of the day, it presented itself as the most authentic relic of the degrading movement in the region. Remarkably, next to the repertoire of memory and practices offered by social movements, religious memory also placed a role in the urban movement of the Ruhr. Clerics engaged with the workers-settlement movement, the tenant movement as well as the emerging industrial heritage movement in the region. Many tenants of the workers settlements were members of the Church and protestant priests involved in the movement presented movement actions as a struggle for the New Jerusalem.[43]

The heritage movement around the world, and conceptions of the past and present, were undergoing great changes in the red 1970s. The urban movement engaged with discussions around the 'European heritage year' of 1975 in seeking to expand the common understanding of heritage. The life and architecture of the workers settlements, thus, began to enjoy greater recognition among conservators and architects also outside the region.[44] 'What does heritage mean for workers', a RVB article asked, informing the readers about movement leaders' participation in the final congress of the heritage year organized by the European Council in Amsterdam. 'This heritage is different to the one of the middle classes', it argued, and demanded the preservation of workers' quarters instead of ignoring the legitimacy of such heritage.[45] While the particularity of working-class heritage was emphasized, the movement leadership understood that writing the history of the settlements provided the protests with wider recognition and legitimacy beyond the workers' needs; it was relevant for society in general.[46] In Sydney, as we shall see, the discourse was similar.

In the context of the European heritage year, RVB readers were recommended a new book entitled *Keine Zukunft für unsere Vergangenheit?* [No future for our past?], which was co-authored by the most prominent urban movement leader of the Ruhr, Roland Günter, complaining about the absence of social history in the official heritage discourse.[47] The volume suggested taking the social structures of urban heritage seriously and made comparative references to urban movement actions, for example, for the preservation of old towns that were threatened by development plans in Germany and elsewhere. It pled for the preservation also of *industrial* heritage. The workers settlements were 'monuments of social history' (p. 118ff). I will get back to the importance of Günter for the memory *of* and *by* the movement below. It is worth noting here, however, that his wife Janne Günter with whom he had moved into the Eisenheim settlement, was part of the movement too and led a research project to investigate the typical life of the workers in their settlement, perhaps indeed an exotic place to the middle-class 'migrants' who sought to integrate while leading the movement.[48] Such outsiders, nevertheless, would watch the development of state heritage legislation very carefully, and would become influential in the recognition of industrial heritage and the institutionalization of the industrial-heritage movement.[49]

While histories of other urban movements mattered little – though movement leader Roland Günter wrote on the history of squatting in Amsterdam –[50] over the years, the workers-settlement movement in the Ruhr also wrote its own history, for example, by providing chronicles of the short history of the protest initiatives to the RVB readership.[51] And, as the workers settlements remained subject to speculation in the early 1980s, the editors reminded readers of the origins of the movement.[52] Important movement events, such as the hunger strike for the protection of the Rheinpreußen settlement, perhaps the most radical protest of the movement, were subsequently remembered in the publications of the movement.[53] Also activists who passed away were remembered.[54] Thus, as is typical for the social movements discussed in this volume, the workers-settlement movement developed its own historical culture, in borrowing strongly from labour and other movements as well as in constructing endogenic memory. Resembling some dynamics in the urban movement of the Ruhr, Sydney's activists also began, shortly after the emergence of the movement, to work on and formalize their own movement memory, for example, in the form of anniversary celebrations of local action groups.[55]

In Sydney, the urban movement articulated heritage in different and in a somewhat wider form, ranging from national to environmental heritage, than in the Ruhr, where the main focus was on working-class heritage as strongly associated with the typical culture of the region. Resident groups and individuals asked radical unions for assistance to prevent the construction of expressways for cars, high-rise building complexes, the demolishing of parks and innercity bushland and so forth. The strong alliance between middle-class and working-class citizens, including neighbourhood action groups, creatives and professionals, and very left-wing unions proved powerful and remains an important episode in the global history and memory of urban movements. BLF leader Jack Mundey presented the extraparliamentary actions as workers simply 'doing their job' on behalf of 'the working people'. To him this was the 'social responsibility' of unions in the 1970s which should get involved in politics beyond the workplace. This responsibility also involved 'history'. In 1972, he prophesied: 'If architects, engineers and building workers combine to preserve a little of our history people in the future will be grateful for our belated action'.[56] While the movement leadership followed ideological and historical motifs, it is doubtful to what extent citizens who sought to protect their home as well as the average construction worker involved in the actions had similar ambitions. It is more likely that, like in the Ruhr, also in Sydney the urban movement participants' motivations varied within a spectrum ranging from NIMBY attitudes to revolutionary visions.[57]

Laurajane Smith pointed out that the Green Bans were installed at a time when there was, like in Europe, also a widespread movement for a comprehensive heritage legislation in Australia.[58] While embedded in transnational developments in ideology and historical culture, the Green Bans movement articulated its heritage activism strongly within a national framework of memory, rather than within the

particular, urban framework of the city of Sydney or the one of working-class memory – as it had been the case in the Ruhr. This becomes especially evident in the protests over the preservation of Sydney's oldtown: 'Australia has one heritage, one past, one birthplace: The Rocks' a poster from 1973 to 1974 claimed inviting the public to a meeting at Millers Point chaired by CRAG leader Neil Runcie who sought to prevent urban changes for profit motives.[59] Activists sought to bring greater public attention to the history of Sydney Harbour and the residential settlements in the area, with the Rocks being described as 'the cradle of a nation'. Very localized heritage was associated with a 'discovery' of Australian history and heritage which enjoyed greater public attention than it had before; urban movement action against re-development plans by the government could thus be presented as patriotic.[60] Like in the Ruhr, the action groups in Sydney formed to prevent urban neoliberalization (without using the term, yet) and evictions of low-income earners focussed strongly on the threat to the 'community' as well as material heritage, and 'history' in the widest sense. But 'community' did not necessarily mean only residents in the district concerned, but could also comprise all citizens of Sydney, or even the nation in general.

This is a variation in comparison to the movement in the Ruhr, where representatives of the academic, political and cultural elite still continue to take common efforts for greater national recognition of its workers' heritage. Both movements protested against high-rise buildings for ensuring good living standards for low-income households as well as for aesthetic and historic reasons, and in both cases movement elites strongly drew on the changing heritage discourse. But only in Sydney, during the important campaign for the preservation of Sydney's oldtown, The Rocks, did the unions draw heavily on a rhetoric of *national* heritage. This was perhaps for tactical reasons. Left-wing nationalism has certainly been more acceptable in Australia than in Germany since 1945, and Australia's search for its own glorious past during the emancipation from the British motherland has remained an ongoing process. During this campaign, industrial and working-class history of The Rocks gained public attention in the Australian media.[61] At the same time, The Rocks became increasingly touristic over the 1960s and 1970s, even its former Mining Museum attracted greater number of visitors until the closure in the early 1980s.[62] It is noteworthy that in Sydney, like in the Ruhr, local groups just wanting to stay in their homes, were headed by architects and planners who had different visions than their colleagues working for the state. The committee for the alternative 'People's Plan for the Rocks', indeed, was chaired by the famous architect Neville Gruzman. And also the role of artists was important.[63] Artists then sought to mobilize the public to prevent the closure of the Argyle Arts Centre in a restored wool store of the formerly industrial area in Sydney Harbour.[64] The unions, on the other hand, were careful in not being presented as predominantly ideologically motivated and sought to emphasize the general will of local residents who were simply caring for their environment, and the unions' assistance in making them heard through the development of the alternative 'People's Plan'.[65]

Memory of the movements

Not only social movements overlap, but also the sets of memory attached to particular movements, and their leadership, matter not only within a social movement but also in the memory thereof. Sydney's Green Bans, are enjoying a greater prominence in public memory than the *Arbeiterinitiativen* in the Ruhr. The memory of the Green Bans – as a labour and environmental movement as well as a very special form citizen action – is comparably vibrant in the political and historical culture of Sydney and Australia in general, even if by far not every Sydneysider knows about this great episode in their urban history. The memory of the workers-settlement movement, on the other hand, plays a more peripheral role in the German Ruhr, though it is currently developing thanks to efforts from above and below. In Sydney in particular, more than in the Ruhr, the memory urban movement of the 1970s has enjoyed increasing representation in the form of memorial sites including plaques, murals, places and walks. Just to mention a few examples: at Kelly's Bush, a memorial stone was set to celebrate the 25th anniversary of the 1971 Green Ban, stating that this was the place where the 'world's first Green Ban' took place.[66] In the 1990s, the Green Bans park was developed by residents in the inner suburb of Erskineville, displaying a great number of explanatory memorial plaques.[67] I cannot draw a comprehensive picture of the material memoryscape of Sydney's Green Bans here, but to me the murals of Woolloomooloo are its most impressive feature. As suggested above, the memory of urban movements may start shortly after their commencement, often from within the movement. The vast murals of Woolloomooloo, glorifying the social movement, the unions and the leadership, were created already a few years after the decline of the movement in Sydney. The project by the two activist artists Merilyn Fairskye and Michiel Dolk with the Residents Action Group of the district began in the late 1970s and ended in the mid-1980s. The murals were restored by Sydney Artefacts Conservation and Artcare between 2009 and 2013.[68] This innercity suburb until today has maintained relatively large sections of social housing. Poverty is quite visible at the doorstep of the homes of new millionaires who possibly find the grungier sections of their neighbourhood somewhat cool and enjoy the centrality as well as accessibility to the Botanic Garden and the foreshores. More importantly, from the murals it is only a few-minutes walk to the Juanita Nielsen Community Centre opened by the City of Sydney in 1984. This must not be missed when exploring the Green Bans' material memoryscape.[69] Nielsen, who had been associated with the Green Ban and urban conservation movement is widely believed to have been murdered in 1975. Artist Zaggy Begg has just made a film about Nielsen's story, where memory takes a highly aestheticized form.[70] However, it is impossible to draw a complete picture here.

Interestingly, and perhaps more strongly than in the Ruhr, the superhuman side of Sydney's Green-Ban memory is very dominant in correspondence with the leadership of the past. Powerful individuals, especially of the Green Bans, but

to a great degree also of the workers initiatives in the Ruhr, stick out in the memoryscapes of both cities and remain living legends. Public memory is strongly of leaders rather than of the social movements in general. The BLF and Jack Mundey, one of the charismatic movement leaders, have been presented most prominently in the public memory of the movement in Sydney and elsewhere in the country. From the early 1980s, the national media promoted mainstream memory of Mundey's persona and movement leadership.[71] In the new millennium, Mundey gained the status of a national hero with representations ranging, for example, from a photo purchased in the National Portrait Gallery, [72] via a film documentary by the National Film and Sound Archive, [73] to a very recent biography that has been widely discussed.[74] Mundey, has been acknowledged not only for his union work, but also for his subsequent work as a heritage conservator in Sydney, New South Wales and Australia. In 2007, a place of The Rocks has been named 'Jack Mundey Place'. He has the official status of a 'living national treasure' in Australia. Thus, like in the memory by the movement, also the memory of the movement has been shaped by a certain degree of Australian nationalism.

The memory of the Green Bans is growing fast, in Sydney and outside. I am myself contributing to the memory of the Green Bans, not only in the course of publishing this work, but also, for example, in teachings on the history of civil society at Utrecht University, where students have to watch Pat Fiske's documentary *Rocking the Foundations* from 1985 about the history of Sydney's BLF with a focus on the Green Bans. And I am certainly not the only academic who works on the memory of this exciting movement. I also understand that I am contributing to the more slowly developing memory of the *Arbeiterinitiativen* in the Ruhr by engaging with the history to which I will come back in a moment. Academics, indeed, play an important role in the memory of social movements. Meredith and Verity Burgmann's standard work from 1998 on the history of the Green Bans, for example, had been out of print for many years, until in 2017 a new edition was sold in the bookshops across the country.[75] As the archival memory of the two urban movements discussed here is vast, it would be surprising if historians would not do further work on them.[76] Last but not least, the internet is becoming an increasingly powerful place of official as well as more informal memory, especially of the Green Bans.[77] There, for example, local initiatives operating today portray the history of the Green Bans, [78] and the City of Sydney serves with wonderful online data from an oral history project including the personal memory of Jack Mundey.[79] But most readers will be able to master the art of googling, so there is little reason why I should preempt any encompassing review here.

The workers initiatives in the Ruhr are presented online only to a very limited extent, and I have experienced calls among academics of the industrial-heritage community in the region as well as local history workshops to commence with a more complete history of this movement. An exceptional example is an extensive master's thesis on the struggles over the Floez Dickebank settlement in Gelsenkirchen, which has been submitted in 2013 to the University of Cologne.[80]

Previously the focus has been predominantly on the material structures and the history of the settlements from an urban planning and heritage perspective.[81] Nineteen of the hundreds of workers' settlements are part of the Route der *Industriekultur* (Route of Industrial Heritage), but the movement struggles play a very marginal role in the representation of the settlements' past.[82] There are a number of possible reasons for this. First, in comparison to Sydney the urban movement of the Ruhr was smaller. The Green Bans were part of a strike wave that went beyond the traditional practices of Australian Labor politics, caused major disruptions for investments into urban developments, and thus caused so much furore in local, regional as well as national politics that also the memory of the movement enjoyed a greater kind of predisposition to prominence than the protests in the Ruhr did. Second, the deindustrializing and politically fragmentized Ruhr has not been seen as a metropolitan centre of urban Germany, whereas Sydney is the urban centre of Australia. Third, the urban crisis of the economically and demographically declining Ruhr has played out very differently Sydney, which has experienced an ongoing influx of population and capital investment.

It is only very recently that the industrial heritage of the Ruhr in general began to be studied from a social movement perspective, which has been largely thanks to the stimulus of the Institute for Social Movements in Bochum, which is located in the House for the History of the Ruhr and is part of the Ruhr University's history department, with Stefan Berger becoming Director in 2011.[83] This is having an effect on the regional museum sector. In 2018, an exhibition in Dortmund by Jana Flieshart and Jana Golombek, who is taking her PhD with Berger, engaged with protagonists of the *Arbeiterinitiativen*.[84] As part of the exhibition, four historical films by Klaus Helle about the movement struggles were shown in parts or at full length.[85] The archiving of such films, as much as other material for the preservation of movement memory, has been largely thanks to private initiative. It is worth noting that these films that have been held in Paul Hofmann's *Kinemathek des Ruhrgebiets* in Essen, which has received financial support by the state government and will soon be transferred to the Ruhr Museum at the Zollverein world-heritage site, where also the regional photo archive is located. It will be interesting to see what such efforts will do to the general memory of the workers-settlement initiatives, which remain part of a de-politicized industrial-heritage network that has become strongly institutionalized and to a great degree commodified and tailored for the wider public, as it is perceived as the most important and distinctive characteristic of the deindustrializing region vis-à-vis others.[86]

The above-mentioned Eisenheim settlement, probably the oldest in the Ruhr and the first one where urban movement action was successful in the early 1970s when being put under protection, has enjoyed disproportionate representation in public memory and is part and parcel of the official representation of the Ruhr's industrial-heritage landscape. Since the 1990s, Eisenheim has a museum focussing on the history of everyday life in the workers quarter.[87] In the late 2000s, a TV programme on a working-class family in the settlement brought further public

attention to Eisenheim and could possibly be accused of a certain middle-class vo-
yeurism and banalization of memory.[88] But, Eisenheim is also the most important
place in the memory of the movement for the protection of the Ruhr's workers'
settlements. This has been partly due to the memory work and leadership of
Roland Guenter in Eisenheim, who in some ways perhaps could be seen as the
Ruhr's equivalent to Mundey, as I shall further explain below, though Mundey's
status as a national hero in Australia cannot be matched by Guenter in Germany.

Memory by the movements

I have already shown, to some extent, how the public memory *of* movement
movements has been shaped *by* urban movements themselves. Lifting the level of
abstraction further above, one can also see that both cities, Sydney and the Ruhr,
would have developed differently without the urban movement actions discussed
here. If the built environments of cities are containers of memory, successful
urban movement action automatically involves somewhat invisible memories of
the movement, which can be made visible by telling urban histories. Needless
to say, the heritage landscapes of both the Ruhr and Sydney have been strongly
shaped by both movements. My chapter and this volume also show that social
movements create memory of themselves and among themselves. Further, social
movements, in this comparative history especially the Green Bans, can become
important parts of the urban heritage itself. In this last section I focus on the
influence of movement leaders on the way the memory of social movements is
presented in historical culture.

The reason why the New South Wales branch of the BLF was de-registered
and called off many Green Bans already in 1974 was in many ways due to some
internal competition with the Federal BLF leadership located in Melbourne and
the related Victorian branch under the leadership of Norm Gallagher who would
be arrested for corruption. This competition was, to some extent, also shaped
by ideological differences within the Australian Left with opposing Maoist and
Eurocommunist tendencies. Interestingly, this competition also had repercus-
sions in a conflict over the memory of the Green Bans, with the Melbournians
trying to gain public recognition for being the first ones in developing this form
of action and trying to downplay the role of the Sydneysiders. This little mem-
ory war was very visible in the 'Green Bans Gallery', which opened in 1974 at
Melbourne's Trades Hall.[89] This small episode should remind us that we perhaps
need to be cautious when writing the history of memory *of* urban movements,
and pay attention to the ways it can be shaped *by* the movements.

The ideological battles among the Left of the 1970s, however, seem to mat-
ter little today. Civil society is becoming increasingly sensitive to the mas-
sive housing problem in Sydney, which recently has been rated the second
most expensive city in the world (behind Hong Kong).[90] The Green Bans
therefore continue to serve as mobilizing political memory for contemporary
urban movement actions in Sydney, which opens perspectives on how the

memories *of* movements and *by* movements have been intertwined. In July 2016, I met Jack Mundey and his wife Judy at Millers Point, the old district just next to the Rocks. It was as history would repeat itself. Low income earners were being forced out of their houses. We took a walk along the foreshore at Sydney Harbour and passed by the iconic Sirius building next to Sydney Harbour Bridge that has been threatened to be demolished. Mundey, today himself part of Sydney's heritage, engaged with the protests.[91] Mundey has also supported the Community Action for Windsor Bridge (CAWB) in recent years.[92] He has become a heroic figure of social movement action, a living legend whose charisma remains an important asset in the seemingly hopeless struggles against neoliberal urbanism. The memory of the Green Bans, thus, gains in currency, as in recent years global capital investment into cities has become increasingly attractive. The surviving unions are called upon to revive their heritage, as the Green Ban over the art deco pavilion at Bondi beach demonstrated a few years ago.[93] And the remaining super-union, the Construction, Forestry, Mining and Energy Union (CFMEU) has celebrated the anniversaries of this movement heritage and recently revived it by putting the Sirius building and Bondi Pavilion under a Green Ban.

If we historicize the urban movement as a continuous, singular object over time, it becomes pivotal for our understanding of this object to investigate what its continuity exists of. The repertoire of memory, people and practices of the past, seem to assist a movement in an environment of political competition. In the Ruhr, we also witness such continuities at leadership level of the region's urban movement. The singer Frank Baier, who I mentioned above, has established a private archive on the struggles over his settlements and other social movement action, and he has remained active as a singer in articulating historical consciousness in the region, including the history of its urban movement.[94] Roland Günter of Eisenheim, like Mundey, has remained very active in the official heritage sector ever since his urban movement actions in the early 1970s. Günter has recently been vociferous, for example, in the poor north of the shrinking city of Duisburg, protesting against the demolishment of a whole art nouveau quarter and a Max Taut settlement. As chair of the North-Rhine Westphalian Werkbund and most remembered urban movement activist in the Ruhr, he engaged with the local citizens, joined protests and published a new book where he described contemporary urban politics as 'city massacre and social crime'.[95] In 2017, a group around director Mathias Coers produced a film about urban movement initiatives in the Ruhr that has been shown internationally. At the premiere of the film, Günter was present. He had been waiting for a long time for this film, he applauded.[96] It is worth noting, however, that the film is taking almost exclusively presentist perspectives without making historical references. The presence of Günter does demonstrate that historical references are welcome to underpin current initiatives with some prominence, but it remains doubtful how existential they are for the subjective identity of urban movements. They are perhaps more important for the objective identity of urban movements as narrated by historians.

Concluding reflections

I have offered a rough typology of intertwined memory motives *within*, *of* and *by* urban movements, which are idealized and in practice overlap, and which can hopefully be further developed. Memory *within* urban movements is part of the historical culture of the movement participants, for example, alternative ideas of heritage as well as the adaptation of ritual practices from movements in the past and celebrations of the own movement's origins. Memory

FIGURE 8.1 Juanita Nielsen Community Centre (Wicke, 2016).

FIGURE 8.2   Kelly's Bush, Green Bans memorial plaque (Wicke, 2016).

of urban movements is the movements' place in historical culture, that is, the way society has articulated the past of the movements, for example, in the built environment of cities as well as more widely in, for example, artworks, exhibitions, academic and non-academic literature, film and (online) media. The memory *by* the movements, then, constitutes the convergence of memory *within* and *of* the movement, emphasizing the agency of leading movement members in historical cultures and especially in the way their movements are remembered. Urban movement leaders, and I have only been able to ad–dress a representative few in this chapter, might engage with memory battles over their place in history. Moreover, urban movement leaders of the past often become active again when new protest occurs and evoke the memory *of* movement to legitimize contemporary action. And last but not least, once urban movement action has successfully manipulated or prevented urban de-velopment, the reflexive memory as formed *by* the movement becomes inbuilt into the city.

The impact of urban movements in the long 1970s on city planning has been largely overlooked. We often take our everyday urban environment for granted and observe the changes predominantly through the prism of limited personal experiences. It will require comprehensive efforts for urban, public, hypothet-ical and perhaps digital histories to show how cities would have developed if

FIGURE 8.3 1979 Mural by activist artists Merilyn Fairskye and Michiel Dolk and the Woolloomooloo Residents Action Group, 'to celebrate the history of the local community and their battle to save the area from high–rise development'. (https://www.cityartsydney.com.au/wooloomooloo–murals) (Wicke, 2016).

FIGURE 8.4   Jack Mundey at Miller's Point (Wicke, 2016).

citizens, during such highly politicized period – when the future of 'the past' was subject to effective struggles – had not practised strong claims for urban democracy and cross-class solidarity. In other words, the memory *of* urban movements still has the capacity to change radically. Much of the material that could be used to write more comprehensive histories of urban movements is still held in private hands; we need to climb into the attics of former activists and rummage through boxes to move this memory and perhaps relativize leadership agency (Figures 8.1–8.4).

Notes

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3 Hans Pruijt, 'Urban Movements,' in *Blackwell Encyclopedia of Sociology*, ed. George Ritzer (Malden, MA: Blackwell 2007), 5115–5119; cf. Stefan Berger and Holger Nehring, eds., *The History of Social Movements in Global Perspective: A Survey* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2017).

4 Jörg Boström and Roland Günter, *Arbeiterinitiativen im Ruhrgebiet* (Westberlin: VSA, 1976).

5 Kurt Iveson, 'Building a City for "The People": The Politics of Alliance-Building in the Sydney Green Ban Movement,' *Antipode* 46 (2014): 992–1013.

6 Stefan Berger, Christian Wicke and Jana Golombek, 'Burdens of Eternity: Heritage, Identity and the "Great Transition" in the Ruhr,' *The Public Historian* 39, no. 4 (2017): 21–43.

7 For a recent study on the importance of identity in the history of social movements, see, for example, Priska Daphi, *Becoming a Movement: Identity, Narrative and Memory in the European Global Justice Movement* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2017).

8 Mayer on neoliberal urbanism, Margit Mayer, 'The Career of Urban Social Movements in West Germany,' in *Mobilizing the Community*, eds. Robert Fisher and Joseph Kling (Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 1993), 149–170.

9   Henri Lefebvre, *Le droit à la ville* (Paris: Éditions Anthropos, 1968); David Harvey, 'The Right to the City,' *New Left Review* 53 (2008): 23–40.

10 See also Manuel Castells, *The City and the Grassroots: A Cross-Cultural Theory or Urban Movements* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 15–26.

11 See, for example, the series: *Palgrave Studies in the History of Social Movements*, edited by Stefan Berger and Holger Nehring.

12 Cf., for example, Philipp Reick, 'Gentrification 1.0: Urban Transformations in Late-19th-century Berlin', *Urban Studies* 55, no. 1 (2018): 2542–2558; Nina Schierstaedt, *Kampf um den staedtischen Raum: Die Madrider Nachbarschaftsbewegungen im Spaetfranquismus und Demokratisierungsprozess* (Essen: Klartext, 2017); Baumeister, Bonomo, and Schott, *Cities Contested*; Mathias Heigl, *Rom im Aufruhr: Soziale Bewegungen im Italien der 1970er Jahre* (Bielefeld: Transcript, 2015); especially on the history of squatting, see, for example, Alexander Vasudevan, *The Autonomous City: A History of Urban Squatting* (London: Verso: 2017); Freia Anders and Alexander Sedlmaier, eds., *Public Goods versus Economic Interests: Global Perspectives on the History of Squatting* (London: Routledge: 2016); Bart van der Steen, Ask Katzeff, and Leendert van Hoogenhuijze, eds., *The City Is Ours: Squatting and Autonomous Movements in Europe from the 1970s to the Present* (Oakland, CA: PM Press, 2014).

13 Michael Billig, *Banal Nationalism* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1995).

14 On Memory activism see Jenny Wuestenberg in this volume.

15 E. Thompson, 'History from Below', *The Times Literary Supplement*, 7 April 1966.

16 David Ley, *The New Middle Class and the Remaking of the Central City* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), cf. Sven Reichardt, *Authenzitaet und Gemeinschaft: Linksalternatives Leben in den siebziger und fruehen achtziger Jahren* (Berlin: Suhrkamp, 2014).

17 Wicke, 'Arbeiterbewegung und urbane Bewegung in den 1970er-Jahren, 57–73.

18 See, for example, Rudy Koshar, *Germany's Transient Past: Preservation and National Memory in the 20th Century, 1998* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998).

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24 See, for example, interview with Jack Mundey, 'Die "green ban"-Bewegung in Australien,' in *Stadtkrise und soziale Bewegungen: Texte zur internationalen Entwicklung*, eds. Margit Mayer, Roland Roth, and Volkhard Brandes (Cologne: EVA, 1978), 247–253. I am grateful to Jack and Judy Mundey for the time they have spent with me and our correspondences.

25 Wicke, 'Arbeiterbewegung und urbane Bewegung in den 1970er Jahren.'

26 See, for example, Adalbert Evers and Juan Rodriguez-Lores, *Sozialorientierte Stadterhaltung als politischer Prozess: Praxisberichte aus Bologna und ausgewählten Städten* (Cologne: Kohlhammer, 1976).

27 See the *Ruhr-Volksblatt* [RVB] 30, no. 4 (1978). Please note that the style of numeration of this newspaper has been inconsistent over time.

28 Thomas Rommelspacher, "*Wenn wir richtig zusammenhalten ensteht eine Macht*" – *Zechenhausinitiativen im Ruhrgebiet 1974–-1981: Struktur und Perspektiven in einem regionalen Mieterkampf* (Bochum: Germinal, 1984), 4.

29 See also Koshar, *Germany's Transient Past*, 311.

30 See, for example, Frank Baier, *Arbeiterlieder aus dem Ruhrgebiet: Texte, Noten und Begleit-Akkorde* (Frankfurt: Fischer, 1985)

31 See, for example, the EP album and booklet, *Als die Mieter frech geworden: Lieder aus der Rheinpreußen-Siedlung* (Verlag Pläne/Wohnungsgenossenschaft Rheinpreußen, 1989).

32 See, for example, Franzika Bollerey and Christina Hartmann, *Wohnen im Revier: 99 Beispiele aus Dortmund* (Munich: Heinz Moss, 1975).

33 See, for example, 'Bilderbogen aus Lohberg,' *RVB* 3 (December-January 1975/76): 6; 'Bilderbogen aus der Sachsenkolonie in Dorsten,' *RVB* 5 (February 1976): 8.

34 See, for example, 'Hochdeutsch-Arbeitersprache oder "Gemangert",' *RVB* 4 (October-November 1975): 1, and 'Tiere halten ist schön', *RVB* 4 (October-November 1975): 4.

35 'Kaninchenzucht: Auch damit was Ordentliches im Pott is,' *RVB* 3 (December-January 1975/76): 3.

36 See, for example, 'Ein Stueck Bergbaugeschichte,' *RVB* 53 (April/May 1983): 350 'Maenner starben,' *RVB* 53 (April/May 1983): 12–14.

37 See, for example, 'Heini-Wettig-Haus: Der 1. Mai – nur noch ein bezahlter Feiertag?,' *RVB* 54 (June/July/August 1983): 10.

38 See, for example, 'Geschichte in Geschichten,' *RVB* 7, 8, and 9 (1976); 'Wir waren moderne Sklaven,' *RVB* 30 (1980): 5.

39 'Was bringt uns die Mietrechtsaenderung?,' *RVB* (April/May 1982): 2–3.

40 *RVB* 43, no. 5 (December/January 1978/79?): 1.

41 See, for example, 'Vor 60 Jahren: Novemberrevolution,' *RVB* 33, no. 4 (December/January 1978/79): 7.

42 'Bilderbogen vom Stahlstreik,' RVB 34, no. 5 (1979): 6.

43 See, for example, Strukturausschuß der Vereinigten Kirchenkreise Dortmund und Lünen, *Brennpunkte in unserer Stadt* (Dortmund: n.d., [1977?]). I am very grateful for the support by the members of the History Workshop of Dortmund-Eving, which holds useful archival material.

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45 'Keine Zukunft für unsere Vergangenheit?' *RVB* 3 (December-January 1975/76): 5.

46 'Geschichte der Arbeitersiedlungen: "Wie alles angefangen hat mit unseren Siedlungen",' *RVB* 52 (November/December/January 1982/83): 11–14.

47 'Habt ihr was gemerkt davon: 1975 war das Jahr des Denkmalschutzes,' *RVB* 5 (February 1976): 8; Heinrich Klotz, Roland Günter, and Gottfried Kiesow, eds., *Keine Zukunft für unsere Vergangenheit? Denkmalschutz und Stadtzerstörung* (Giessen: Wilhelm Schmitz, 1975).

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49 Berger, Wicke, and Golombek, 'Burdens of Eternity.'

50 'Amsterdamer Hausbesetzungen,' *RVB* 50 (September/October 1982): 10.

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52 Arbeitsgemeinschaft der Arbeitersiedlungsinitiativen im Ruhrgebiet/Mahnwachen gegen die GSB,' *RVB* 50 (September/October 1982): 6.

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54 'Heini Rotthoff is tot,' *RVB* (September/October 1982): 32.

55 '2nd Anniversary of W.R.A.G.' *NOW* 122 (8 October 1974).

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58 Smith, *Uses of Heritage* (London: Routledge, 2006), 24–27.

59 Poster at Noel Butlin Archives Centre [NBAC] – Z235 I.

60 'Hanging on History,' *The Paddington Paper* 2, no. 3 (3 March 1973).

61 See, for example, 'The Rocks in 1901 – Exclusive,' *The Sun*, 11 September 1974.

62 See, for example, http://www.shfa.nsw.gov.au/sydney-About_us-Heritage_role-Heritage_and_Conservation_Register.htm&objectid=80http://www.shfa.nsw.gov.au/sydney-About_us-Heritage_role-Heritage_and_Conservation_Register.htm&objectid=80 [accessed 30 July 2019].

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66 I am grateful to Paul Ashton for showing me this wonderful place.

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70 Natassia Chrysantos, 'Sydney Mystery Revived in the Neighbourhood Juanita Nielsen Disappeared,' *Sydney Morning Herald*, <U>https://www.smh.com.au/entertainment/art-and-design/sydney-mystery-revived-in-the-neighbourhood-juanita-nielsen-disappeared-20181218-p50n1m.html </U>[accessed 30 July 2019]. I am grateful to Zaggy Begg for sending me some of her work.

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