Universität Duisburg-Essen
Fakultät für Geisteswissenschaften

THE WORKING-CLASS NEIGHBORHOOD IN PORTRAIT FORMAT

A study on *rbb*'s reconstruction of working-class history in TV portraits of Berlin's districts Wedding and Friedrichshain between 1979 and 2016

Inaugural-Dissertation zur Erlangung des akademischen Grades
Doktor der Philosophie (Dr. phil.)
der Fakultät für Geisteswissenschaften der Universität Duisburg-Essen

vorgelegt von

Kim Kannler
aus Wien

Gutachter/Betreuer: Prof. Dr. Jens Martin Gurr, Universität Duisburg-Essen

Essen, im Februar 2022

Kim Kannler war Mitglied im Promotionskolleg „Die Arbeit und ihre Subjekte“ an der Universität Duisburg-Essen, gefördert von der Hans-Böckler-Stiftung. Die Dissertation wurde unter dem Titel „The working-class neighborhood in portrait format“ angenommen zur Erlangung des akademischen Grades Doktor der Philosophie (Dr. phil.) an der Fakultät für Geisteswissenschaften der Universität Duisburg-Essen. Gutachter: Prof. Dr. Jens Martin Gurr & Prof. Dr. Rolf Parr.
Die Disputation fand am 14.06.2022 statt.

DOI: 10.17185/duepublico/82056
URN: urn:nbn:de:hbz:465-20240619-124820-6

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Ch. 1 Introduction – TV representations of the working-class neighborhood

A Wedding amateur choir sings in the club room of a corner pub: "The real Berliner has a sharp tongue and heart[1]*; he appreciates humor and likes to joke. So don't take offense if he speaks loudly from time to time [...]."*[2] *The scene switches to the loud murmur of voices in a traditional pub. While the camera pans around the crowded room and depicts scenes of people laughing and drinking beer, the narrator adds: "Wedding is the only district in the western part of the city where the original Berliner can still be found. The famous corner pubs have become rare."*[3] *Then, the camera changes to a bird's eye view of old and new housing blocks with backyard structures. The narrator continues: "Wedding, once the epitome of a working-class district and tenement town, is also the birthplace of big industry, the dawn of modernity."*[4] *Finally, the film title fades in "Red is only a memory: Berlin's district Wedding today."* – NAHAUFNAHME: ROT IST NUR DIE ERINNERUNG (1987)

This short transcript of a bar scene is the atmospheric beginning of a TV portrait about the Berlin district Wedding. It contains popular assumptions about the place and character of a historical working class, which seems to hold validity for the image of Wedding and some of Wedding's residents to this day. The location Wedding is sufficient to supposedly tell the character of the people living in the district: they would be direct, rough, warm and humorous. To support this message, the TV portrait depicts the interior space of a corner pub, a place known to be a typical proletarian establishment. In NAHAUFNAHME:

1 The German expression for "Berliner tongue," *Berliner Schnauze*, means a mix of rough, honest, vulgar expressions colored with lower class idioms.

2 German original: "Der echte Berliner hat Schnauze mit Herz, er schätzt den Humor und macht gern einen Scherz. Drum nimm es nicht krumm, wenn er laut auch mal spricht [...]." [00:00-00:21]

3 German original: "Der Wedding ist der einzige Bezirk im Westteil der Stadt, wo noch der Urberliner zu finden ist. Die berühmten Eckkneipen sind rar geworden." [00:33-00:48]

4 German original: "Der Wedding, einst Inbegriff eines Arbeiterbezirks, Mietskasernenstadt, aber auch Geburtsstätte der Großindustrie, Aufbruch zur Moderne." [00:53-01:04]

ROT IST NUR DIE ERINNERUNG (hereafter NAHAUFNAHME), Wedding and the corner pub are locations that characterize people more than people are able to shape the present image of these places. Although the choir sequence can be understood as an exaggerated homage to the fading image of the Red Wedding, the sequence works as an efficient introduction because it connects to a very common idea and attribution of the working class and working-class locations on television.

The working-class past of Wedding is associated with a Berlin originality that exhibits complex relationships of identity and locality, not just at a district level. The introductory scene suggests a rift between the traditional Berlin and Wedding today in which the working-class neighborhood embodies a nostalgic valuation of rootedness, cordiality, and honesty. Similarly, the "real" Berliner is described as a threatened species that can only be found in selected places such as Wedding, which would manifest Berlin identity like no other district, according to the portrait NAHAUFNAHME. These attached attributions are not only limited to depictions of the neighborhood, but include figures of the milieu, too (e.g., the image of Heinrich Zille as 'the Berlin original'). It is striking that the image of Wedding and the role of the working-class milieu are predominantly shaped, firstly, by the supposed disappearance of working-class places and their working-class population, and secondly, by the new meanings that are created around the working class, which seems to become stronger the more they are considered gone.

Parallel to the scientific discourse about the thesis of 'an end of the labor movement' and the proletariat in the late 1970s and early 1980s (Pirker, 1984; Lipset, 1981; Gorz, 1980; among others), NAHAUFNAHME thus constitutes an example of popular negotiations of the meaning of 'work' and 'class' on television for a "post-industrial society" (Bell, 1973). Even in the 1990s up until today, the heritage of the working class remains disputed and has been re-activated for different times and purposes: in the case of television, another documentary portrait about Wedding's working-class history was re-broadcasted by a show in 1994 with similar but modified questions about the status of the 'Red' district (DAMALS WAR'S: WAS WURDE AUS DEM „ROTEN KIEZ"?). Even more recent district portraits refer to Wedding as a place where the 'real' Berliner could still be found (BERLINER BEZIRKE WEDDING (1999); BILDERBUCH WEDDING (2013)). This dissertation attempts to follow these shifts and (in)consistencies

in the representation of former working-class neighborhoods and its significance for different moments in time. If there is no more telling presence of the working-class neighborhood, then it becomes important to look at the stories that are told about it. Because in the end, how different the district can be interpretated, also with regard to its role for Berlin, is shown by NAHAUFNAHME's final enumeration of Wedding's labels: whether the working-class district primarily signifies Wedding working-class culture ("epitome of a working-class district"), the architectural project of tenement houses ("tenement town"), its relevance for Germany's industrial history ("birthplace of big industry"), or general social change ("dawn of modernity"), depends on the context of the individual TV program and the purpose of its story.

1.1 The research project

The example of NAHAUFNAHME raises two general questions: where do these ideas about locality and identity of the working class come from? And in what contexts do they play a role for today's society? In media's direct or indirect references to the working class, there are overlapping meanings and assumptions about which group of people is referred to; where to find the worker; about how location characterizes its inhabitants; and how all of this influences the perspective and voice of people associated with the working class in public discourse. Often these references remain vague, stereotypical and ambivalent. Nevertheless, at their core, they strike at central issues of representation and social participation for the people involved.

This dissertation attempts to shed light on these relations by focusing on television's depiction of working-class neighborhoods in the course of several years. In consideration that the term 'working class' alone poses challenges about its meaning and use (Hitchcock, 2017), this project starts with the relatively clear and definable unit of the working-class neighborhood.[5] These traditional districts from the period of industrialization have had a strong symbolic power as they

5 The analysis avoids an a-priori definition of the working-class neighborhood. Instead, it considers the varying meanings and connotations in each TV episode. For including an episode into the analysis corpus, a simple reference to a district's working-class past is enough. For more, see chapter 3 on this dissertation's search process and material selection.

seemed to embody the lifestyle of workers for long periods (Neef & Schardt, 1983, p. 248). They have thus shaped the social image of the worker and his or her urban positioning (Keller, 1999, p. 97). Having a fixed term like 'the working-class neighborhood' shows how strongly working-class identity is anchored in an urban context, and reversely how urban developments are prone to challenging the conception of the working class. Once symbolizing a perfect symbiosis of place and identity, 'the working-class neighborhood' can be considered a good starting point to scrutinize representations of the urban working-class heritage in changing social and economic contexts such as urban development, new forms of work and living, altered identity politics and mediascapes. Following TV representations of the working-class neighborhood, this dissertation is interested in answering the following research questions: *in what contexts do references to the working-class neighborhood appear in rbb's district portraits of Wedding and Friedrichshain? How is the working-class neighborhood represented and for what purpose? What significance does proletarian tradition have for today's district portraits?* In connection to this are questions about who the inhabitants of the districts are and what defines the structure of a district as 'working class.'

The dissertation examines documentary portraits produced and aired by the public broadcaster *rbb* (and formerly *SFB*) about two districts in Berlin with a working-class history: Wedding and Friedrichshain. The methodological approach combines a media historical perspective on the corpus of TV district portraits from 1979 to 2016 with qualitative film analyses of relevant sequences in each episode. The detailed analysis focusses on the narratives in which programs embed their reference to working-class tradition and how these reflect social contexts and conventions in television and the portrait format. The historical perspective traces these meanings over the years and considers repetitions, adaptions, cross-references and the use of archival material, which is all typical for the position of the TV format in a broad and dynamic program structure.

The following section gives a short overview of the industrial history of Berlin and introduces the former working-class neighborhoods Wedding and Friedrichshain as case studies for this dissertation. The final section outlines the chapter structure.

1.2 The stony Berlin

The term ‘working class’ usually refers to an industrial proletarian milieu that settled in metropolitan areas around the turn of the century in order to find work in the developing industries. The Ruhr area is probably the most famous example for Germany of how the culture and lifestyle of workers have solidified over decades and still affect places, their perception and the identity of the residents in the post-industrial age. But also places that were not significantly involved in the production of coal and iron were major sites of industrialization with long-lasting effects on the area and its inhabitants.

Berlin has a rich industrial history beyond its image as the ‘poor but sexy’ capital. In the course of the nineteenth century, the city offered locational advantages that allowed the agglomeration of capital and labor in the city, making Berlin a center of the industry during and after the industrial revolution. Aspects that promoted the establishments of branches such as metal processing, and the construction and textile industries included a good traffic and transportation network, existing production facilities, a large number of qualified workers, proximity to the state administration, and the supply of inputs and demand for goods (Fassbinder, 1975, p. 118). Berlin became the location for industrial giants such as Borsig, Siemens, Osram, A.E.G., Ludwig Loewe & Co., Schering AG and Julius Pintsch AG (BAMAG), which decisively shaped the cityscape. By the end of the nineteenth century, the socio-spatial structure of the city mirrored the settlement of these industries: it had a poor proletarian north where factories were located, a tertiary city center of the petite bourgeoisie and a rich (south-)west that was home to the luxury consumption sector and institutions of the ruling class (p. 98).

What makes the example of Berlin unique is the combination of industrialization with an incredible scale of urbanizing processes. In 1920, the city was ranked as Europe’s largest industrial metropolis, and, after the founding of Greater Berlin with its twenty boroughs, it even ranked as the world’s third largest municipality after New York and London. This period shaped the image of Berlin as the “largest tenement city in the world” (Hegemann, 1930, my translation). Due to the industrial revolution and poor hygienic conditions (especially in the middle of the nineteenth century) new worker housing was urgently needed (von Saldern, 1995). State subsidies and company-

owned residential areas created working-class districts in close proximity to the factories, which were typically characterized by a close connection between work and living with local supply and leisure activities (Neef & Schardt, 1983, p. 242). What sounds like a natural development considerate of social needs was in fact an enforcement of state power shaping society according to its will and needs (Hegemann, 1930). In Berlin, the building of tenement houses was dominated by the power struggle between the Prussian government and the city administration striving for self-regulation. A complex bureaucratic apparatus further complicated the situation. Disputes about responsibilities, financing and complicated legal issues with private landowners created the conditions necessary for a till then unknown scale of tenement blocks, turning Berlin's expansion into a "stone coffin" (p. 16, my translation), according to urban planner and architectural critic Werner Hegemann.

The 1858 development plan, submitted by the head of the police department (in charge at that time), did not aim to just solve the housing issue of the time but had "calculated for a century" (Rescript by the Ministry of Commerce, as cited in Hegemann, p. 216, my translation) and reached far beyond the area of Berlin. It was a gigantic project that attempted to build a new road infrastructure for the city, and thus determined the conditions for new residential areas for the population influx of four million people. However, Hegemann criticizes, among many other things, that the street network was not detailed enough to ensure sufficient access to living space. This left large building blocks free, which enabled the crowding of people in tenement houses with several backyards. In addition, the plan did not improve the pre-existing housing situation. Companies such as Loewe, for instance, insisted on their right to continue providing housing. Moreover, the hasty publication of the development plan led to construction speculation, which drove up prices for construction and primarily benefited the already rich landowners. All in all, Prussia's regulating frenzy and the appeasement of powerful stakeholders resulted in a large part of Berlin's urban workers living in monstrous tenement houses in contrast to comparable cities such as London, which Hegemann describes as a "small-house city" (p. 227, my translation). Hegemann concludes sarcastically: "the greater public good is ruined because the Prussian civil servant has done his duty" (p. 220, my translation).

1.3 The mediated image of Wedding and Friedrichshain

What once determined Berlin's cityscape is no longer present today. It is astonishing that only 100 years later most people no longer remember Berlin's industrial heritage. In addition to the destruction caused by two World Wars and large-scale urban restructuring plans, this may be due to the city's reputation and self-promotion as trendsetting pioneer that constantly reinvents itself. On the official website of Berlin's marketing agency *visitBerlin*, one can read about the city's transformative power in big letters: "in 100 years from European industrial city to Europe's vibrant center of trends" (visitBerlin, 2021). As powerful as this framing affects the current image of the city, the old 'stony' Berlin was also a result of an elite class's self-portrayal. Already in 1930, in the words of historian Eberhard Faden, Hegemann sums up Berlin as following: "In its external image and in the constitutional life of its citizenship, the *residence* has become the staging of this state's self-image and that of the ruling house" (Hegemann, p. 14, my translation). For the context of the working-class neighborhood, this means that as much as it is a manifestation of proletarian lifestyle, it is also the result of official ideas about urban life and city development. Berlin's enormous blocks of tenement housings were a function of the representation of power, control and growth in Prussia's capital.

Today the discourse about the city remains a central framework. Considering the reciprocal relationship between a city and its districts (Oktay, 2002), the (self-)representation of the city as a 'trendsetting metropole' asks about the role of the working-class neighborhood anew. There is Wedding, for instance. The neighborhood developed alongside industry in the northwest of the city. Also known as 'the Red Wedding,' it is probably the most famous working-class district in Berlin. Today, however, Wedding is also called the "Bronx of the capital" (e.g., BILDERBUCH WEDDING 2013), which points to the district's problem as social hot spot but also allows for associations between Berlin and the metropolis New York. Another example is Friedrichshain, which represents the history of the division of Berlin into East Berlin and West Berlin, and is best known for the symbolic *Karl-Marx-Allee*, a boulevard with 'worker palaces.' Friedrichshain is considered a "trendy neighborhood" (e.g., BERLINER BEZIRKE), which implies a successful transformation to the present times. Both

neighborhoods are rather different and are therefore suitable for a comparison of how they reconstruct and reactivate their working-class history, and how this reactivation features in a contemporary depiction of Berlin.

The process of imagining and representing Berlin and its districts Wedding and Friedrichshain becomes especially visible in the local program of public broadcaster *rbb*. The channel's history is closely interwoven with that of the city Berlin. Due to its great popularity and expansion of local programs, local television must be taken seriously as a key figure in the negotiation of locality and identity. This dissertation focuses on the relatively new but popular format of the district portrait series BERLINER BEZIRKE and BILDERBUCH (DEUTSCHLAND), which provides portraits of individual neighborhoods in dialogue with their position within the city.

1.4 Chapter structure

The dissertation is divided into the following chapters:
Chapter 2 investigates the traditions of filmic representations of working-class neighborhoods that precede the introduction of television. Departing from the British HOUSING PROBLEMS as a staple of documentary and television practice, the first sub-chapter starts with early documentary attempts by filmmakers who explore the immediate urban environment and their medium's technical and discursive possibilities. The chapter traces how documentary conventions, urban redevelopment plans by the government and conceptions of the city gradually contribute to the representation of an urban working-class milieu. This image is further fixated and popularized by a bourgeois entertainment industry. The appropriation of proletarian culture by others calls the proletarian film movement onto the scene that claims to give the working class its own voice. Already in the early years, representations of the working class go beyond the topic in the narrow sense and include fundamental negotiations of 'citizenship,' 'the public' and 'social participation.'

The second sub-chapter demonstrates how the introduction of television changed fundamental parameters that had hitherto been important for the representation of the working class. Television redefines the conception and perception of space and time by which

the city is viewed, and changes the modes of address by reaching out to a wider public. The chapter elaborates on the cultural meaning of television for German society after World War II and the medium's self-conception as an institution of a strong and inclusive social democracy. The chapter ends by critically discussing television's impact on the working-class subject and the possibility of including it in TV's vision of society.

Chapter 3 introduces the methodological approach and search process applied to the TV archive of public broadcaster *rbb*, in which the corpus material was found. As socially embedded memory, the TV archive is incomplete, fragmentary and always in motion. TV programs not only constantly pick up on, process and reposition old material into new contexts, they are furthermore embedded in an overall program structure, which urges the analysis to also consider genre affiliation, cross-references and repetitions beyond the single TV format. In an effort to create linkages and remain flexible in the search and analytical process, this dissertation therefore understands representations of the working-class neighborhood as fluid cultural enunciation that spans across the TV program as a whole, and at the same time are continued and reinvented by each analyzed episode. In a two-step search process, material was screened and selected for the main analysis corpus. In addition to two earlier documentary films, the focus is on the district portrait series BERLINER BEZIRKE and BILDERBUCH (DEUTSCHLAND)[6], which not only shows snapshots of the district, but includes its presentation into more general negotiations of urban identity.

The analysis **(Chapter 4)** identifies three major narratives in the coverage of working-class neighborhoods on television, which likewise structure the analysis in three large chapters. The chapters are arranged chronologically. The first sub-chapter begins with the two earliest documentaries of the corpus, which address 'the Red working-class neighborhood' Wedding in a transformative society moving into a post-industrial self-conception. The chapter focuses on the films' differing use of archival material, which allows for references to early proletarian films from the 1920s and 1930s.

The second sub-chapter sees a final shift away from society's industrial heritage. Modernization, the city, and diversity are now *the*

6 By this spelling I mean both BILDERBUCH DEUTSCHLAND and the subsequent format BILDERBUCH.

determining topics for the episodes, causing a diversification of the depicted working-class experience in Berlin. Alongside external factors such as the decline of heavy industry in the districts and changing perceptions of the city, also media internal factors at German public stations are decisive for altering depictions of the working-class neighborhood and its narrated meaning in district portraits. Regionalization is a key concept in the reorientation of television to local content and regional identity, also explaining the rise of city portrait series such as BERLINER BEZIRKE and BILDERBUCH (DEUTSCHLAND), which are analyzed in this chapter. Finally, the perspective on working-class districts is expanded by analyzing episodes that focus on Friedrichshain, former East Berlin. This section emphasizes the role of monumental architecture ('the worker palaces') for the Eastern imagination of a 'worker state' and for society's discussion of transformation after the German reunification.

The final sub-chapter focuses on episodes of BILDERBUCH DEUTSCHLAND and *rbb*'s subsequent version BILDERBUCH. The trend on television towards documentary formats that determine content and form still continues, nevertheless the latest episodes are increasingly produced and consumed as individual films. The most recent episodes center on everyday life, lifestyle, and creative work with blurred boundaries between work and living. Instead of stringing together anecdotes and history-facts, the episodes accompany their protagonists throughout the episode and highlight the performative act of living and working in the district. This creates the image of an active appropriation of urban space by the inhabitants, which connects to the working-class tradition by showing how former working-class places can still be experienced today and that the tradition of their handcraft still lives on in the doing of young creative people.

Chapter 5 summarizes typical motifs and narratives within the depiction of working-class history in *rbb*'s district portraits of Wedding and Friedrichshain. In an attempt to discuss 'the mediated working-class neighborhood' in more general terms, the chapter draws connections between the individual episodes and elaborates on differences with regard to changing contexts throughout the years. The working-class neighborhood is presented as layered and spatialized urban memory. A central outcome is that the analyzed programs incorporate working-class history for their narration of urban identity: working-class tradition becomes the core of Berlin's identity and a

fundament in the narrative of rapid change, which runs through *all* episodes. The final section addresses television's storytelling about shared urban identity and concludes by elaborating on the new meaning of 'work' and 'the urban working class' in rbb's related formats against the background of the major critique of the exclusion of workers in the production of urban space (Harvey) and the mediated public sphere (Negt and Kluge). Against these two points of criticism, the chapter discusses television's potential to create a diverse and inclusive image of the city, and to allow for participation in the processes of its construction.

CH. 2 (A history of) television, the city and working-class culture

2.1 Housing Problems – a proto-televisual documentary film about working-class living

The 15-minutes short film HOUSING PROBLEMS by Edgar H. Anstey and Arthur Elton offers a point of departure to discuss the role of working-class culture in urban districts from the perspective of television studies. The film's significance as a staple of television and television studies has been discussed in many publications (e.g., Winston, 1995; Corner, 1996; Hartley, 1998). Although HOUSING PROBLEMS was released in 1935, hence preceding the official first television broadcast in Britain by one year (on November 2, 1936), the film nevertheless had continued ideological and practical effects on media education and documentary making in the years to follow (Hartley, 1998, p. 37). It gives testimony to the formation of a viewing public, and a socially committed film that recorded reality in an attempt to make a change. Accordingly, the film provides a miniature model for the principles of television and television studies.

In addition, HOUSING PROBLEMS is a concrete example on a small scale of the broader issues and relationships, which will be important for the analysis and are further elaborated on in the following chapters, making it particularly well suited for this research. First of all, the film is exemplary of filmic examinations of urban everyday life. Second, HOUSING PROBLEMS connects thoughts about the city, location and identity with the representation of the working class, and characterizes the proletarian milieu by their narrow, dark and unhealthy neighborhood environment. Third, its filmic grammar prefigures journalistic and documentary practices still in place today and therefore offers a bridge to television discourse. And fourth, as a child of its time, it provides insight into new ways of interpreting and seeing the modern world as captured by audiovisual media in the early twentieth century.

Reflecting an increased cinematic interest in the urban working-class, HOUSING PROBLEMS depicts the living conditions of slum housing in a typical English city in the early twentieth century. The narrative of the film is divided into three distinct parts. The first part

focuses on the unbearable living situations of worker families in old barracks. To capture the neighborhood, the camera points in close-up to decaying house facades and narrow streets without lights. After these first impressions, the worker tenants, located in front of their living rooms, talk about their experience of coping with these unbearable circumstances. The film leads over to the second part by offering the solution of considerate urban planning. HOUSING PROBLEMS spends extensive time to explain different architectural models of modern housing with concrete and steel constructions. In the final part, the working-class tenants re-appear and give testimony to the improved living conditions in their new homes.

The innovation of HOUSING PROBLEMS stems from the use of immediacy and a "show and tell"-visuality (Hartley, 1998). The use of immediacy in the film was conceived as a radical new way of documentary making because it allowed ordinary people to speak for themselves. The filmmaker's use of unscripted interviews and a non-studio setting for their plot, showing the workers in their own home, induced audiences to experience the unfamiliar sensation of 'the real.' The interviewed residents serve as an anchor in the story, as both witnesses and victims of the described conditions. During the interviews, adult men and women are shown in front of their living space, their eyes nervously panning back and forth to the camera while they tell the interviewer, and consequently the audience, about their situation. The camera supports the narrative by underlining their stories with images capturing the terrible situation of tiny and cramped flats, fragile houses and dirty streets. The people's honest and embarrassingly private first-hand insights into their lives and hardships must have impressed an audience that was used to listen to predominantly scripted radio interviews (p. 97). Besides, mainstream cinema did not present ordinary people without scripting and neatly staging their filmic appearance (ibid.). In contrast to that, HOUSING PROBLEMS's interviews are colored by stuttering, inappropriate pauses, and the dialect and speech of working-class people. Ironically, especially their stiff pose and nervous eye contact with the camera makes the impression of a scripted interview to the television-literate audience nowadays. However, in these early days of filmmaking, interviews in the words of ordinary people are demonstrating a semiotic practice that was not yet routine (ibid.).

The perceived immediacy by which the audience was drawn into the slum world was also part of another filmic innovation that Hartley locates in the film's "revealing" visuality (p. 94). The film constructs a clear problem-solution scenario that corresponds with the idea of successive development in modern temporality. There is a before-and-after development eventually leading to an improved situation. The film HOUSING PROBLEMS creates a 'problem' by attempting to record social reality and by presenting it to the audience as undeniable truth about unbearable living situations in need for immediate action. The film thereby stresses the self-explanatory and persuading nature of its images, establishing a convincing logic of showing and telling that is intrinsic to its audiovisual language. Rather than initiating a classical linguistic argument that persuades the audience by listing facts and figures (ibid.), the film trusts the seminal power of its images. By pointing the camera to chaotic and inhuman situations in conjunction with professional voice-over commentaries by a male councilor from the off, the audience is assumed to witness for themselves that modern urban planning is the best solution for these people. Although HOUSING PROBLEMS uses modes of telling to communicate its argument, the emphasis is however placed on the act of showing how living conditions have an impact on people. The image should bear testimony to the events and self-evidentially reveal the necessity for change in the living situation of the slum residents.

Although the film's political intention might have been to advertise a solution to the housing problem, what it in fact did on a semiotic level was to create victims for an expert.[7] The expert's role is to observe and solve problems (p. 96). In the very first scene, for instance, an unknown male commentator introduces the audience to the councilor in office, who will act as off-screen voice for the coming scenes about slum living. Together with detailed shots of decaying slum houses he walks the audience through the district as a knowledgeable expert. Furthermore, the presentation of solutions in the second part of the film is based on scientific expertise: architectural models and scientific measures are presented that supposedly tackle the housing problem. On the other side of the expert, there are the working-class residents who are patronized by creating solutions *for*

7 Also consider the relation between a singular expert and pluralized victims. It is a powerful view from a knowledgeable expert position on the ordinary working population.

them, not *with* them. They are narrated as victims of their circumstances, unable to find a solution on their own. Although it was a novelty to let them speak for themselves, their stories nevertheless function as support for the film's general argument of a housing crisis in demand of radical slum clearance and concrete housing. In this sense, the film had both, good and bad intentions with regard to the people it depicted: the salient social agenda-character of the film promoted innovative semiotic and social ideas for that time (p. 39), i.e. an interest in the living conditions of poor people and an assumedly open ear for their experience. However, culture, entertainment and commerce were greatly entangled. The film simultaneously used the social topic as persuading argument for the modernization of houses, which ultimately considered the interests of the sponsoring gas company that profited from new demands in energy supply promoted by the idea of new housing.

Brian Winston (1995) remarks on the film's pioneering narration: "Given that the victim was to become a staple of the realist documentary, especially on television, the significance of HOUSING PROBLEMS cannot be overstated" (p. 45). The film established the "grammar" of televisuality even before the medium had been invented (Hartley, 1998, p. 96). Hartley identifies this "grammar" to be: "subject**:** visualization of what Winston calls the 'problem moment,' together with vox pops of victims; verb**:** action by experts who also represent corporations, whether commercial or governmental; predicate**:** happy consumers commenting enthusiastically on the measurable improvements they've experienced" (ibid.). He argues that this structure would still be a dominant practice in televisual news and actuality stories today. And indeed, the analysis of TV documentaries around the 1980s (Ch. 4.1.2) will proof that WAS WURDE AUS DEM ROTEN KIEZ and NAHAUFNAHME apply a very similar logic of narrating residents of Wedding as victims of urban renewal processes. The documentaries likewise picture a situation of problematic housing and apply vox pops of unhappy residents. Ironically, history reverses the picture: this time, residents of the former working-class neighborhood fell victim to exactly those housing projects that were built after the radical clearance of their old neighborhood. The documentaries try to make a point about contemporary urban planning not offering a real alternative for the residents.

Hartley points out that HOUSING PROBLEMS is a proto-televisual text by putting its "immediacy (unrehearsed and unscripted) and visuality (remarkably revealing) […] at the heart of the relation between social problems and citizens, with a suggestion that social change is made possible by such exposure" (p. 94). This use of immediacy and visuality he refers to as founding ideologies of popular visual media like it is practiced in contemporary documentary making and reporting. By recording the situation, social change is hoped to be initiated. The "'show and tell' simplicity" (p. 95) replaces the intellectual mediator of meanings in literary traditions with the creation of a "modernizing knowledge-class expert" [8] (p. 98). HOUSING PROBLEMS constructs an audiovisual case for modern housing and lets it appear in the light of a self-evident solution when, in fact, it "swayed government policies and public resources toward its own mediated image of the desire of publics," which was about their idea of 'new living' (ibid.). In that way, the so-far prevailing exercise of power through textualizing and then manipulating interpretations of the world gives way to a power that lies in the *naturalization* of interests *as* public opinion (ibid.). The filmmakers do not directly teach an opinion to the audience but rather incorporate it within its gesture to invite the audience to see for themselves.

HOUSING PROBLEMS is an interesting example for this dissertation because it exemplifies how working-class representation was subjected to public interest, how working-class living was valued (and judged) as social problem, and last but not least, how a viewing public emerged that was trained to relate what it had seen to itself and society. Frow describes the principle of the viewing "knowledge class", which Hartley sees established by HOUSING PROBLEMS and later on television too, as follows: "The division between 'us' and 'them' operates as a mirror image – an inversion that tells us only what we want to know about ourselves" (Frow, 1995, p. 3). Working-class representation could thus be said to function as mirror image of society: in the earliest days of documentary film, this representation was concerned with modern ideas of hygiene, privacy, family life, and population management. The film established a sense of community

8 Hartley bases this term on the concept of "the knowledge class," as developed by Frow in 1995. Frow's argues that the knowledge class is a group whose need to know about others always relates back to itself. The knowledge gathered about others only reflects their own views and interests.

in which the district, the city and society join together in the project of modernization. Applying a social change realism and establishing viewing relationships, HOUSING PROBLEMS practices a televisual model on a small scale with the working-class as common point of reference for a new public life. Also, more recent TV programs use depictions of working-class culture in the districts to emphasize a common (urban) identity and reinforce a societal 'we.' The difference between these recent depictions and HOUSING PROBLEMS are the values and intentions in the review of working-class culture. It remains to be clarified from the analysis how representations of working-class history in district portraits of Wedding and Friedrichshain are used as a mirror image for a society imagined by television.

2.2 Documenting the 'Milljöh': Early film productions, urban space and the working class

HOUSING PROBLEMS not only functions as a staple of television practices and aesthetics, the film also reflects many issues that were present in early documentaries about the city and its people. Throughout the dissemination of audiovisual media in the twentieth century, there seemed to be a persisting opinion adhering to filmic productions to be able to show the lives and struggles of people in a most truthful manner (Heller, 1990). From the start, audiovisuality put itself forward as a new and exciting mode of seeing and hearing by following the "deep-seated cultural prioritization of the visual and the aural as key means of apprehending and understanding the world" (Ellis, 2000, p.10). In addition to the audience's enthusiasm, also filmmakers, media practitioners, and film theorists made sense of film by exploring the medium's possibilities to permeate reality. Sensations of audiovisuality made a realist impression by bringing the sound, voice, and movement of the modern world to the screen. Especially the premise of immediacy, by which these films were understood and consumed, had an impact on how urban life and its citizens were embraced and knowledge claims articulated about them.

A popular subject in early film was the urban working-class. The following sections elaborate on how the city and urban life became important topics in film. The city was a central space of experience and a framework for thinking about current developments in society. Based on its perception as a clash of diverse sensations, the chapters address how film discovered the immediate urban environment as an object of scientific investigation and for exotic explorations to the downside of urban living. The working class was captured in an ambivalent manner in here: on the one hand, there was the desire for proximity, which involved the filming of familiar situations taken from everyday life and the believe in film's possibility to grasp the nature of its filmed subject. Here, humble depictions of working men shifted the focus to the sustaining pillars of modern society. On the other hand, there was a fascination with 'the foreign' and 'the exotic other,' which was reinforced by the crossing of worlds in the binary travel of "salvage ethnography films" (Smith, 2002, p. 102). The image of the urban working-class oscillated between this play of

distances within the city, between the desire to know about 'the other' and a clear demarcation of social positionings.

2.2.1 "The drama of the doorstep": Visual geographies of everyday life

An impressive body of films revolved around stories of the city and urban life. Big cities like New York, Berlin, Paris and London gained particular attention but also the urbanizing countryside was a regular topic for filmmakers (Uricchio, 1988). William Uricchio explains the close relationship between film and the city by the simultaneous evolvement of a motion picture industry and a period of rapid urbanization, making the early film industry "a function of this growth" (p. 17). Because productions were often funded directly or indirectly by official bodies (Corner, 2002, p. 259), film producers were dependent on their adaptability to the conditions and customs of their time in order to survive and expand (Uricchio, p. 17). Moreover, the city gained meaning not only because it was a picturesque sight; it was a whole new approach to space that turned the city into "an icon for the emergence of twentieth century life" (p. 19). In the case of Berlin, which Uricchio sees as most prominent example, this led to an "unparalleled urban documentation" (p. 17), which characterized the city of Berlin – and cities more generally – "not so much [as] a geo-physical location as an ongoing historical presence that concretely characterizes the nodal points of our century" (p. 19).[9] Urban space, in other words, functioned as representational system based on which – similar to media images – ideas in society could be located, reflected and expressed. Sometimes the city was the subject of representation and sometimes the object in it. Uricchio therefore understands urban representation as "a mode of translating the perceptions of reality into specific languages or images" (p. 16) within which not only comprehensions of the city's specific character resonate but also the broader perception of a producing culture (ibid.).

This central role of space in "stimulating new forms of representation and shaping identities" (2008, p. 1) is also emphasized

9 This idea is concretized for Berlin and the broadcasting of *Sender Freies Berlin* in Chapter 2.3.

in Richard Dennis' book *Cities in Modernity*, in which he explores how metropolitan space was conceptualized and actively produced by political, cultural, social and economic processes.[10] The planning of new spaces (e.g., work spaces, suburban residences, department stores) and new modes of representing city life by scientists, artists, novelists, and directors contributed to what turned experiences of urbanization into descriptions of "modern life" and "modernity" (ibid.). Dennis argues that historical events and meanings were not just played out upon the city, the city being understood as stage, like a container space in which things happen. Rather, he emphasizes the role of urban space *to think* historical events, society and social relations (Bell, 2009). Hence, the way people made sense of urban development shaped the way modern topics like hygiene, the home, privacy and identity were conceived of.[11]

Urban space resembled film space as a representational system that gave form to contemporary ideas. For filmmakers, it was however not until the late 1920s that they substantially explored the range of their medium's possibilities to think about the city in original ways (Dennis, p. 102ff.; Uricchio, 1988). Before 1930, filmmakers used the geometry of the city as a visual element to establish a deep sense of order in the viewing experience itself, while simultaneously faithfully committing to a coherent space-time construction contributed to the realist character of the depicted (p. 18). This formal approach to the city had gradually changed in later encounters with film although a sense of order and classification remained in altered form. While the city's iconography was previously primarily based on the filming of skylines and monuments (e.g., pictures of the Eiffel Tower or the Empire State Building) viewed *externally* as orderly urban surface, there was no

10 A more film-focused take on perspectives of the modern city is offered by the book *Cities in transition: the moving image and the modern metropolis* (Webber & Wilson, 2008).

11 For Dennis, modern thinking tended to be uniform and comparable in his analysis of big cities in the United States, England and Canada. The cities, according to him, had generally very similar responses to the ambiguities of modernity despite of some particularities such as different histories of immigration, and different urban politics (Dennis, p. 25). While it is true that for the period from the mid nineteenth to the first third of the twentieth century, which constitutes the focus of Dennis' book, there were similar developments, it is nevertheless necessary to acknowledge the differences of realities between countries and cities that might have been obscured by "formulaic tropes" and "set narratives" of representations of urban space, which might have been only narrated similarly (Bell, 2009).

'outside' perspective of urban space in more subsequent filmic takes for whom 'the urban' was *the* significant matrix of modern social relations. Uricchio (1988) distinguishes the newly developed 'inside' approach, which adapted to rhythms of daily life in big cities, from the previous outside perspective.[12] By "rhythm" he meant those context-giving coordinates of urban space-time that structured the overall experiences of people. Increasingly, film explored the economic and social contradictions behind spectacular urban landscapes that had attracted the sight of earlier film.

A highly aestheticized expression of films adapting to city rhythms were the 'city symphony' films between 1920 and 1930, which used documentary elements with experimental narrative and visuality to create what became a 'city poet.' Some popular films, which were inspired by the Soviet experimental films of Sergej Eisenstein and Dziga Vertov detected rhythmic structures created by reality fragments of urban life and work, and opposed them to expose the inconsistencies of modern life. Most canonical works include, for instance, RIEN QUE LES HEURES (1926) by Alberto Cavalcanti and BERLIN, SYMPHONIE EINER GROßSTADT (1927) by Walther Ruttmann. The latter used the associative montage to turn movements of machines, humans and animals into a metaphorical collage of dynamics in the city. Although the film refrains from mythologizing its subject, it nevertheless emphasizes the city as a clash of divergent, irreconcilable worlds by crosscutting images of feasts and starvation, magnificent buildings and homeless people, and leisure activities and wearing work. Also, artistic feature films like METROPOLIS (1927) by Fritz Lang are examples of films that applied unique filmic and dramaturgic strategies to replicate their impressions of the city on screen. METROPOLIS designs an expressionist, even surrealist urban setting in which the city comes across as dark, monstrous and at times overpowering force.

All film examples have in common that they artistically manipulate film space to depict and convey urban life as they had experienced and imagined it. Trying to find a "literature-free 'pure film style'" of their own, film directors tried "to penetrate into a yet undiscovered and

12 Uricchio mentions Walther Ruttmann's BERLIN: SINFONIE EINER GROßSTADT (1927) as one of the first films to apply this new formal approach. For a fuller discussion, see Uricchio (1982).

unknown nearness" with the camera or travelled "into unknown distances" (Bálazs, 1952, p. 164):

> The first such traveler who went on a voyage of discovery into proximity was the Russian Dziga Vertov. He called it Cine-Eye and his idea was to peep with his camera at the little events of our workaday lives which we incessantly see and never notice. These molecules of life become significant if we isolate them in close-up and having isolated them, draw their outlines and by doing so give them form. (ibid.)

Filmic explorations became a play of distances in which filmmakers, through attentive observation of familiar environments, "reveal[ed] unknown territories analogous to those discovered by the telescope, the microscope, or the X-ray" (Holmberg, 2016, p. 90). However, prioritizing the artistic depiction of "life as such, typical life," (Bálazs, 1952, p. 159) over the situation of individuals, the city symphony films were sometimes criticized to be rather "human-less films" (Korte, 1980, p. 48), which would emphasize montage effects such as rhythm and movement over the political commentary of Soviet montage theory (p. 49). Montage, then, would rather obscure social relations instead of really penetrating them. A similar claim could be made for films like METROPOLIS that pictured the city as a dynamic, intelligent entity – as if it was human. Also their contemporary John Grierson remarked in an essay in 1932, in which he discusses the example of Ruttmann's BERLIN, that despite the film's powerful and beautiful imagery, it fails to show anything of social importance: "For all its ado of workmen and factories and swirl and swing of a great city, BERLIN created nothing" (Grierson, 1932/1966). Humans would disappear behind the symphony of everyday activities, which produces the city, instead of the citizenry, as a subject (ibid.).

Also, John Grierson promoted filmic engagements with the familiarity of a modern urban environment. However, he represents a less aestheticized approach to documentary observations and believed in the educative power of film by dramatizing social issues in a meaningful way (Aguayo, 2019, p. 35). Grierson saw in documentaries more than a consumer good for entertaining purposes. He understood film as a powerful tool to transform people and institutions. For him, especially documentaries could entail the cure to a "crumbling democracy" and "lead citizens through the political wilderness" (Barnouw, 1993, p. 85), which he conceived as the

problems of his time. He hoped that film engages the audience into government politics by simplifying and dramatizing public affairs.

Grierson was a filmmaker and producer himself, who, having worked in influential positions at national film institutions (e.g., at the Empire Marketing Board, the General Post Office Film Unit and, finally, and the National Film Board of Canada) had greatly influenced other contemporary filmmakers. He already coined the term 'documentary' in an essay in 1926 as a principle of observing modern life guided by the credo of "original actors in original scenes" (Hardy, 1966, p. 13). In his opinion, documentary films gain value quite literally as "documents of life" (ibid.). Grierson firstly assigned a special documentary quality to Robert Flaherty's film MOANA, which, "being a visual account of events in the daily life of a Polynesian youth, has documentary value" (Grierson, 1926/2016, p. 86). Although Grierson admired Flaherty's abilities as a film director, he nevertheless turned away from Flaherty's choice of 'exotic' topics like foreign cultures. Grierson rather promoted a vision of film that pursued a "human geography of everyday life" (Amad, 2010, no pages), by which he understood to pay attention to one's immediate surrounding. Grierson was determined to "bring the citizen's eye in from the ends of the earth to the story, his own story, of what was happening under his nose…the drama of the doorstep" (Barnouw, 1993, p. 85).

His own filmic work includes THE DRIFTERS (1929), a film about the work of herring fishermen in a small fishing village in Northern England, which was considered a revolutionary subject in itself: "There was nothing doctrinally radical about it [the film], but the fact that British working men – virtually ignored by British cinema except as comedy material – were the heroes, gave the film an almost revolutionary impact" (Barnouw, as cited in Aguayo, p. 35). The drama is set in the workaday of fishermen, which gave them a new public visibility and "dignity" (ibid.). Grierson used the camera to dramatize social reality in front of an audience, like a "mirror, reflecting images that challenged normative notions of class and legitimacy" (ibid.). His attempt to foster visibility among ignored groups in society and to engage the audience in social change documentaries is the reason why scholars labeled his work "a project of democratic civics" (Corner, 2002).

The portrayal of work and work processes was also a theme in other films that Grierson produced about the everyday life in an urbanizing and industrializing society. Best-known examples are the films NIGHT MAIL and INDUSTRIAL BRITAIN. In the film INDUSTRIAL BRITAIN (1931), documentary filmmaker Robert Flaherty exchanged the exoticism of his earlier work's "primitive subject" Nanook in NANOOK OF THE NORTH with a sequence of portraits of different types of industrial workers in factories around the country (Corner, 2002, p. 212). The film is interspersed with shots of smoking factory chimneys, which paint a landscape of labor in industrial Britain subdividing the film into topical units that introduce the range of work from deep down the coal mine to work with blazing machines in the steel factory. Some of Flaherty's film sequences were popular enough to be additionally screened as short films at other cultural venues (Scott, n.d.). One of these extracted short movies features a man standing at a pottery table. The camera is moving from his face down to his hands and dwells on the beautiful spin and smoothness of molding clay on the spinning wheel. It is a celebration of film aesthetics being able to capture the movements of hands, spinning wheels and machines, and it illustrates a case in which depictions of work and cinematic pleasure came together for the entertainment of the audience.

The other example is NIGHT MAIL (1936) by directors Harry Watt and Basil Wright. It pictures the modern technology of a post train and the work of distribution done by 40 postmen presented in an impressive audio-visual piece including an actual poem and exclusively written film music. Here, cinema is again exploring its aesthetic possibilities based on the presentation of work routines. In INDUSTRIAL BRITAIN and NIGHT MAIL, the audience is introduced to a world of work they usually did not know about. The film INDUSTRIAL BRITAIN provides an exploration into and contemplation of manual and technical skills at the heart of a modernizing society. Additionally, the film assembles everything into an ordering dramaturgical framework, which categorizes types of workers and figuratively provides a cross-section of industrial Britain. The film thereby exemplifies concepts and traditions of documentary making at the time: it "foster[s] the search for origins and essences" (Smith, 2002, p. 97), which was believed to be realized in visual observations of hard work. In NIGHT MAIL, the rhythm of work is quite literarily parallelized with technology-centered images of moving trains, wire

systems and tracks. Both films have in common that work is narrated as functioning part in the spinning and progress of modern urban society.

Because of filmic attentions to the ordinary and the familiarity of one's immediate surrounding, workers and their work gained importance as a pillar of a modernizing society. However, one can criticize the "observational naturalism" (Corner, 2003, p. 93) of Grierson and his fellows for the fact that also their subjects disappear behind the representation of circumstances. Like Ruttmann's "tumbling" people through the "swirl and swing" of the city (Grierson, 1932/1966), people, here, blend in too smoothly with their given social role and environment. In INDUSTRIAL BRITAIN and NIGHT MAIL, the images subsume the individual worker under a generalizing labor force and their labor power becomes the origin of movement, like a machine whose small parts are assembled to a working whole, each piece sitting in its designated position. These views on work processes and the parallelization of work and technology abstracts 'work' from the laboring subject. The sweating, hard-working individual with a personal history steps back in favor of an abstract valuation of work as a motor of innovation and modernization. Also, THE DRIFTERS introduces types of workers, not individuals or actors, to create an authentic picture of the fishing industry (Sexton, n.d.). The guiding idea to find "original actors" in "original scenes" (Hardy, 1966, p. 13) had led characters to rather superficially spring from the settings they were filmed in. The environment was recognized as the primary carrier of reality, not the individual subject with views and emotions – a trend that can also be observed in the literature of the 1920s (Neumann-Rieser, 2015, p. 94-95).[13] Reality appeared as a separate entity that could be empirically experienced and expressed in reports and factual presentations (ibid.).

13 In Germany, there happened to be some close relationships between authors and the medium of film. For example, Bertolt Brecht's early attempts as film director, the (unsuccessful) film adaptation of his *The Threepenny Opera,* and the co-production of KUHLE WAMPE ODER: WEM GEHÖRT DIE WELT.

2.2.2 Location and identity: Curious travels to working-class neighborhoods

Although the stated aim of documentary making around Grierson was to observe and show everyday situations 'just as they appeared' in front of the camera, these filmic fragments of urban life were of course not neutral endeavors. Filmic representations of urban life partook in framing notions of identity, experience, and belonging along the line of a politics of modern aesthetics impacted by commerce, ideology and educative attempts. This chapter elaborates on how depictions of the urban working-class were influenced by modernist notions of documentary practice, of urban identity, and by a growing film business that fueled the popularization of working-class culture for a bourgeois audience.

The depiction of the city in early documentary film was to a great extent informed by the spatial perception of an urbanizing and industrializing city, a "metropolitan experience [understood] as a clash of diverse and cumulatively discordant sensations"[14] (Dennis, 2008, p. 103). Experiences of segregation and the wish for order were central concerns for documentary film: urban life perceived as chaotic and unruly was constructed and ordered again for the audience. Moreover, urban life was turned into a subject of entertainment (ibid.). Film producers, very early onwards, "were keenly aware that the desired audiences were to be found in the mass populations and high densities of the city" (Uricchio, 1988, p. 19). While some big-city films tended to tell a rather binary story of high society and low life "with little in-between" (Dennis, p. 103), the majority of filmmakers responded to the needs of the commercializing film market. They thus created media content predominantly to appeal to their viewer's lifestyle, contradictory existences and experiences. Film intended to present reality fragments that were derived from the familiar world of its audience as well as from the unfamiliar lives of 'the urban other.' Films thereby promoted a sense for the city and its people based "upon an almost post-card like differentiation of urban identity" (Uricchio, 1988, p. 19).

14 Dennis bases his observation on Georg Simmel's analysis of the fragmentation of social relations under a progressing capitalist system, and on Leo Charney's studies on the emergence of film and the broader culture of modernity (see, for instance, Charney & Schwartz, 1996).

Specifically, the urban poor became a well-established and popular subject in film (similar to their popularity in literature). Slum life was both: an interesting object of study for a modernist documentary practice that applied a 'social change' narrative and an entertaining thrill of the unknown. The working class were a visible feature of the industrial city, however, their lives and experiences were mostly unknown to the wealthier film audience. Hence, the working-class subject perfectly catered to the desire for filmic advances into the (un)familiarity of one's surrounding and yet class differences allowed the audience to view everything from a safe distance. The simultaneous study of the workers' life and excited alienation by which these explorations were viewed is based upon a deep-seated narration of 'the urban other' already starting from around the mid-nineteenth century, when social investigators and intellectuals explored and wrote about the social conditions of the poor in Europe's cities (McElligott, 2001, p. 65ff.). They met this 'other' with both suspicion and excitement about the perceived differences of their culture, their language and seclusion by which they seemed to have "a life which is their own" (Frégier, as cited in McElligott, p. 65). The working-class neighborhood was perceived as a clearly defined unit, the nature of which could be revealed through close observation. These studies were characterized by an advancing 'expert' who investigated the neighborhood in an act of maintaining difference between the viewer and those being watched. It was based on the modernist belief of collecting knowledge about people and places as seemingly objective exercise of a rational, autonomous individuum providing universal truth about the world.

An example of filmic studies of the urban poor is HOUSING PROBLEMS [15], which practices an 'othering' by its intriguing cinematography: starting with a wide-angle shot panning across the roofs of the worker barracks, the camera invites the viewer on an explorative excursion while a commentator from the off promises to 'meet' the residents of the neighborhood: "This film is going to introduce you to some of the people rarely concerned" [00:15-00:18]. As this commentary implies, the film clearly spoke to an audience different from the people living in the neighborhood. The film uses exoticizing denominators to narrate a safe distance between its

15 Time codes in the analysis refer to HOUSING PROBLEMS (1935) played on Vimeo, uploaded on June 1, 2019.

audience and the people depicted just like "ethnographic travel literature" did for its readers (see Schaub, 2016). Looking from an unknown, omniscient position at the barrack rooftops in the distance, HOUSING PROBLEMS delineates the neighborhood as a separate subject area or problem set *about* which the viewer is going to learn something. Additionally, the chosen image frame of new modern housing blocks with a tidy linearity in juxtaposition to the old, 'skanky' houses of the slum demarcates two different worlds. Hence, the very gesture that is laid out in the film does not serve to illuminate the subject of the working-class district, i.e. to unravel relations in society and to draw connections to the life of the audience. On the contrary, it serves to consolidate existing boundaries and to build a safe, pleasurable distance by which the working-class subject is viewed and consumed as exoticized other.

Early filmic travelogues to the working-class neighborhood can hence be said to follow into the footsteps of ethnographic travel literature [16], in which terms like 'expedition,' 'adventure' and 'exoticism' were commonly used to describe the advance of an "observing bourgeois subject" (Schaub, 2016, p. 561, my translation) into a world of unknown places and people assembled by the modern city. 'The other' in the city was often coded by means of class differences and a crossing to these other milieus was marked as travel, as was the case, for example, in the literature of the Weimar Republic (ibid.). Bienert emphasizes that sociological expeditions were only possible "in a complex, highly differentiated society," in which the traveler is unfamiliar with central parts of society (Bienert, 1992, p. 138). The idea of the city as a "clash" (Dennis, 2008, p. 103) of existences allowed to equate depictions of the urban lower class with explorations to Asia and Africa, beckoning similar exotic adventures and entertainment by the unknown and foreign (Schaub, 2016, p. 562).

These encounters were observable across European cities (McElligott, 2001). Also, in film, many parallels can be drawn, for instance, between the English HOUSING PROBLEMS and the German WIE WOHNEN WIR GESUND UND WIRTSCHAFTLICH (1926). The latter is a series of filmic inquiries into the housing situation of Berlin, which merges camera observations with contextualizing written inserts

16 Here, Christoph Schaub is following Jacques Rancière, who suggests grouping together literary encounters between the bourgeois with the lower class by the term "travel literature" (see Schaub, p. 562; Rancière, 2003).

offering evaluations of the depicted scenes for the viewer. The series was produced for promotional and educative purposes by the *Humboldt Film GmbH* and presents a similarly devastating picture of the worker milieu in order to make an argument about the virtues of new housing. Both films present supposedly objective character studies of the residents in close relationship with the depicted circumstances they were living in. A telling image sequence from WIE WOHNEN WIR GESUND UND WIRTSCHAFTLICH depicts women talking energetically with each other, apparently exchanging the latest news of the neighborhood. The scene is preceded by a text explaining that "another consequence of tenants living on top of each other is gossip, quarrel and arguments."[17] Then, the image shifts to a staircase, illustrating the materialization of social relations in built form: it shows residents whose apartments are literally sitting on top of each other with no option for privacy and retreat. The film titles evoke that bar visits and prostitution are a logical consequence from this situation: "It is no wonder if these people without a home seek their relaxation in the pub, [...] and if alcoholism, prostitution, and crime have their seeds here."[18] The film explains typical characterizations of the residents like alcohol consumption and excessive pleasure with their disastrous living condition. The residents seem to be driven by the circumstances in which they live. Most naturally, the solution appears to be slum clearance and the construction of new houses for the residents. A voice-over commentary from HOUSING PROBLEMS could just as easily have been taken from WIE WOHNEN WIR GESUND UND WIRTSCHAFTLICH: "If you provide people from the slums with decent homes, they quickly respond to the improved conditions and keep their homes clean and tidy" [10:17].

The interlocking of environmental traits and people's character thus determined the image of the working class. Hallam and Marshment describe this connection of place and identity as defining element for a social realism as it had been practiced in Britain: it is "films that aim to show the effects of environmental factors on the development of character through depictions that emphasize the relationship between

17 German original: "Eine weitere Folge engaufeinander hockender Mietsparteien ist Klatsch, Zank und Hader." [06:44]

18 German original: "Kein Wunder, wenn diese Menschen ohne Heim ihre Erholung in der Kneipe suchen [...] und, wenn Trunksucht und Prostitution und Verbrechen, hier ihre Schlupfwinkel haben." [07:04-07:46]

location and identity" (Hallam & Marshment, 2000, p. 184). In HOUSING PROBLEMS and WIE WOHNEN WIR GESUND UND WIRTSCHAFTLICH, it is the working-class neighborhood and the living conditions that primarily characterize and affect working-class residents, more than the residents impact the environment they live in. As a result, characterizations of the working class predominantly focus on negative expressions of slum life and identify them as a threat to social morality and stability, to which the films attempt to offer a solution. The association of social realism with "a reformist or occasionally revolutionary politics that deemed adverse social circumstances could be changed by the introduction of more enlightened social policies or structural change in society" (ibid.) was in documentary's early years however closely tied to governmental policies and not on behalf of the working population (Nichols, 2016). Nichols underlines the close collaboration between filmmakers and government subjects (even up until the 1960s), which particularly came together in the famous person Grierson and his legacy for the documentary film. For Grierson, a supposedly objective "observational naturalism" (Corner, 2003, p. 93) should picture situations and facts in a way that ultimately serves the construction of a sense of civic responsibility and "identity necessary for citizenship in the first place" (Nichols, p. 605). By means of educative and guiding documentaries that applied "new technologies of photographic fidelity and mechanical reproduction" (p. 604), he wanted to engage a mass audience and manage public affairs in dedication to the nation state and democratic values.

Eventually, the lives of poor people functioned as truth claim to a social reality guided by other peoples' beliefs of how this world should look like. In the case of HOUSING PROBLEMS and WIE WOHNEN WIR GESUND UND WIRTSCHAFTLICH, modern ideas about hygiene and privacy with the ultimate goal of social and political management were the basis for categorization and assessment (Corner, 2003). Although these films suggest differently, the actual story is not about the ordinary people. Filmic explorations to 'the other side of society' were generally exclusive and one-sided because logistical challenges and expensive technical equipment made film production only practicable for a few who could afford to work in well-connected and organized production teams.

Communication, ideas and moral concepts traveled top down, from the upper to the lower classes. Although HOUSING PROBLEMS is celebrated (and criticized) by directors Elton and Anstey's contemporaries for its radical choice of giving workers a voice through apparently unedited interviews, *what* the workers say is making no difference because it is not really stepping outside the context of the film's persuasive storytelling. In addition to that, the film leaves out any positive assumption about life in the working-class neighborhood, for example strong community bonds and other traditions that could have been considered protection-worthy. In sum, instead of a real engagement the films reproduced stereotypes about slum life and its residents. The audience got amusingly horrified by the images they expected about slums, it was never to the extent that what they saw became unsettling and made them think about broader social causes beyond the slum's borders. By the end, the film even offers a conciliatory solution to the shocking situation in an effort to raise and direct public awareness in favor for modernization processes and urban renewal plans.

Film thus situated the working-class subject in a modernist timeline. Modernity was linked to progress – a successive movement forward toward a modern society. The underlying premise was that the future was "open, novel, reachable and constructable" by human beings, who are capable of reasoning (Therborn, as cited in Mihelj & Huxtable, 2018, p. 94). Being progressive thereby became a (rational) choice and allowed differentiations along the lines of a "modern, civilized 'self'" and an "underdeveloped, backward and primitive 'other'" (ibid.). This "teleological tale" (Smith, 2002, p. 97) from primitive to modern and strong dichotomous thinking also greatly affected the depiction of the working class. In this context, one can understand the glorification of abstract work as pillar and motor of modern society, as could have be seen, for example, in INDUSTRIAL BRITAIN and NIGHT MAIL. And simultaneously, films' consideration of the private situation of the workers as devastating and a problem set to be overcome.

For Grierson and his contemporaries, documentary practice and 'the visual' were a tool to help find an antidote and break free from the "unhealthy, unplanned, exploitative and inhumane conditions of the past" (Hartley, 1999, p. 70). However, they had an ambivalent relationship with the modern world. Grierson's THE DRIFTERS, for instance, unites celebrations of tradition and modernity. It captures a

fisher industry being influenced and altered by modern technology and new economic demands. Although the film respects ties between nature and men, it nevertheless celebrates modernity and technological innovation. In comparison to that, Grierson judges in another publication about NANOOK that, beyond depicting the life of Polynesian people, Flaherty's film "achieves greatness" (Grierson, 1926/2016, p. 25) through its consideration of nature's beauty (i.e. the Polynesian islands), in which he sees a certain poetic setting itself aside from "the mire of so-called intelligent civilization" (ibid.).

In an essay on cultural diversity and difference, Laurel Smith describes how the identity of the Inuit subject in NANOOK OF THE NORTH had been fixed as a "paradigmatic primitive engaged in the quotidian struggle with the environment" (Smith, 2002, p. 97). Because filmmakers and critics saw Nanook as 'natural' and 'primitive,' Smith argues, they could proclaim "documentary as a method that captured the essence of a reality that was as pure as the Arctic snow" (p. 99). A similar binary opposition of 'the primitive' and 'the modern' could be evoked for the working-class representation in early documentary explorations of the city: in the modern narrative of progress and urban development, working-class identity became 'the primitive' (aka the uncivilized, messy, chaotic other) in urban society. Readings of exoticism and 'otherness' in working-class culture helped establish the genre of documentary film and categorizations in service of an "evolutionary discourse" upholding "progression from 'primitive' to the modern and technological" (ibid.).

Stressing the evolutionary factor, filmic travelogues of the working-class were more than just curious studies to 'the other side.' They often also expressed a weirdly romanticized retrospect to society's pre-modern state, disclosing a rather ambivalent relationship of society with its past and urban traditions. The Zille hype that arose among the bourgeois class in Germany in the 1920s was an example of this fascination with allegedly 'raw' and 'immediate' urban experiences and will be discussed in the next section.

2.2.3 Popularization and cultural appropriation by the Zille films

Depictions of the working-class milieu were also popular subjects in the bourgeois feature film, which had lasting effects on the picturing of the urban working-class. The following chapter is going to discuss the German discourse about worker representation by Zille films and the proletarian film movement. These films also provide the archive material for later documentaries on *rbb* that deal with the decline of the working-class district Wedding (Ch. 4.1).

In Germany, the public image of working-class neighborhoods and its residents were strongly influenced by graphic artist Heinrich Zille and a hype created by films, events and songs allegedly centering 'Zille's Milljöh' (Berlin dialect for the working-class milieu). Zille famously portrayed a wide variety of everyday situations and people in comical sketches: sociable get-togethers, bar scenes, visits to a prostitute, playing children, full dwellings, in short: pleasure and misery in a proletarian neighborhood. Having lived in the working-class district Wedding in Berlin, Zille became to embody a father figure to the milieu and his drawings were recognized for their affectionate, yet sharp and authentic view on his fellow people. By the mid-1920s, his paintings and personal expertise stood for the image of the working class to the extent that many events commercialized the idea of 'Heinrich Zille's milieu' and held Zille meetings and motto parties in which the middle class could assume the role of the common folk (Korte, 1980). Those events promised pleasurable trips for a bourgeois audience into the world of another class. But also left-wing filmmakers and intellectuals used the personality cult around Zille to authenticate and legitimate their (class) fight against "bourgeois agitation" (p. 234, my translation). They produced films that were supposed to critically examine and counteract 'bourgeois art' "in the service of the proletarian revolution" (ibid., my translation). In sum, Heinrich Zille was a central figure in the German cultural fight for interpretative sovereignty of representations of the working class.

Especially 'Zille films' that flourished in the 1925s and 1926s popularized images of the working-class milieu among a broader audience. They particularly entertained a petit bourgeoisie with "amusing, exotic stories from a world they were fortunate enough not to belong to" (Freund & Hanisch, as cited in Michaelis 1980, p. 106). Situated in a unity of time, place and action (Schrader & Schebera,

1987, p. 91), these films were intimate plays that set proletarian stories about love, personal tragedies and friendship in narrow backyards and working-class dwellings. Thereby, studio-built settings based on ideas about the milieu reproduced clichés of a "backyard romance" (Korte, 1980, p. 245) that primarily "fed the social illusions of lower-middle class people" (Kracauer, 1947/2004, p. 197). This stereotypical representation further manifested stories of the working class as "urban others." Actions and fates of the protagonists sprang like self-fulfilling prophecies from a seemingly self-contained proletarian world. Here, too, it is the circumstances that determine the actions of the people and their "hopeless revolt" against the "the cruel laws of everyday life" (Schrader & Schebera, p. 91, my translation).

Moreover, these films allowed a better-off audience not only to amuse themselves about everyday dramas, but to positively reconfirm themselves in opposition to the negative image they saw on screen: „Like the 'street' films, Zille films juxtaposed an inherently negative working class, lumpenproletarian, a criminal environment with generally virtuous and especially philanthropic middle- to upper-class environment" (Murray, 1990, p. 157). Films hence functioned as affirmation of virtues and morals of the upper classes. In this regard, the Zille films have a lot in common with more scientifically designed advances into working-class neighborhoods by travelogue films, which applied their own views and concepts, for instance with regard to housing and to the slum dwellers. Also, Hartley turns on Frow's concept of the "knowledge class" (Hartley, 1999, p. 98) to emphasize a top-down power relation between 'experts' and their studied subjects. He describes it as a relation that is able to define and name "in the name of the needs of the working population" (ibid.): it "capitalizes on the one productive force which knowledge-class professionals can command (information), by turning it from merely instrumental power ('know-how') into real social power (the management of populations and social change)" (ibid.). A similar point is made by Nichols, who saw early documentary film in service of governmental policies and citizenship as pertinent urban identity, against which everything else was measured. These examples emphasize how an upper class could seclude itself through owning the representation of the working class.

Despite extremely commercialized expressions of the 'Zille films,' like GROßSTADTKINDER – ZWISCHEN SPREE UND PANKE (1929), the films can nevertheless be acknowledged for their orientation towards

the unknown downside of social developments so far rather exceptional to the film business (ibid.). They also spurred the production of other films by producers for whom the popular Zille film was too "inconsistent" in calling for class action (e.g., Hoernle, KPD official, as cited in Toeplitz, 1979, p. 436), or for whom the films painted an unrealistic picture of the working-class milieu and who therefore attempted to oppose depictions by popular bourgeois culture with the production of proletarian cinema. In this context, DIE VERRUFENEN[19] (English title: SLUMS OF BERLIN) was created, which involved Zille in the production. DIE VERRUFENEN is told from the perspective of a once wealthy and respectable man who, after his time in prison, experiences social decline. He nevertheless meets the working class with a lot of empathy for their situation and hardships, guiding the audience through a filmic confrontation with extreme poverty and misery in an attempt to truthfully portray a variety of working-class experience.

What was new in the portrayal of the proletarian milieu was that DIE VERRUFENEN casted amateur actors from the milieu and shot in original locations. The fictional plot, which is also based on the personal experience of one of Zille's acquaintances (Dahlke & Karl, 1988, p. 350), is supported with documentary shots in order to give a realistic picture of the milieu and the types of people living there (Toeplitz, p. 436). Even here, Zille functions as marker for authenticity. Right at the beginning, the film introduces the story with white letters stating: "Eight acts based on the experience of Heinrich Zille" [00:23] (my translation). Ironically, however, it is Zille's reputation in the name of which images from DIE VERRUFENEN are used in later films and programs (even on television in the 1980s) in service for all kinds of authenticity claims. For example, WIE WOHNEN WIR GESUND UND WIRTSCHAFTLICH uses images from DIE VERRUFENEN as evidence to advertise modern housing, similar to the argument made in HOUSING PROBLEMS. In what context the pictures were created for the original film is not mentioned. Instead, the filmmakers assign an unquestioned documentary character to the images and use the image's message for purposes other than intended.

19 Time codes in the analysis refer to DIE VERRUFENEN (1925), version of the Deutsche Kinemathek, played on VLC Player.

2.2.4 A voice for the working class: politicization of film and the proletarian film movement

In his realistic portrayal and empathy towards the working-class milieu, DIE VERRUFENEN can be considered a precursor for films like MUTTER KRAUSES FAHRT INS GLÜCK (1929) and the proletarian film movement. In general, the years between 1925-1933 were extremely productive years for films taking the urban working-class as their major subject. However, it was not until the end of the 1920s that filmmakers applied a more straightforward perspective on the topic, meaning an understanding of film as political service for the working-class and the labor movement. The proliferation of these films, categorized as "proletarian films" by Korte (1980), can be considered a peak in worker film productions and was not least a product of a tense situation during and especially at the end of the Weimar Republic – a situation of growing social contradictions, economic crisis, and of increasing oppression from a strengthening National Socialist party and their ideological monopolization of ideas like family, identity and work. They were also a direct response to the Zille hype and the commercialization of working-class culture by the "bourgeois film" (p. 105).

Film had been acknowledged for its communicative role with the masses. Its twofold function as commodity *and* as mediator of ideology had been discovered by productions pursuing explicit political campaigns and the manipulation of public opinion (p. 21). Artist and film director Hans Richter describes the new political and cultural mission of film as follows: "Having become significant, the film was no longer free in its choice of themes, […] in its spirit, it could no longer dare everything as it could still do as an insignificant, mentally and artistically poor medium of popular amusement" (Richter, 1976, p. 56, my translation). The culmination of social and political conflicts increasingly demanded a clear stance of people towards political developments. Neutral positionings were hardly possible if they were not to fall back again into being 'numbing' entertainment for the masses. This eventually brought wide parts of bourgeoise artists to directly or indirectly support the uprising labor movement (Korte, 1980, p. 21). Within the politicization of film, the proletarian film was directed against a right-leaning agenda and its

supposedly aesthetically impoverished, always reassuring film industry.

Alongside the well-established bourgeois film and "flat" entertainment programs for the masses (Korte, 1980) – in the eyes of supporters of the proletarian film, the first lived off of a voyeurism of poor people's misery and the second at best lamented social difference instead of offering political solutions – films like MUTTER KRAUSES FAHRT INS GLÜCK (1929, hereafter abbreviated to MUTTER KRAUSE) and KUHLE WAMPE ODER WEM GEHÖRT DIE WELT? (1932, hereafter KUHLE WAMPE) tried to provide a more empathic view on the living situation of the working class, aiming to activate social action and solidarity among their proletarian audience. Directors like Slatan Dudow, Phil Jutzi, and Leo Mittler, among others, aimed to provide an alternative publicity in defense of worker interests against a proliferating exploitative system. Devastating housing conditions in urban slums were also a central concern of these movies, nevertheless, they thought categories of work, living, and housing together in an overall consideration of the worker's positioning within modern society.

The organizational framework of these filmic projects in Germany were KPD (Communist Party of Germany) associated film distributers Prometheus Film Ltd. and the Weltfilm Ltd., which produced the most popular films of this genre. Films like JENSEITS DER STRAßE (1929) and HUNGER IN WALDENBURG (1929)[20] marked the beginning of a number of proletarian-realist feature film productions, but only MUTTER KRAUSE, realized in the same year, finalized the new aesthetic form – a "proletarian realism" (p. 101) – for their political project and gained wide attention among their intended worker audience. By inserting documentary elements that situate the fictive story within 'the authentic milieu' of the working class, and which resembles the technique applied in DIE VERRUFENEN, the film MUTTER KRAUSE tells the story of the tragic death of Mother Krause, who commits suicide because she sees no other solution to her financial debts.

Told like this, the story resembles other "socio-critical street films" (Michaelis, 1980, p. 108) which consider the worker subject basically

20 For a description of how JENSEITS DER STRAßE and HUNGER IN WALDENBURG can be considered precursors of MUTTER KRAUSE, see Margot Michaelis's analysis in Helmut Korte (1980), p. 107 ff.

as a direct consequence or product of the subject's circumstances, i.e., the milieu determining the subject's destiny and therefore playing the actual leading part in the movies (p. 128). This is also a central critique expressed by Bela Balázs (1930/1977):

> Social pieces [...] extensively depict the misery of the proletariat, and feel terribly revolutionary about themselves and for the critiques with their 'naturalistic' portrayal of the milieu in every concrete detail. However, the economic, social, and political reasons of this misery are only touched on in passing and at the very edge. (p. 119, my translation)

Balázs thinks this is the case for bourgeois street films as well as proletarian films: "[...] From the 'Stempelbrüder' to 'the Threepenny Opera' to the Zille film 'Mother Krause,' only conditions are shown that lead to prostitution, crime or suicide" (ibid., my translation). Thus, similar to the documentary studies of working-class neighborhoods, the representation and description of the working class in these films emphasizes the relationship between location and identity with a focus on adverse conditions and related character traits.

However, the narration of MUTTER KRAUSE is mirrored by another storyline about Mother Krause's daughter Erna. Unlike her mother, Erna does not surrender to her circumstances: in the end she takes initiative and joins the workers' movement (this can be viewed in the demonstration march as the formal climax of the movie). This second storyline is important because it tackles a major point of critique proletarian filmmakers had with regard to the representations of the milieu in film: the dominating naturalism would keep the subject in a life-determining environment, hence in stagnation. Usually, socio-critical films restricted their topics to the great misery of people without really emphasizing the underlying social dynamics responsible for the situation – their critique remaining a rather passive accusation and a cynical anti-bourgeois stance (p. 112). In contrast to that, the new proletarian realism wanted to understand the working class as more than just "the function of their milieu" (p. 113), aiming to disclose the individual's relation to society and social relations. These films tried to simultaneously acknowledge the subject's essential character and socio-historical embeddedness (p. 132). The worker should no longer be just the victim of circumstances but the architect of his or her own fortune. One way to implement that was for proletarian films to let the protagonist proclaim his or her solidarity with the labor movement as a first step into a future he or she could

help shape. Political struggle and personal life were inseparably connected.

However, promoting a primarily political approach to worker representation, an essential aspect in the filmmakers' perspective was to think class fight internationally, not locally. For the films, it was thus important to portray and highlight *typical* circumstances and character traits that every worker could relate to, and not so much the specifics of each place. For example, MUTTER KRAUSE took place in Berlin's Wedding, however, there is hardly a reference to the film's setting. The misery in big cities was often interchangeable. Therefore, there is a tendency in these films to think of 'the worker' in typical and international terms rather than contextual ones.

Summary

Early film productions produced human geographies of everyday live. They experimented with filmic and dramaturgical styles to capture the fast-changing urban environment. The city became a central framework and topic to think modern issues. This also applied to the depiction of the working class, who was characterized and studied by the situation in slum neighborhoods. Throughout the 1920s, the urban working-class became a popular film subject especially in Weimar cinema. Presenting the working class as a world of its own, films emphasized a clear demarcation between depicted social milieus. No matter what political or commercial intention, films solidified the effect of segregation in the city and promoted a 'postcard like' differentiation of urban identity in which the working class became a fixed component in cinematic confrontations with the city in the context of profound changes in society due to urbanization and industrialization processes. Representations of the milieu emphasize the connection between location and identity, using the urban environment of slums to characterize the proletarian residents living in these neighborhoods. Focusing on poor and unhealthy living conditions, the working class is characterized in mainly negative terms as a diseased, struggling and, in the case of politically motivated films, oppressed class. They are addressed in the plural as homogeneous

group with similar interests and needs. Connected to that is a rather stereotypical representation of different types of proletarian residents.

Both documentary film and feature film reproduced and popularized this picture. On the one hand, there were bourgeois productions like sociological expeditions that took the audience on 'exotic' filmic trips to the working-class neighborhoods. The documentary studies were understood as analytical tools that ordered and categorized the world according to modern morals and values. In this context, they aimed to record social reality and cause change by raising public awareness on the issue of housing. Residents became the studied subjects of a viewing public and a 'knowledge class,' which primarily saw the slum and its residents in terms of a problem set that demanded action. In more commercial attempts, Zille films, events and parties further fixated the 'Milljöh' into a steady, marketable entity. In realistic settings, they pictured happiness and misery in the neighborhood. A bourgeois audience appropriated working-class culture for their entertainment, and along the way positively reaffirmed themselves and their standing in society. On the other hand, leftist proletarian films tried to provide the workers with a voice in fight against the popularization and appropriation of proletarian culture by the bourgeoisie. With an orientation toward an international labor movement, the films aimed to move beyond the mere depiction of circumstances and reveal those power relations behind the oppression of the proletariat. Similar to the ethnographic travelogues that explored the habitat of slum dwellers, the Zille feature films and proletarian films contained documentary efforts that aimed to demonstrate connections between environmental conditions of urban slum living and the identity of its residents. In either perspective, 'the working-class neighborhood' became the urban manifestation of proletarian character, lifestyle and social positioning.

2.3 Television impacts: The institutionalization of a vision of a democratized culture

The two preceding sub-chapters have focused on the tradition of city films [21] and the conventions and debates, in society and among filmmakers, that accompanied the documentary film movement. Early film represented the urban working-class in slum neighborhoods and devastating living conditions. In addition, and contrary to a glorified representation of work processes that sustain modern society, workers – seen as residents and citizens – became studied subjects and the exoticized urban other. This section now turns to television and how it stirred all those relations created by early film in its documentaries about the city: television redefined the spatial and temporal approach to urban space and everyday life (premises of television); it broadened accessibility for the audience; it changed the relationship to the city and society, and fueled the discussion about democracy, culture and social representation. Working-class representation is also affected by these reshufflings, causing a new debate about appropriate representation and participation.

2.3.1 Claiming everyday space and time: the premises of TV realism

In his article "Housing Television: Textual Traditions in TV and Cultural Studies" (1998), John Hartley examines how television's establishment as a popular medium between the 1930s and 1950s had fundamentally changed people's perception of the world and their thinking of the reality of social conditions. However, such a change, he argues, had not been a clear-cut shift from old forms to new ones. It rather entailed many dynamics and overlapping processes, out of which two were particularly important. First, the recalibration of modern life through new communication technologies involved the deployment of realism in adjusting to conditions of the modern age. Second, realism's revisit and reworking by television for the daily

21 Here, 'city film' summarizes the previously discussed films, which either take the city as topic itself, or in which the city plays a major role for the presentation of another topic.

consumption of a diversified 'mass' audience. Hartley argues that this shift in the modes of realism – defined as "conventional set of devices" to what is an adequate representation of reality (Fiske & Hartley, 2003, p. 127) – was powerfully at work at the time.

One significant reworking of realist conventions was that television and preceding film techniques rooted cultural value production in the audiences' everyday space and time together by posing new questions about who participated how in culture. In this regard, television was innovative in two ways: first, most of the programs simulated an immersive experience of co-presence with the mediated event presented on screen; second, the programs gave structure and were responding to people's daily work and life rhythm. This rooting of cultural production in the everyday life of the people contributed to an opening-up of space that allowed the ins and outs of society to be thought anew.

Television offered its viewers a particular spatial and temporal experience "marked by a sense of newness and hereness and inflected by presumed access to the real" (Berenstein, 2002, p. 26). There was the sensation that every viewer could supposedly join the most recent happenings on screen simply by turning on their receiving devices. Although the audience was sitting at home and saw at a distance, television was seemingly able to bridge these gaps for the audience. By providing a common source of knowledge, it turned distance into a shared social experience of partaking in events, entertainment and information (ibid.). Mediated cultural space had the appearance of an inclusive space with low-barrier access for everyone who could afford a respective device to tune in to the latest events happening in society.[22] The new mediated space was primarily thought of as an assumed immediacy simulating an on-site experience. The depicted situations on television offered a direct and intimate link with its audience, providing a "powerful sense of co-presence" (Ellis, 2000, p. 32) although the image on the television obviously differed from the settings of the audience at home. People did not need to be physically present when something had happened in society, they could partake in the event just by following the narration of the program.

22 In the beginning of TV's history, there were often opportunities to watch television in organized communal settings for those people who did not have the means to purchase a device (Uricchio, 1990, p. 115-116).

Especially in early TV programs, producers tried to communicate a feeling of directness to the audience in an effort to distinguish television's experience of shared moments from cinema's experience of separated temporalities between film and its audience (Ellis, p. 33). It is no coincidence that announcers, anchormen, and the concept of continuity in broadcasting were popular means applied by early television to promote a feeling of directly addressing the audience. For a long time, the appearance of announcers, for instance, was stressed in programs to engage the viewer in a dialogue-style viewing situation. They could be seen delivering information on-screen, instead of the later preferred more indirect guidance of meaning by voice-overs, graphics and messages. Even in the entertainment sector, 'directness' was a major principle. Shows were kept alive by hosts who commented on actions and singers were singing into the camera imitating a concert situation for the audience.

But 'directness' was not only an idea of program content. Most TV programs (except for the news) actually went on air live. Only later programs became more and more recorded due to improved ways of editing media content. Nevertheless, the sensation of directness had still been retained in subsequent broadcasting practices as *the* characteristic of television making (ibid.). Technically speaking, television broadcasting has always been live, even if a program was not characterized as such. The organization of transmission takes place by beaming out a signal to a dispersed audience all watching at the same time (p. 31). In this sense, even pre-recorded programs are "able to claim the status of liveness for themselves simply because the act of transmission attaches them to a particular moment" (ibid.) of consumption situated in the audiences' 'here and now.' Broadcasting presented itself as a medium of the moment and of instantaneity. While people nowadays are used to media's ubiquitous presence in their everyday lives and to mediated spaces constantly reaching into their surroundings, this was a major innovation for an audience for whom it must have felt like spaces of daily popular culture were opened up and imagined anew alongside their very private lives.

Television was able to bridge spatial divisions and to establish moments of co-presence through media events. Furthermore, it was able to summarize all of these experiences under a structured routine synchronized with the everyday schedule of people. Television adjusted its program to the routine of working families in that it, for

instance, broadcasted entertainment shows in the evening when people usually came home from work. On the other hand, people coordinated parts of their daily activities to be able to watch the news in order to be updated on what was happening around them (Scannel, 1996). This adaptability to and close dialogue with people's everyday lives had a major contribution to television's success (Ellis, 2000). Television's spatial reference not only connected to peoples' lives in that it reported on familiar places, also the synchronized temporality of its programs turned the medium into an inherent part of audience's lives.

In sum, the medium's extensive use of techniques promoting presence, liveness and simultaneity caused new questions about the modes of address. Television was assumed to create cultural truths within the 'earthly' actuality of the living situation of people. The dissemination of mass media like television, in Hartley's words, "democratized" cultural value production in that it, firstly, established a sense of inclusive co-presence with depicted media events, and secondly, enabled produced content to address and be distributed to a variety of groups in society, thereby opening up a new "training ground" (Hartley, 1999) for questions of the social, belonging and of (cultural) citizenship. Television's adoption of and reaching into society's consideration of the everyday had far-reaching implications. It (re-)connected the public according to new rules and (media innate) laws:

> Broadcasting gathered together a quite new kind of public life – a world of public persons, events, and happenings – and gave this world an ordered, orderly, familiar, knowable appearance by virtue of an unobtrusively unfolding temporal sequence of events that gave substance and structure to everyday life. (Scannell, 1996, p. 153)

By bridging physical and ideological divisions between its audience, television could support new ideas of public life based on concepts of co-presence, liveness and an equalized TV audience.

Although television's tendency toward immediacy has often led people to judge television as a low art and as an aesthetically impoverished medium (ibid.), it was exactly because of this proximity to (or dispersion into) society that television could so powerfully claim, firstly, to open up new spaces of modern life to a diverse group of audience; and secondly, to map society as a whole by an all-embracing coverage of relevant topics and members of society. Interpreting filmic techniques of immediacy as an expression of poor, disinterested

attitude bears the danger of a short-circuited argument that "conflate[s] questions of mechanical reproduction […] with questions of the adequacy of the representation […], and questions of verisimilitude […]" (Ellis, 2000, p. 13). This generally leads to judgements about the relation between the object and its representation ending up with truth claims about the depicted situation (ibid.) – i.e., the argument about television representing a better or worse version of social reality than another medium. Emphasizing the access character of television in this chapter should not be misunderstood in this light as an argument for a parallelization of media and social reality. Television did not just depict social reality and made it available to the public, rather it "moulded itself into the pattern of everyday life, and in doing so defined and standardized" it anew (ibid.). In conclusion, when television used techniques to give off a sense of liveness and directness, it was not due to its impoverished aesthetics, but was rather a powerful tool to naturalize its commentary on the world.

The advancement of a new democratized culture was also contested. Television, like film, was surrounded by a critical discourse displaying a fundamental anxiety about modernization processes, which were in fact struggles over power of deciding what was of cultural value (Hartley, 1998, p. 34). In less media euphoric terms, popularization and mass society were negatively connoted ideas firstly picked up by intellectuals trained in literary theory and "practical criticism" (p. 33)[23] who observed changes in cultural productions and standards with skepticism. The increase of population due to the Industrial Revolution produced what some felt like the flooding of dominant standards with an indistinct 'mass culture.' Literary critics like Ivor A. Richards expressed their resentment toward the formation of opinion by a majority, which was threatening, according to him, to "what is accepted as excellent by the most qualified opinions" (Richards, as cited in Hartley, 1998, p. 33). Richards wanted to see these qualified opinions defended; however, new communication technologies seemed to help spread views of the majority, affecting what he had deemed as culturally valuable.

Hartley interprets these concerns as a "quite straightforward fear of and hostility to the democratization of taste" (Hartley, 1999, p. 66), which formed the critical pre-existing discourse in which television

23 Hartley references statements on the modern situation by authors such as I.A. Richards, T.S. Eliot, F.R. Leavis, D. Thompson, and others (Hartley, 1998).

was situated even before the medium had a chance to prove itself. In here, Hartley argues for a strong involvement of intersecting class interests that had accompanied the beginning of television history when existing dominant modes of thought originating from a literary tradition were under threat from a popularizing new medium supposedly speaking the language of the masses. General-interest topics promoted by popular media were considered a representation of 'the masses,' which stood for an unqualified opinion in contrast to the well-balanced and elaborated argument of a capable few (Hartley, 1998, p. 34). Hartley interprets the subtext of these attitudes as "class action" (ibid.), representing a reactionary defense of textual tradition ideologized as timeless value: Literature (with a capital L), in contrast to television, was considered a "tradition" which had to be "grasped imaginatively *as* an organic whole by those who would seek to understand or to contribute to it" (ibid.). Television's aligning with the 'here and now' of people's everyday life did not adhere to these ideas of tradition and timeless values in culture. Cultural value was understood as objective truth to which only a few intellectuals were allowed access. Scholars and intellectuals frequently presented themselves as sole mediators of this knowledge and, at the end of the day, determined what was eligible to be of cultural value (ibid.). In fact, processes of selecting and interpreting 'high culture' were highly intransparent for common people and formed what was an expression of taste by a small group of privileged people. In contrast, for those

> born of industrialization and urbanization, the growth of 'mass' society was not experienced as a cultural calamity but as life, and mass communication, whether physical (transport and tourism) or virtual (popular media and entertainment), was not a 'competing exploitation' to which innocent victims were 'exposed,' *but an intrinsic component of a socialized mode of living* [my emphasis]. (p. 35)

In its creation of factual materials, television was however not so much different from literate modes of thought (Fiske & Hartley, 2003). A realist tradition originating from literary genres like the novel still played a major role for how people understood and interpreted cultural objects: it was the persistent believe in language, and subsequently in television, "to convey the knowledge of things [and to] pretend to be no more than a transcription of real life" (Watt, as cited in Fiske & Hartley, p. 131). Hence, TV realism did not change the concept of realism itself but rather naturalized the way in which people apprehended the world, just like language had done during the many

years preceding television's invention (Fiske & Hartley, p. 129). In summary, instead of questioning *whether* realism had been an adequate mode of expression (because there could be many other modes and realism is just one way of considering the 'the real'), the major shift resulting from television's dissemination was in the question *for whom* this new realism was adequate (p. 130).

2.3.2 Television for the Germans: cultural modernization and integration between 1954 and 1970

The last section has explored how television rooted cultural production in everyday space and time for a diversified audience. Criticized for promoting mass culture, it thereby shifted modes of address from a previous model of high culture to a democratized approach which included 'the ordinary.' The following section now specifies how television became a popular medium in the German context and how it considered the working-class family.

Most countries and regions have their very unique broadcasting system. Although one has to account for their distinct characteristics there are several aspects of television making such as (the rights for) TV formats, production processes, the news, and/or norms and values that are traveling beyond national boundaries and mutually influence television making in each context. Already in the very beginning of television, before its consolidation as popular medium during the 1960s, TV production did not happen isolated from other influences and developments, quite the contrary was the case. Especially in the establishing phase of television, ideas, discourses, and effects of television as described in Chapter 2.3 are comparable between countries in the western hemisphere as represented, in particular, by the USA, Great Britain and Germany. They all share a story of national television emanating from

> the big social changes due to industrialization and urbanization in the nineteenth century that released age-long traditions and turned the 'inside' and 'outside' of human beings upside down, thereby revolutionizing perception and triggering a re-definition of culture. (Hickethier, 1998, p. 1, my translation)

In his book *History of German Television* (original title: "Geschichte des deutschen Fernsehens"), Knut Hickethier backs up the thesis of

television as a motor of social and cultural modernization in Germany, and defends television's meaningful role for society against critical voices. He richly chronicles different media-historical periods and argues how major steps in television history were connected to and intertwined with major changes in the country's society, economy and political system. Among the different phases of expansion, the "industrialization of television" (p. 114) between 1954 and 1962 was one of the most significant developments which helped establish a strong and lasting broadcasting system. Similar to its British and American counterparts, the fundaments of German television stood in light of a society under the impression of World War II and the economic miracle, also generally referred to as the 'Golden Age of Capitalism' in English-speaking literature.

The German post-war situation was characterized by ambivalent dynamics: it was modern and backward looking at the same time. In a period of increasing economic growth after the war, the western part of Germany was confidentially turning away from old ideological baggage and from Eastern Germany in search of assimilation with the Western culture (p. 111). The political goal of encouraging communication and strengthening ties to the Western world was reflected in an increasingly important role of consumption in the everyday lives of people, highly connected to the expansion of electrical home appliances like a television set. These developments did not happen smoothly, however. Increasing wealth and a new standard of living did not immediately lead to more cosmopolitanism, liberality and liberation from old traditions (ibid.). A big part of German society still held on to inherited cultural values and to established patterns of narration and representation because they promised a secure, familiar field in contrast to a for most people frighteningly fast-changing economic environment (ibid.). It was not until the "americanization of culture" started in the 1950s – with its youth culture and the rock'n'roll movement – that this "illusion of a possible cultural continuity" was done away with and change was introduced to the mindset of German society, allowing for new directions in cultural production (ibid.). The American model of economization also highly influenced the cultural development in Germany. Culture was no longer a safe haven and counterpart to economic processes, and television, in particular, functioned as a means of negotiating an inward and outward look of society (p. 176).

In these ambivalent years of the 1950s, the medium of television took on a key role in the modernization process of society (p. 114), partly despite its economic position and partly because of it. Verifying prognoses based on television's development in the US and Great Britain, German television fulfilled all expectations and grew rapidly in the 1950s and 60s, gradually gaining institutional stability and a fixed spot in popular imagination (Hickethier, 1998, p. 112). Television gave people orientation in the world and generated belief; it led to adjusted behavior on the part of the audience and prepared them for future adaptive challenges (p. 114).

Despite its rapid consolidation, in the beginning, it was not clear how society would make sense of television, i.e., how the medium was to be integrated socially and culturally, and what role it would play for their lives. There was no real archetype in the German context. Preceding models of an "early German television" (Uricchio, 2005) were not really successful and highly confusing for the audience. An early attempt to establish television between 1935 and 1944 left no distinct mark for the post-war generation due to competing political, economic and national interests in the Third Reich of what defines television, its narrative and usage for society. The propagandistic use of television suppressed any more comprehensive and conceptual grasps of the medium which could have contributed to a sustaining concept. Uricchio argues how disagreements in interests and non-realized promises about television had a considerable impact on the temporal disappearance of the medium from public memory and is one of the reasons why this part of television's history is continually neglected (p. 100 ff.). Politicians' promises of enabling consumption at home, for instance, rivaled with typical Berlin TV rooms ("Fernsehstuben"), which had been a publicly shared place to watch television up until then, and with a network of early forms of video telephones already combining aural and visual communication. And since they could not keep their promise of "home television," society remained unimpressed by what was left of the medium (p. 101). All in all, television lacked a proper unique framing and was therefore disregarded from its broader societal role for the following years.

In the 1950s, however, the characterization as an unburdened 'new' medium was, in turn, a huge help for television to position itself as an organ for the whole of society: because television was not culturally situated yet, it could be integrative for all kinds of social groups and

classes (p. 114). In 1953, the landscape of media users still very much mirrored social stratifications in society: the biggest group of receiver owners were barkeepers (25,3%), broadcasting retailers (21,5%), and self-employed people like doctors, master craftsmen and salesmen, among others (31,3%) (Goebel 1954, as cited in Hickethier 1998, p. 112). Workers were only represented by 4,8% of the audience (ibid.). This had changed rapidly by the end of the 1950s when television was no longer a status symbol for a privileged group of people and instead transmitted equally to nearly all parts of society. The share of working-class households in the TV audience raised up to 31% in 1957, and even to 53% in 1963 (*Jahrbuch für Demoskopie* 1963, as cited in Hickethier, p. 107). An interesting fact is that the biggest active differentiation in media coverage at the time was between people living in the city and people (mostly workers and peasants) living in the countryside. This significant divide of interests and needs between cities and rural areas was, however, played down by media culture altogether. Television exclusively reflected and promoted urban lifestyles, thereby suggesting that it was the 'unprogressive' countryside that needed to adapt to the modern urban centers (p. 112). This reinforced the general understanding of television as an urban medium in the German case: the medium understood itself as an expression of changed lifestyles and consumption habits of the population living in the cities (p. 113), and *for them* it produced shows and programs that reflected their lifestyles and general situation.

For its implementation of 'urban living,' television was mainly concerned about technical facilities in the households and a proper arrangement of the viewer in front of the TV screen. In the attempt to create and address a broad, unified TV audience, the recognition of differences between groups of people and their lives became less pronounced. This was due to a post-war situation in which, firstly, society was preoccupied with redefining its fundamentals and rules of social interaction, and, secondly, individuals were busy keeping up with impacts of societal change and economic growth in their everyday life. Technical gadgets like the washing machine, coffee maker and blender had started to populate the typical modern household and gender roles shifted as more women began to work (ibid.). Simultaneously, one could witness the domestication of television and its programs similar to the US American development (Spigel, 2010): television demanded a rearrangement of (new)

furniture in the house, re-defined the function of the living room (Hickethier, 1998, p. 113), and, in order to secure its functioning as successful medium, simultaneously promoted the discourse of family life, privacy and domesticity. In sum, unlike early German television between 1935 and 1944, television of the 1950s was successful in performing a balancing act between sustaining an image of an undetermined new medium at the service for all members of society and securing a strong economic position in a demanding (cultural) market. Television was thus ambiguous: it was considered open for appropriation by everyone, yet it had its own ideological take on urban lifestyle, domesticity and modernity.

An orientation toward urbanity, domesticity and a consolidation of production processes were fundaments from which television further expanded its influence in society. Hickethier understands the enormous process of television's expansion and re-structuring metaphorically speaking as an "industrialization of television" (p. 114). Television "modernized itself" (ibid.) as it developed new program structures and expanded to new forms of distribution. Starting with only one channel ("Das Erste") and very limited airtime, the *ARD* gradually experimented with new content and added variety to its program by integrating shows and reports from their regional member stations. Federal structures were reflected and institutionalized in form of the *ARD* – the working group of public broadcasters of the Federal Republic of Germany –, initiated in 1950 by six stations in Bavaria (*BR*), Hesse (*HR*), and (*radio*) Bremen, as well as broadcasting from regional stations from southern (*SDR*), southwest (*SWF*), and northwest (*NWDR*) Germany, and with consulting participation of Berlin (*RIAS*) (ARD, n.d.). In the course of establishing the *ARD,* there were many fights over the sovereignty of the program design and overall channel objective by lobby groups and other stakeholders (like politicians), which were nevertheless fought successfully by officials of the *ARD*. This ideological background struggle was important because it won the *ARD* approving recognition on the part of their audience, and defined the role of public television communication for the years to come. Preceding discussions and fights against an exertion of influence by the government and by other groups created a constitutional and political context, in which the *ARD* could position itself as politically neutral (because it did not belong to the state nor to political parties) and as a distant observer of social and

political conflicts (Hickethier, 1998, p. 118). Its assumingly neutral position gave public broadcasting the chance to accompany modernization processes by speaking to the public as an organ *of* the people.

The close connection to their public was also guaranteed by the ARD's organization into federal units represented by broadcasting stations and production studios in each region. This was a unique position important for the self- and public conception of the station which became even more significant as a distinguishing feature in light of the establishment of a rivaling second public broadcasting station – the *ZDF* (Second German Television) – which started its program in 1962. In contrast to the *ARD*, the latter's programming was interspersed with influences from officials and other lobby groups who were having a saying in the station's committees. Unlike the *ARD*, the *ZDF* was organized centrally. The *ZDF* faced the challenge that there were not enough financial means and resources to realize the intended program (p. 199ff.). By necessity, the *ZDF* outsourced production processes and produced commission-based content. Thus, while the *ZDF* was commercially oriented from the very beginning, the *ARD* could maintain a feeling and conception of closeness and authenticity in service for the people. Also, it gave each represented region flexibility for a relatively autonomous program production, which, despite smaller internal rivalries, contributed to a quicker development of new program formats (p. 128 ff.).

Irrespective of television's attachment to local contexts, the *ARD* – like the *ZDF* – continually reinforced an overall national character while maintaining its local roots. From the very beginning, it was clear to the participating stations that television could only be realized as *German*[24] television (p. 126) – not as Bavarian, Hessian, nor within any other reference frame – because technical challenges and organizational workload were simply too much to be manageable by regional resources alone. This big spatial conception of television's outline demanded to be reflected in the program structure, too, according to director Werner Pleister (ibid.). The aim was to establish television as a link between local contexts and general (national and

24 In this context, "German" only implies West Germany, and "world" refers to the Western world (p. 126).

even worldwide) developments[25]: television as a "thing of the wide world" (Pleister, 1954, as cited in Hickethier, p. 126, my translation) should reversely impact the intimate space of people's homes and lives. Similar to its American and English role models, it should help people to look beyond the "surface of life" and to recognize that "which lies behind things" (Pleister, 1951, my translation). When Pleister proclaimed that Germany is becoming a "television country" (Pleister, 1953/2009, my translation) in a speech at the official launch of the *ARD* in 1952, the exert of influence was meant in both directions: television directed its view to Germany and the world, and a new televised communication simultaneously set the frame for what was considered German public and culture. Television became part of the living reality it depicted – a guiding institution in society setting and discussing relevant social issues, most importantly those of forming a new understanding of social and national community.

Pleister proved right concerning his prediction for the role of television for future generations. Over a period of only six years, television in 1970 was able to drastically increase its range of coverage from 47 up to 72 percent of the German public owning a receiver (von Hodenberg, 2006, p. 93). Television established itself as a popular leading medium and as an integral part in the daily routine of households: while newspaper and radio still occupied the morning and daytime, television had a fix spot in the evening entertainment program (ibid.). On the one hand, being characterized as "window to the world" (Pleister, 1953/2009) and "magical mirror" (Bartz, 2002) of social reality, and, on the other hand, by having the power to produce, negotiate and frame that which was presented as reality, television functioned on many levels as a source of orientation for its public. In the German discourse, television is even referred to as *leitmedium*. The variety of programs framed and trained the belief systems of the viewers and the proper handling of the medium itself: how the audience were to understand the still undefined human-machine-relationship and how, in Pleister's vision, they were to treat television as a cultural good (Miggelbrink, 2018, p. 52). In summary,

25 A significant example of a program oscillating between regional attachment and broader social developments is the broadcasting channel *SFB* (later *rbb*). The role of Berlin as a storyteller for local and national stories will be discussed in the chapter "Berlin and channel SFB in the ideological war between East and West".

television operated in a key position between the public and the private, and between the outside and inside of people's lives.

2.3.3 Television's assumed audience: the modern urban working-class family

Although German public television had undergone similar stages of development as their US American and British counterparts (e.g., economization, ideals of domesticity and family life), its interpretation of ideological and spatial aspects differed from the US model. Instead, ideological and spatial aspects equaled presumptions of British television dealing with precarious housing conditions of people such as insufficient housing and small apartments in urban areas in the 1950s and 1960s (Miggelbrink, 2018, p. 64). Because of these preconditions, television could not simply promote a suburban lifestyle as was common in the US. Rather, it had to adapt to the circumstances of its audience, which asked for an integration of television into private households and 'a home' that Hartley (1998, 1999a) had outlined for the British debate. Very similar to early documentary film's attempt to contain certain ideas of living and housing in the 1930s (e.g., HOUSING PROBLEMS), television thus converted the promotion of values and habits into well-meant advice to the public. While retaining the didactic rhetoric of early films, German television however used the troubled working-class family as a *premise* of its program making rather than dealing with it as a topic.

The contemporaneous discourse of a tired worker who arrives home after a long day of work and rests on the couch in front of the TV screen was constitutive for the domestication promoted by television (Miggelbrink, 2018, p. 65). This is also reflected in the viewer composition that developed throughout the 1950s with an increasing number of worker households joining the TV community (see previous chapter). Television's goal was to assimilate different groups of society *as* TV audience, rather than highlighting their differences. Television was interested in sustaining its own consumption, and in order to do so, it mainly taught its audience the literacy of the television viewer (Hartley, 1999). Although diverse

media formats called many different addressees into being[26], the purpose of television was to primarily teach its *audience* (not the student or consumer). And, the content of its teaching was the continuation of its own consumption (p. 156). Television's questions were ones that aimed to set the groundwork for a successful program, such as 'what entertains them?' and 'what do they want to see?'. Moreover, it developed narrative, dramatic, and semiotic structures to sustain and even grow its viewership. Typical television genres like the series, the news and serials aimed to keep the audience tuned in, ideally producing fans and regular viewers. This, at times, had "the unplanned outcome of [also] promoting relations *among* [my emphasis] television audiences, not just between the addresser and addressee" (ibid.). People who had otherwise nothing in common could now share the same passion for a program. Alternatively, they could establish personal connections diachronic to the program they watched.

In correspondence to 'the tired worker,' German discourses highlighted the 'gute Stube' (freely translates into "a comfortable home of one's own") rather than the American version of idyllic, suburban living (ibid.). The 'gute Stube' was an arranging of oneself in the parcel living of 1950 post-war apartment buildings built in the city centers – not the outskirts – in an attempt to restore widely destroyed cities and their central infrastructure (ibid.). This is supported by the differentiation in media coverage between rural and urban areas. The spatial dimension of a new form of community feeling as promoted by television was directed toward centralized forms of living in the city, while in America an emphasis was put on the formation of suburbs and a form of "the neighborhood" (p. 61; see Spigel, 2010). Therefore, the typical working-class neighborhood as depicted by early documentary film steps back for a conception of the city as a generalized home for individuals living next to each other anonymously.

Overall, German television tended to use 'the troubled working-class family' as a premise of program making in comparison to early documentary films. Television as the leading medium for society should ensure stability with a balanced reporting style that conveys a homogeneous, uniform image of society supported by media events

26 For a more detailed take on the different modes of address produced in and by television, and its different genres, see the chapter "Democratainment" in Hartley (1999).

and reports. In this way, "television promoted the cohesion of a society in the Federal Republic of Germany whose old structures like the extended family, the church and small businesses had lost their importance and strength" (bpb, 2012, my translation). Television was an expression of the modernization of increasingly mobile and independent individuals (ibid.). At the same time, it was a motor and accelerator of modernization by circulating images and values of modernity (like speed and openness to new experiences and developments) (ibid.).

Due to Germany's involvement in the Cold War, it was particularly important in the early days of West German television to defend one's understanding of community and values against the ideas propagated by East Germany. A competition began to determine who was most developed and progressive. The example of Berlin and the establishment of the channel *SFB* (later *rbb*) demonstrates how much the city served as representational system for television and politicians alike to outline ideas of nationhood, citizenship and social values in opposition to their Eastern opponents (next sub-chapter). This competition may also be a reason why the idea of the working class in the socialist sense (e.g., the 'Red Wedding') steps back for early Western television. The search in the *rbb* archive (Ch. 3) proves that when working-class neighborhoods are thematized on *SFB*[27], it happens primarily in a personalized form featuring the milieu-painter Zille (DIE WELT IN DER SIE LEBEN. DER WEDDING VON ZILLE BIS HEUTE 1960; ZILLE SEIN BERLIN 1967; DET WAS ZILLE SEIN MILLJÖH, 1980, Irmgard von zur Mühlen), or in the context of urban development (JOURNAL III: STADTSANIERUNG, 1965; ALTSTADT - LEBENSSTADT. STADTERNEUERUNG IN BERLIN-KREUZBERG 1977).

27 For the following list of TV films and reports, it is not clear whether they were all produced for the *SFB* alone. However, this is likely the case as they are listed in *rbb*'s archive.

2.3.4 Berlin and channel *SFB* in the ideological war between East and West

"Attention, attention, this is Berlin speaking [Achtung, Achtung, hier spricht Berlin]!" With these words, chairman Alfred Braun introduced the new broadcasting channel *Sender Freies Berlin* (*SFB*) to the public on June 4, 1954. Berlin already had one broadcasting station, the *RIAS* (*Rundfunk im Amerikanischen Sektor*), however, going 'on air' with a tax funded channel felt to many like having their very own regional broadcasting station, contributing to the manifestation of a German public broadcasting system independent from its American counterpart. Only shortly after its implementation, *SFB* entered into the joint organization of Germany's regional public-service stations, the *ARD*, offering a voice for Berlin within a nation-wide organization. *SFB*'s mission aimed to produce television for Berlin citizens, which was meant to accompany and comment on the city's situation, important topics and day-to-day life (rbb, 2007). From its very beginning the city of Berlin and *SFB* shared a particularly close relationship, but it also marked the burden and high expectations connected to the channel as 'channel for Berlin.'

Similar to its partner institution *RIAS*, *Sender Freies Berlin* fulfilled a strategic role by containing an official voice for the former capital Berlin in a tense post-war atmosphere with two competing political systems in Germany. As the title's onomastic use of "free" suggests *SFB* functioned as liberal voice, commenting not only on the situation of Berlin but on world affairs in general. On its successor's website of the *rbb*, the channel's history is titled "Liberal mouthpiece instead of pure propaganda" (rbb, 2007, my translation), which highlights the channel's self-conception back then and still today as a defendant of Western values and of truthful coverage in response to the perceived threat of socialist propaganda from the East. Western television wanted to present to its viewers the world as it 'really' is, which meant to produce programs without a socialist-ideological bias. From as early as its implementation, the channel *SFB* was therefore partially tied to a governmental agenda and its communicative attempts to the public, turning Berlin into a mirror image of negotiated Western ideas of politics, nationhood and the functioning of society. Similar strategies could be found on the eastern side of the wall, where Berlin was used as representative space to demonstrate strength and unity,

while, in fact, the rest of East Germany struggled economically (Die Radionauten, 2004, p. 95).

In this openly binary thinking of public television's self-conception insinuates a strong sociopolitical function, which finds its expression in television's organization of public opinion and its relation to the documentary appeal inherent in the programs (Heller, 1994, p. 99). Peter Zimmermann describes that one of the biggest changes affecting documentary styles had been the expansion of the documentary format from cinema to television in the 1940s and 1950s (Zimmermann, 1994, p. 216). The more television evolved and increased its viewing numbers, the more it became useful for politicians and officials as instrumental mean for legitimizing the newly found state after the war and for reorganizing public opinion. One attempt to democratize coverage with regard to program-economic and program-political choices had been to pluralize opinions by covering a broad range of standpoints and assigning the broadcasting commissions based on pluralistic, parliamentarian accounts as opposed to radical fascist and communist positions[28] (ibid.). Especially during the most crisis-laden phases of the Cold War, influences of political parties on television coverage increased and helped them to paint their own picture of war events (p. 222). Despite criticism by some TV producers and TV critics of radical positions being frequently bracketed out, it can be said that the dedication to a balanced reporting in the West had been a stabilizing parameter for the formation of public opinion in the tradition of the spectrum of the parliament parties (p. 275).

The role of Berlin's city development as a symbolic war over the sovereignty of (historical) interpretation in a divided Germany provided a fundament of nation-boundedness and ideology, established as unquestioned 'ground zero' of (what had actually been their take on) social reality. These strong formal and content commitments to a Western ideology unsurprisingly had implications for filmic productions and considerations of 'the documentary'; in other words, what had been considered truthful depictions of society's situation. Formations and politics of this 'middle of society' have to

28 Many filmmakers such as news reporters, producers and cameramen who were active in the Third Empire could transfer to new jobs in the emerging public broadcasting system. They brought old film techniques and cinematography with them. Nevertheless, the new broadcasting system provided the framework to move on from traditional filmmaking (Zimmermann, 1994).

be analyzed in more detail for each case, but there are general contextual aspects that problematize television's uncritical attitude toward its own version of social reality. First of all, the expected change of perspectives originally lagged behind the media conventions of the *Ufa* documentarism (like dramaturgy, staging, and ideology), which persisted despite attempts to change them in the newly established broadcasting system (Zimmermann, 1994, p. 216). Especially in the beginning of a looming East-West-conflict, some of these filmic strategies echoed the iconography of the *Kulturfilme* of the Third Empire. By using camera, sound and montage to stage harmonious panoramas of people and the country, *Kulturfilme* externalized inner conflicts and threat in order to create an idealized, euphemistic image from the inside (ibid.). But whereas Nazi propaganda tried to build a myth upon the liked-to-believe purity of 'German origin' with a Darwinian idea of supremacy, German public television told a different story. TV coverage of the post-war years, on the contrary, focused on 'modern' values based on the common belief in the reconstruction and economic boom of Germany in the 1950s and early 1960s. Economic growth, increasing wealth and urban development were topics Western society stressed in contrast to the Eastern socialist system. And Berlin became the symbolic place of West Germany's story of progress.

In the beginning, the *Wochenschau* and *Kulturfilme* programs of public television focused on the everyday life and work of people by predominantly reporting on events and developments of official relevance such as the crisis of coal mines, plant closures, or political measurements on housing projects (p. 262 ff.). The narrowing focus of the channel *SFB* to accompany and capture the Zeitgeist of what has been called the 'economic miracle-era' was reflected in the way they filed their general program: Tight institutional structures reflected and fed into a depiction of social reality criticized for being uniform and absent of critical social issues. While mainstream public television focused on the core, i.e., the middle of society in the context of a new 'balanced' program, non-institutional filmmakers started to shed light on subcultures and alternative public spheres in an effort to move beyond the unreflective and affirmative attitude of regular broadcasting, which they refused (Zimmermann, 2006, p. 90).

2.3.5 The documentary format and the working-class subject

Beginning in the late 1960s and early 1970s, many films were produced that depicted work and daily lives of citizens, social injustices and marginalized groups in a class-based society. Against the background of students and protest movements, a series of socio-critical worker movies were produced in Berlin aiming to capture the hardships and conditions of work and discrepancies of modern life (Zimmermann, 1994). Young filmmakers from the Berlin Film School tried to permeate the social reality of workers by means of new filmic strategies such as long-term observation, the usage of original sound and voice footage, uncommented images and a 'dialectical' montage. All had in common that they turned against what they considered 'synthetic,' i.e., staged documentary formats produced by television that confined documentary making into strict formal rules (like typical 45 minutes episodes, editorial choices of topics, journalistic conventions). In their opinion, a bureaucratically organized program for a generalized public rather *directed* than *listened* to people's experiences. The filmmakers wanted to change this by taking different approaches.

However, the frontiers between public broadcasting and independent film making were not as black and white as the critique might suggest. The institutional establishment of public broadcasting, its day-to-day coverage and (indeed not always welcomed) willingness for experimentation in the 1950s up until the 1980s had a huge impact on finding new forms and productions of knowledge that trickled down in the general public's mind. Often oscillating between an institutional and non-institutional context, young filmmakers produced, experimented and adapted new ways of capturing living experiences of 'ordinary people.' Although many of these socially critical films did not make it to the screens of television and cinema, i.e., to a bigger audience because they did not fit the narrow formal and ideological requirements of broadcasting stations, they were always in dialogue with television-produced documentaries (Zimmermann, p. 266ff.). Films like DER DEUTSCHE KLEINSTÄDTER (1968) and ROTE FAHNEN SIEHT MAN BESSER (1971) by Rolf Schübel and Theo Gallehr are strong examples of critical television documentaries on *Norddeutsche Rundfunk* (*NDR*) and triggered wide public discussion. The former showed the harsh reality of factory work

in sharp contrast to a provincial Biedermeier lifestyle, the latter used original voice recordings of workers to let them talk about their thoughts and fears in face of a plant closure – a filmic strategy used for the first time on public broadcast according to the *NRW* archive (NRW, n.d.).

Although the films have been critically acclaimed for their innovative approaches, it must not be forgotten that the general public's reception, on the other hand, was not always positive. Most often, the audience felt offended by what they perceived as too negative and critical coverage, which producers and editorial staff had to consider during the production process. Broadcasting stations took into account what they believed their audience expects to see and hear about their country, city and neighborhood. In director Alexander Kluge's words, a documentary is thus always shot with three cameras: "with the camera in the technical sense (1), with the eyes of the filmmakers (2), [and] with the eyes of the documentary film genre based on the audience's expectation of documentary films (3)" (Kluge, 1975, p. 202, my translation).

In this sense, TV documentaries had followed the zeitgeist. Audiences and TV managers expected to see less political activism in film. Class struggle remained a minor issue for mainstream coverage, which opted for conformity and the audience's desire for social affiliation. Additionally, the filmmakers became disillusioned because their subject, the worker, turned out to be not as revolutionary as expected (Zimmermann, 1994, p. 270). The issues of class struggle and worker movement became less present and translated into alternative topics. [29] One can understand the last critical TV documentary films NAHAUFNAHME and WAS WURDE AUS DEM ROTEN KIEZ (both analyzed in Chapter 4.1) in the context of this general disillusionment about the working-class subject. The films center on the decline of working-class culture in the Berlin district Wedding, once known for its 'Red' tradition, and the upcoming of a bourgeois lifestyle. The films clearly show disappointment with regard to modern developments in East and West Berlin. In their view, neither

29 Most prominently, the films PROSPER/EBEL: CHRONIK EINER ZECHE UND IHRER SIEDLUNG (1979-1998) by Christoph Hübner and Gabriele Voss set an example for the representation of the everyday life of workers. In contrast to the lost concept of the revolutionary subject, the film about coal mine workers in the Ruhr area deals with the materiality of altering conditions of the workers' life and work.

side is able to continue the working-class tradition, which instead becomes superimposed by ideology or altogether erased through urban planning.

2.4 Contested perspectives: the exposition of the proletarian subject to film

The emerging of documentary films about the city and urban life (Ch. 2.2), and television's reshuffling of the relationship between locality and identity (Ch. 2.3) have illuminated how the working class entered the filmic discourse, and how they were subjected to altering interpretations for society. This last sub-chapter shall now offer some critical reflection on these developments and conclusively clarify how this dissertation understands 'the working class' in its analysis of TV formats dealing with the working-class past of districts in Berlin.

The ability of television to truly democratize culture was contested. The question of what this development meant to marginalized groups, like the working class, was answered by approaches applying a consumer-critical perspective. But first, the positive voices about television: advocates of television said that the medium had an integrational effect for society, not least due to its expansion and embedding in everyday rituals (Hickethier, p. 269). Hickethier points out that "[t]his promoted a cultural standardization, which must be seen in connection with similar tendencies in other cultural, political and economic areas" (ibid., my translation). The cultural integration effect also consisted in the fact that television gave viewers throughout Germany insights into other areas of life that were previously inaccessible" (ibid., my translation). The argument is that television offered people a chance to engage in resources of social knowledge. Just like HOUSING PROBLEMS' creation of a viewing audience, also Hartley and Fiske mention the creation of "the viewing public" (Fiske & Hartley, 2003, p. XV) as television's major achievement in its early days. Similar to Hickethier, they argue that television had "become the place where and the means by which, a century later, most people have got to know about most other people, and about publicly important events or issues" (ibid.). This also included members of the working class, who got to know about other people, the world and their own place through the means of television. People could furthermore use it to their own ends for educative and occupational purposes to navigate in an "increasingly knowledge-based economy" (Hartley, 1999, p. 16). According to this view, participating as a part of television's audience was therefore essential in order to adapt to the new conditions of their

time. With television, the working class was no longer just the viewed subject as in early film productions like HOUSING PROBLEMS, they became the viewing public, too, and therefore a part in television's concept of society.

On more critical terms, however, critics saw the working class vulnerable to what television – "a *teacher* of cultural citizenship" (Fiske & Hartley, xvi) – imagined them to be. In the negotiation of culture that communicated "with its collective self" (ibid.) – producing a kind of repetitive, closed-circuit production of meaning – the working class allegedly outsourced their own way of cultural production to an external principle. In this understanding, the integrational effect of television was rather described as a leveling of class differences with the aim to create an audience for mass consumption. In his book *The uses of media literacy* (1957), Hoggart most prominently asked about the influence of mass media on working-class experience. He posed fundamental questions about the advantages of mass education, and asked what the large majority of people did with their literacy and for what purpose (Hartley, 1999, p. 15). Hoggart's approach was very innovative because he shifted the focus away from a perspective of literacy only understood in terms of productivity to a perspective that focused on the needs of the consumer[30]. It allowed him to ignore the common approach among his contemporaries who had focused on the uses of literacy by the middle- and knowledge-class, and by manual labor if it required literacy (ibid.). Instead, Hoggart explored cultural spaces beyond the workplace and beyond the framework of functionality and expectation. He was rather interested in the cultural use of literacy "as a communicative force unique to modern, industrialized, urban life – for people whose investment in it was 'human' rather than technical or functional" (ibid.). In this way, Hoggart took media literacy as a central component of his subjects' very existence and considered the working class – his major subject – in their *being*, as humans. He tried[31] not to

30 In Hoggart's texts, 'the consumer' is not a negative concept, but a neutral one. The concept emphasizes media effects on the part of the people dealing with media.

31 Later in his work, Hoggart nevertheless compares working-class literacy with expert knowledge about media technologies and diagnoses a gap, which he assumes to be bridged by "'laymen' cross[ing] over to the 'expert' side" (Hartley, 1999, p. 16). Although his aims were well-intentioned, Hartley notes how Hoggart thereby assumes a similar standpoint compared to other "professional knowledge-class writers" (ibid.) who wanted the lower class to adapt to upper-class knowledge.

judge but instead to understand everyday practices, attempting to introduce "ordinariness" (p. 16) into a positively connoted civic vision within a democratizing culture. He imagined them as original, autonomous social actors who bring their own needs and interests to media when interacting with them.

Hoggart's argument was that media did not consider the working class seriously as part of their audience because they omitted working-class idiosyncrasy and needs in their conception of 'the masses,' which, according to Hoggart, was significantly different from 'naturally grown,' individual communities like that of the proletariat. He was eager to point out how mass entertainment, 'high art' and media were going against the very core of what had characterized working-class culture for him: an always nuanced mix of community, family, situatedness in their neighborhood, speech and dialect (Hoggart, 1957, p. 21) – all of which was vulnerable to an externalizing and blending re-definition by media. Hoggart's point was not so much that working-class subjects became part of a viewing audience. Rather, it is the basic foundation of what defined working-class life allegedly at threat by television's redefinition of relations of locality, the neighborhood, community and family life. He stated that the "insistent" and "comprehensive" (ibid.) claims made by mass media did, in fact, reveal a medium being able to shuffle questions of perspective and positioning in society so efficiently on a big scale.

A similar approach was taken by Williams and Thompson, both writers on the emergence of modern culture, who were alarmed by the dreadful consequences of media continuing and manifesting the ills of modernity:

> It is not only in reading that evidence of such method [of degradation of sensibility and crudity in expression] can be found. The cinema film has gained its wide popularity by a related, and frequently more powerful exploitation of similar vulgarities. (Williams & Thompson, as cited in Polan, 2013, p. 10)

Williams and Thompson were concerned about the interference of value-laden structures with the lived experience and "sensibilities" of people as represented in cultural texts (Grossberg, 1993, p. 36). For them, "crudity" and "vulgarities" were as much to be found in the modern environment of standardization, mass production and "suburbanism" which was replacing the old crafts, local knowledge and tradition of the "living culture" of the working class (Bate, 1999, p. 566ff.). Here, the story of continuity and progress so often used to

characterize modernity is told differently as a story of loss and replacement with an (also problematic[32]) nostalgia for traditional values and for an "organic community" (ibid.).

There were many more critics and positions in these early attempts to make sense of modern mass culture and its implication for people (Grossberg, 1993). This push and pull[33] over (the sovereignty of) interpretation is to be considered in more detail elsewhere; for the purpose of the argument here, it should highlight how different attempts resembled each other by starting with the premise of a working class that once had their own language and experience, and which, in the course of the establishment of mass culture, was threatened to be transferred to an externalizing and overwriting representation by mass media. That what defined working-classness for Hoggart, for instance, – "a sense of the personal, the concrete, the local […] embodied in the idea of, first, the family and, second, the neighborhood" (Hoggart, 1957, p. 20) – would be "work[ed] against" (ibid.) by films like HOUSING PROBLEMS and television, which instrumentalized and re-appropriated these fundamental notions. Thus, the reappropriation of meaning did not only directly concern the working-class subject, but by redefining the relationship of locality and identity, film and television could affect the pillars of working-class existence as conceived by Williams, Thompson and their ally Richard Hoggart. They were convinced about the definable, local and essential character of their subject, 'the working class,' which they felt was threatened to lose its meaning in the anonymizing standardization of mass culture.

There is the risk of a backlash of essentialism in considerations of the working-class as an a-priori subject. Because those voices trying to speak in favor of the working class with the claim to protect their culture ideologize 'the worker' and 'working-classness' reactively as something concrete, pre-existing and original. In fact, in opposition to these claims, their notion of the working class – like the idea of modernity – often contained a likewise ideological mission. Critiques like Williams and Thompson admittingly considered the working class politically in an international context of a worker movement instead of really giving local conditions and contexts priority. This is apparent,

32 Bate points to the potential misuse and ideological proximity of ideas such as the politics of organicism and tradition in the evolving fascism of Germany (p. 557).

33 Grossberg even talks about a "war of positions" (1993).

for instance, in Williams's activism together with his co-author and filmmaker Michael Orrom for the student-run *Socialist Union*[34]. Beyond the analysis of structures, a particular concern was to make film-analytical tools available for the people most affected by it. Williams toured from town to town in the post-war period with a class on film literacy organized for the *Workers Education Association* (*WEA*) – a program designed to educate adults (Polan, 2013, p. 8). Similar attempts to re-appropriate cultural representations of the working class for the ones represented by it can already be found in reactions by communist literature in the late Weimar Republic that adapted motives of ethnographic travel literature and used them to reinforce their own take on the division between proletarian and bourgeois culture (see Schaub 2016; and for appropriations by left-wing film productions, see Schaub 2018).

These approaches re-appropriated the worker to their own ends. In this sense, "it was always just back over the last hill" (Bate, 1999, p. 557); leaving one framework of thinking meant to arrive in another dominant framing. However, this does not mean to abandon these perspectives. On the contrary, valuable insights can be deducted from them. Although they were creating an ideology or myth about what implied 'working-classness,' these concepts were historical and social products of their time:

> Raymond Williams and others have taught us that the organic community never existed. […] Idealization of the past […] too often serves as mask for the oppressions of the present. But the myth of a better life that has gone is no less important for being myth rather than history. Myths are necessary imaginings, exemplary stories which help our species to make sense of its place in the world. (ibid.)

In conclusion, it is hard to make claims about the 'true' working-class community. The term has gained meaning by the many perspectives and positionings that are established in relation to it. For Bate, the approach offered by Williams and others is a valuable source because sense-making processes like myth and history are an important part of

34 Williams and Orrom admired political film making by Soviet montage techniques and German notions of the *Gesamtkunstwerk* (Polan, 2013, p. 3-4). They considered film making as a political tool to go against the conservative and traditionalist dogmatism, and to restore and politicize cultures of 'the ordinary.' In an interview with the editors of the *New Left Review*, Williams, however, points retrospectively to the problem of narrating working-class experience into the big context of political and economic powers (Williams, 1979, p. 289).

our place-making in the world and they produce meaningful positionings in it. Although authors like Williams and Hoggart might have applied similarly appropriating perspectives compared to the ones they were criticizing (Hall, 1980), their perspectives can nevertheless be understood as a fight over positionings in the modern world. Hoggart's characterization of the working class by means of a reinforcement of 'the local,' 'the neighborhood' and 'community life' is telling in that they are responses to a feared displacement of people from the urban context and from social meaning production.[35] With Bate, one can understand Williams and Hoggart's positions, despite its essentialist core, as meaningful contributions in the negotiation of positionings of the working class. Their perspectives function in a *net* of competing meanings and positions, – not as a single truthful claim to the working-class subject.

In a similar way, Hartley suggests that the nature of television is to be grasped not only by "television itself" (as a social institution or on-screen discourse), but also by the different modes of address that span "relations among the populations it serves: how these populations can be known, reached, taught; turned into citizens" (Hartley, 2002, p. 157). Unlike Hoggart and Williams, Hartley does not understand the 'cultural citizenship' of television as a removal or replacement of previous rights, positions, freedoms and restrictions of conventional notions of citizenship and belonging in society, which would have affected the working class. For him, television has just become the new "training ground" of citizenship which extends, covers or further embeds previous forms – but, it does so "cumulatively, not [by] supplanting them" (ibid.). Television as a continuator of forms of citizenship makes sense because television does not just make up new versions of social reality out of thin air. It rather takes up on issues that are important to society, like that of urbanization and housing in the

35 A passage in Hoggart's book from 1958 reads like a direct answer to Hartley's argument against replacements: "My argument is not that there was, in England one generation ago, an urban culture still very much 'of the people' and that now there is only a mass urban culture. It is rather that the appeals made by the mass publicists are for a great number of reasons made more insistently, effectively, and in a more comprehensive and centralized form today than they were earlier; that we are moving towards the creation of a mass culture; that the remnants of what was at least in parts an urban culture 'of the people' are being destroyed; and that the new mass culture is in some important ways less healthy than the often crude culture it is replacing" (p. 24). The statements made in this excerpt are mirroring familiar arguments: mass media like television are an institutionalized intensifier of processes of generalization and standardization.

early phase of its establishment. It is, as was argued, a medium with a very close connection to its environment and local context, promoting aesthetics of liveness and immediacy, which in turn affects the modes of identity it offers to its audience. Trying to capture the ordinariness of life, television transferred people's everyday experiences into its own mediated time-space and reconsidered them, to repeat Hartley, for "the population it serves" (ibid.).

In conclusion, and speaking with Hartley, the question for this dissertation is thus how the working-class districts Wedding and Friedrichshain, their residents and working-class tradition, were reconsidered for and within television, the population it served, and for what purpose. This dissertation suggests understanding television's embracement of the working class not in terms of a complete surrender to a consumer-oriented mass culture nor as a loss of an essentialist core. The task is to delineate the construction of meaning of what implies working-class culture by following the many layers of relations and perspectives taken on the working-class subject, which situate our knowledge of that subject in particular social and historical contexts. While the preceding chapters have approached working-class neighborhoods and its residents in historical contexts, the following method chapter will further outline and operationalize the addressed issues for the analysis of filmic representations of the working class on television.

Summary

Chapters 2.1 to 2.3 have dealt with the historical dimension of filmic representations of working-class neighborhoods, and the introduction of television as a major change for cultural productions of meaning and belonging in society. The portrayal of the working class reflects in both cases ideas about citizenship, society and the city. These, however, strongly differ between early film and television.

Depictions of typical working-class living go back to early film productions documenting extensive social changes through industrialization and urbanization in the 1920s and 1930s. For film and the film audience alike, the city and everyday urban life become the central reference for experiencing and thinking through the developments of the time. The sensation of the city as a clash of

experiences determines the representation of the working class as well. The urban working-class in 'slum' neighborhoods becomes a central topic for documentary films and a focus of public interest. Narrating a close linkage between locality and identity, working-class neighborhoods are believed to symbolize character and nature of the residents. Underneath the entertaining element of exploring 'the urban other' lies an attempt to put the material to use for channeling public discourse in favor of a modern civic vision. Here, working-class living is mostly approached as the downside of a rapid urbanization that is asking for governmental action to sustain social order. Highlighting a social change narrative, the films anticipate conventions in journalism and documentary formats that are still present in film productions years later.

During the 1950s and 1960s, television introduces new premises of image production that fundamentally change the relationship to urban space, to everyday life and the concept of the audience, and access to media use. With the establishment of a public broadcasting service in Germany, the integrative quality of television is emphasized to unite the audience as TV audience regardless of political, social and economic backgrounds. Already by the 1960s, television has developed from an experimental local broadcasting set-up to a federal system with the claim to function as structural representation of the Federal Republic of Germany (Hickethier, 1998, p. 114). Television becomes a central institution of modernity, modernizing the production of culture and values, and creating new relationships among its viewing public. German television differs from the otherwise closely related US model in how it interprets the discourse about domesticity and privacy: as an urban medium, German television addresses the hard-working people who make themselves comfortable in the living room of a rented apartment in the city. Advocates of television therefore emphasize the ability of television to satisfy the longing for cohesion and unity, replacing disappearing family ties and neighborhood communities in a progressively individualizing society. On the other side, critics of television fear the loosening of old links between locality and identity that would be further triggered by new media.

Berlin and the channel *SFB* (*Sender Freies Berlin*) are good examples for the formation of a new public based on the interplay of media representation, reflections on the city and modern notions of

citizenship. In the context of the Cold War, a sense of community asserts itself on television against an assumed infiltration by eastern ideology. Instead of marking differences and particularities within its own public, West German television is eager to create an image of unity and progress. Covering Berlin thereby always transcended the city and its inhabitants by symbolically talking about Western progressiveness and the (West) German nation. General classifications and big narratives divided into 'East' and 'West' are characteristic of TV coverage of that time, further pushing TV depictions of the city's working-class neighborhoods and internal social issues to the background.

In sum, television has affected those premises that for a long time had determined the characterization of proletarian people in working-class neighborhoods in early film: it redefined the relationship between locality and identity, and reshuffled modes of address. Television was part (even a motor) of a cultural movement that offered possibilities of identification beyond people's immediate neighborhood and community. Working-class people were no longer the viewed and studied objects as represented in early film. With television, they became part, even a premise of the viewing public in television's commitment to portray social unity and address the nation beyond social affiliation. The effect on working-class communities has been disputed (regarding whether the development is to be viewed in positive or negative terms). What is however clear is that the question of working-class representation establishes its meaning *relationally*, i.e., in relation to what society, (television) community, and city the working class is imagined and what significance it gains in these contexts.

From a media-historical perspective, this chapter has looked at how working-class neighborhoods and their residents have developed as filmic subjects. The different contexts and intentions of filmic engagements with the working class made clear that, unlike what the filmic representations often imply, it is fruitful to consider them in relational terms, in which considerations of 'the city' and the city as space of experience play an important role in the depiction of the urban working-class. The next chapter operationalizes the relational understanding of working-classness for the analysis and describes the methodological access to TV programs that deal with working-class history in Berlin's districts Wedding and Friedrichshain.

Ch. 3 Retracing memories of the working class from *rbb*'s TV archive

The history of media is also a history of dissemination, accumulation and storage by which knowledge is organized, classified and transferred. This is of particular importance when it comes to television's representation of working-class neighborhoods, which is about dealing with the working-class tradition in the districts Wedding and Friedrichshain. Television uses old footage, videos and eyewitness accounts, among others, to reconstruct this history. It is dependent on archives to do that, just like this dissertation has researched and identified TV programs for the analysis in *rbb*'s television archive. There is thus a two-fold perspective of the archive. The following will clarify the characteristics of storage and filing of the television archive and how television makes use of the archive as resource, as does this dissertation.

3.1 The television archive as socially embedded memory

One of the few books providing a comprehensive overview of tendencies, histories and the current state of research on TV archives calls the archive "the memory of broadcasting" in a German publication of the same title (Behmer, Bernard & Hasselbring, 2014). The archive, here, exceeds its image as a dusty graveyard for broadcasted programs that are put down to rest and never touched again. On the contrary, as the 'memory' of broadcasting the archive functions as one staple of broadcasting's successful functioning: it contributes past experiences, a rich source of production material and a character-forming history of the TV institution, and therefore helps shape contemporary programs and (self-)conceptions of the present and the future. Similar to television, the archive is caught up in various dynamics, characterized by constant change, varying historical and political contexts, and flexible networks of images, programs and formats. And yet, it cannot simply be considered as a materialized blueprint of television's history. The archive, as an independent TV institution with its own organizational structures, employees and departments, follows its very own rules of selecting, processing, storing, and ordering audiovisual material and other texts. The

following is going to introduce the most significant features of the TV archive and how they inform the understanding of this dissertation's research subject and methodology.

Already the first public screening of a TV program in Eastern Germany in 1952 and, a few days later, in the West had set a milestone for the first archive-like structures for storing produced programs (Wehling, 2014, p. 157). Unlike in other European countries, archiving in Germany was a fundamental task inscribed in the work of broadcasting stations and not put to work by state law and regulation (ibid.). The cultural and educational mandate handed down to the public broadcasting stations only set the framework of the stations' task to archive audiovisual and written media; the actual responsibility of implementing structures and guidelines for the archive is exclusively assigned to each directorate (Behmer, Bernard & Hasselbring, 2014, p. 18).

Every regional broadcasting station thus files those media documents that were generated out of its own production context or out of co-productions with other channels. The purpose of a decentralized organization of archival structures and features was to make filmic material easily available to regional production units working on new programs. Out of this function, most regional TV archives have developed into predominantly 'production archives,' i.e. they mainly function to ensure a smooth production process for the channel's editorial staff, research team and film producers. Unlike 'historical archives,' which additionally store transcripts, documents and other sources dealing with their institution's history and image, the task and use of production archives is primarily oriented toward (and at times restricted to) internal purposes (ibid.). While historical archives emphasize their societal role by regularly opening up their corpus for public scrutiny by third parties in research, education, culture, and other areas, the production archive has first and foremost a pragmatically grounded *raison d'être* and the archival context can therefore be less transparent regarding their criteria to select, store, re-use and delete archive material. This is because in comparison to historical archives, which are also interested in their institutional history, the production archive has rarely got additional texts to the audiovisual products that give us hints based on what institutional self-conception and decisions archiving took place and what documents got lost on the way.

But the risk of an obscured or biased sight on the material is not a problem unique to the production archive. All archives have undergone phases through which archival practices and the organization of material faced major breaks and turning points. Michel Foucault famously described the archive as a system of rules about what can and cannot be said (Foucault, 1969/2002). According to this perspective, it is history that makes the archive – not the other way around (Spigel & Wasko, 2005). The archive is not a neutral collection of a priori facts by means of which, if read appropriately, one can access and restore history truthfully. The archive, just like television, "is preceded by a discursive formation that selects, acquires, and arranges words and things" (p. 68), hence guiding the approach and usage of people. As an institution, the TV archive is embedded in larger social power dynamics and belief systems which shape understandings and processes determining what is considered archive-worthy, the selection and classification process, and so on. Another crucial element is how the medium of television itself, as the archive's providing technology, is understood and dealt with by society. All of these 'histories' narrate the archive; this also goes for the perspectives applied to the archive by scholars.

This adds another dimension to the comparison of the archive with the metaphor of the human memory: the TV archive is not just the memory of the broadcasting station, it can be considered public memory as well. Television and social reality mutually impact each other: television depends on a physical reality to capture and construct representations of it, thereby it forms interpretations that in turn take part in shaping the reality they are referring to. A similar mutual impact can be identified in archival work (which is also mediated by the logic of television): the archive, as an institution, is influenced by external social criteria such as what are considered 'hot topics' in society, what are the socially decided standards of a time, and what perception and performance there is about archival work. And reversely, by making decisions about the process, order and preparation of material for access and re-use, archives have a significant impact on how future generations make sense of the past and present when investigating the corpus of past 'memories.'

This is particularly important for a scholar who approaches the archive with her research interest. The archive's social situatedness is the reason that reading histories and stories out of the archive can

reveal enormously rich information. However, being anything but neutral information, the material has its difficulties. This ambiguity also informs this dissertation's approach to the TV archive. Formerly situated in the so-called 'media city Babelsberg' in Potsdam together with the modern TV broadcasting section of the *rbb* and now being relocated to the *rbb* headquarters in Berlin, the *rbb* archive is a production archive, which mainly stores audiovisual files for its local production units. Ever since its establishment out of the merger between the former broadcasting station *SFB* (*Sender Freies Berlin*) from the west and the *ORB* (*Ostdeutscher Rundfunk Brandenburg*) from the east on May 2003, the *rbb* is the youngest broadcasting station within the *ARD* (Behrendt, 2014, p. 37) and is responsible for representing the *whole* of Berlin and Brandenburg.[36] But this broadcaster claim cannot be adopted easily to the *rbb* archive. Because archives are socially and historically embedded, and archivists make selective choices about what material to file, the consideration of the archival body as complete is problematic in two ways: firstly, even if programs have made an effort to represent the whole region of Berlin-Brandenburg after 2003, of course one cannot automatically assume a one-to-one representation of the two countries – archival work is always selective, fragmentary, and subject to historical and social contexts. Secondly, this holds particularly for the channel's divided history in two different political systems with opposing ideological beliefs and structures during the German division. Although both stations have interchanged most of their material after the reunification, it remains hard, for instance, to evaluate retrospectively the text corpus of the GDR and West Germany with regard to the question to what extent the produced films are representative of the everyday situation of the people or rather reproductions of political intentions. Taking the archive's social embeddedness into account, how can the archive be approached appropriately for research purposes?

36 The *rbb*'s founding slogan 'Two countries, one channel' is telling of this ambition.

3.1.1 Understanding the archival corpus as fragmentary and incomplete

Despite the temptation to interpret a continuation of space and time while retracing program history, William Uricchio argues that one should consider the archive also by means of its "absences" and "inconsistencies" (1995, p. 256). This approach has the overall aim of interfering in the scholar's too-readily assumed homogeneity of the research corpus. Like the human memory, records contained in the archive are fragmentary and highly selective, and one has to understand them in their nature. Common investigations in the archive by scholars to "construct representations of the past" lead, according to Uricchio, to equally telling results about "the limits of representation" (ibid.) because they also tell us about the limits of the things one can work with. In other words, reading absences against 'presences' in the archive can increase the significance of our material and add to a better understanding of the cultural object. Working with the archive, therefore, does not only mean talking about positivist phenomena of what can be seen and read out of the material, but also talking about the form-giving events that make a program or image a particular product of its time.

To prove his point, Uricchio considers the archive from a perspective of what it does *not* show to us based on his own research experiences in German and American archives. As an option for identifying and including absent elements into the archive, he suggests being creative with one's approach to sources and consulting a variety of sources (like newspapers, other videos, etc.) that might help add new perspectives to one's material. He however admits that this can nevertheless be tricky for some research undertakings as access to alternative sources might be limited. This is also the case for the *rbb* archive that functions primarily as a production archive with the purpose of sustaining smooth production processes instead of collecting comprehensive material for investigative purposes. Although some written reports and texts about the broadcasting station and TV programs were saved, the overall archive's emphasis lies in the program representation. It has only been a few years since efforts toward an institutional and historical archive have been under way (Behrendt, 2014, p. 39). In personal conversations, the staff of the *rbb* archive confirms that there are plans to expand the archive, however,

they could not provide information about the nature of the files and their current location. In addition to the efforts of the *rbb*, the *Deutsche Kinemathek* in Berlin started to selectively archive TV programs since 2006.

Decisions made by archivists about valuing and preserving mostly the programs of television are, according to Uricchio, expressions of archival work underlining the visible sites of the archive. This is a one-sided approach to constructing history by relying solely on a "presentist notion of 'aesthetics'" (Uricchio, 1995, p. 263). Although there is an increasing awareness to be considerate of the social paradigms and "ravages of time" (Uricchio 1995, p. 161) that have wielded influence on the texts, Uricchio claims that this can be particularly tricky for scholars, in the present and future, especially as these layers of meaning are obscured by what Uricchio calls the "curse of 'presentism'" (p. 262) in archival practices, by which he means the strong emphasis on "aesthetically oriented preservation criteria of most film [and television] archives" (ibid.). This "presentism" (ibid.) dominant in various archival practices has many origins, two of which are worthy of being shortly outlined here as they have framed much of the understanding of the archival corpus this project is working with. First of all, in the case of German public television, the high selection of texts had to do with pragmatic and historical peculiarities of program making in the early years of television. Secondly, selective archival practices were common due to a late realization of television as a historical source.

Although chapter two has argued that television contributed to the recognition of 'ordinary' life in the consideration of the term 'culture,' it took public television a long time to really implement this cultural responsibility into its archival practices. With regard to structural and ideological restrictions, especially in the beginning years of western German television, archival storage underwent huge transformations in technological possibilities and change of minds. First of all, there was no sufficient recording technology that allowed preservation of long hours of film and production teams additionally lacked a proper willingness and foresight to comprehensively record the whole range of the daily program schedule. Rather, programs were picked selectively based on their uniqueness and event character. Even the highly symbolic final of the world championship in 1954 in Bern had only been recorded partially (Wehling, 2014, p. 160). Due to

pragmatic reasons, recordings for repetition and the swap of individual programs between all stations of the *ARD*, however, soon became increasingly important when *ARD*'s regional programs, known as the 'third channels' ("Dritte Programme"), were made responsible for parts of the daily program schedule. But despite the third channels' connection to regional topics, their main goal was nevertheless to alternately provide the evening entertainment (which were usually films or shows) and news in the shared program of *Das Erste* ("the first channel"), which is why recordings of that period often contain films and events but neglect other aspects of the program's production context. For instance, a show's moderation was not preserved, and only the introductory clips and magazine videos themselves were preserved in the archive (p. 166).

The necessity of selecting and destroying some documents because of budgetary and technological reasons had gradually decreased over the years as progress in technology and data storage eased processes of recording, storing, and retrieving. This also allowed for a greater flexibility and liberty in decisions about what could be archived. Nevertheless, it is only in 1991 that the management of *ARD* archives came together and agreed upon a revised version of the *Regelwerk Fernsehen* – a paper setting the rules and standards of television making – in which they had committed themselves in written form to maximize the endeavor of comprehensively preserving their work (p. 158). The long period prior to the reaching of an agreement in 1991 might also be explained by the long-lasting split of the German country into an eastern and a western political system. Television additionally fought bigger losses and destructions of material due to political censorship and ideological historical filtration (Uricchio, 1995).

Despite technological and ideological difficulties, Spigel (2005) sees a major reason for the eclectic nature of the TV archive in the little respect for television as a historical source in the past (p. 69). For the US American case, she indicates that both archival institutions and scholars alike did not consider television programs worthy enough to be preserved on a big scale. Even the industry itself followed its own industrial logics of preserving texts for promotional and business purposes only (p. 70). It was only in universities that television gradually came to be realized and studied as a historical object (p. 69). Even if considered as a historical object, Uricchio (1995) notes that it

took a long time until 'the ordinary' found its way into considerations of what is valuable and hence part of an archive-worthy culture. 'Culture' was measured in aesthetic terms, and early television, in the eyes of people involved in archival preservation policy, had constantly been measured against film's comparatively long institutional history, "including its place in museums, archives and the academy" (p. 260), its aesthetic status, and finally, the relative durability of its medium celluloid (ibid.). There was no tradition or training in emphasizing film and television *as culture*, which would have implied a wider scope of archival activity. So, despite similar conditions and challenges of preserving film and television, film received comparatively more attention as it aligned with prevailing ideas of art and aesthetic value. Television had a hard time competing on an aesthetic level given that its strength of depicting everyday culture had similarly been neglected.

In sum, there are many reasons that (histories of) obtained objects from the TV archive have to be considered carefully: non-sophisticated recording and storing technologies, ideological and historical filtration, a lack of understanding television as culture and the TV archive as cultural good, program-political necessities, and artistic decisions by the director. All of these factors indicate the highly mediated nature of stored objects, even before the scholar first sets her eyes on them. Taking this history of absences and inconsistencies seriously has a considerable impact on methodological approaches to the archive and the interpretation of results. Concluding his paper with an appeal to think "more about the process and implications of constructing history and less about defending a presentist notion of 'aesthetics'" (p. 263), Uricchio (1995) tries to encourage far-sighted archival policies. This advice can be applied to scholarly projects in archive material, too: it means remaining tolerant of ambiguity, rather than conducting a "fact-checking" on the material resulting in a monolithic interpretation (p. 262). In order to avoid a monolithic interpretation in the context of this research and to be considerate of the fragmentary nature of the *rbb* archive, the following presents an open, explorative perspective on the TV archive, moving between analyzing programs in detail (hence staying on a representational level) and simultaneously retaining a sensitivity to possible breaks and inconsistencies in television's stories.

3.2 Creating linkages: navigating through television's archive

When this analysis discusses TV programs and asks how they have reconstructed working-class tradition, it takes television as a historical source. Understood as socially embedded memory, the archive is a rich historical source for investigating sense-making processes of former generations, but – in line with the outlined challenges of memories – the memory process is fragmentary and biased. The question is how to maneuver the television archive by highlighting individual programs and connecting them back to a broader universe of programs, without obscuring absences and inconsistencies while being able to formulate meaningful linkages between the programs.

Starting from the reverse conclusion of a highly selective archive with strict selection and preservation criteria means that one is likely to find a body of text that consists of rather conformist images. Conformity emerges because images that were considered too experimental, radical and 'different,' or images that did not fit narrow aesthetic criteria, have been filtered out over the years through shifting standards of archiving (Uricchio, 1995, p. 262). This way, necessary archival processes like selecting the preserved material can follow a standardized, comparable and reproducible procedure, but it also bears the risk of overseeing and losing texts whose value might only be revealed in the years to come. One might find a conformist body of images to be particularly prevalent in the case of television, which is continuously criticized for being "aesthetically impoverished" (Corner, 2003) and for using same old program routines. Both would imply a less adventurous approach to experimentations with new program types and designs. However, understanding how television production functions and how programs produce and reuse archive material might help us enrich a perspective on television's role in society with regard to its production, framing and work with dominant 'conformist' representations.

In what follows, I suggest that television has its very own logic of archiving, which, because of its role as a production archive, mainly caters to the production processes of its programs. Unlike other film and historical archives in which each film or text is an entity in itself and depends on an external perspective to draw the lines of connection, television production works with repetition, archive footage,

summaries, and cross-references to other shows – in short, all highly self-referential practices. In that sense, television narrates its very own archive material, which means that 'old' audiovisual texts can be found in new TV productions, which themselves are again archived and reused by other productions. Television thereby produces its own kind of circular interpretation. This perspective is very valuable for research as one can retrace television's perspective on the topics, and see how, as a result, images have been adapted and changed over time: different images might have been chosen to represent a similar topic, and the same images might incorporate different connotations.

Hence, the possible absence of alternative stories and radical perspectives on television can be utilized for a productive investigation of paradigm shifts and discursive transformations, which are apparently well preserved and reflected by the TV archive. Considering the idea of television as a *leitmedium*, this investigation provides a perspective on what has been present and visible in society and has thus been deemed significant as a topic. The analysis can follow what has been archived and trace the shifts in perspectives *on* and *by* television: the shifts of program aesthetics, narratives etc. in program making over time, and television's own take on changes when programs re-evaluate archive footage.

Finally, it has to be noted that when it comes to pointing out conformist features of archive footage, the intention is not to reduce the complexity of programs and dynamics as discussed in the beginning of the last chapter. It was said that it is hard to overview the general dynamics involved in television making. Nevertheless, language is needed to make sense of these various networks and movements. Within what could be termed a rather conformist body of work, all programs and their images however do not strictly look alike: television does contain a broad variety of programs and, within a certain scope, actually offers controversial and alternative programs, which stand on their own or against other perspectives that are represented on television. Production units work independently and decide what standpoint to represent; nevertheless, genre conventions and channel guidelines regulate to a great extent how far this position is actually going to appear in the program. The next chapter deals with the complex process of self-referentiality on television, the dynamics of images, and the difficulties of interpreting them.

3.2.1 The television image and cross-referential image use

If one starts thinking about the complexity of the different layers of meaning production within all that is 'television' (e.g., the TV image – the individual program – general program structure – broadcasting council – audience), then I would like to suggest focusing on the smallest unit – the TV image – as it is here that most other meanings are manifested and foregrounded by the archive. This section points to the limitations of interpreting images for an analysis of TV programs, not to delimit the results of the following analysis but to outline the fields of ambivalence and possibilities in which one moves when approaching TV images.

Two examples demonstrate the challenge of image interpretation. The first case addresses the individual image and its ambivalence, and the second case illustrates how disagreement primarily concerns the context of image use. To come back to the example of HOUSING PROBLEMS and the depiction of working-class living, there were two contradicting opinions about the effect and agency of early working-class images in documentary film. While cultural scholar Hoggart feared a generalizing impact leading to a degradation and impoverishment of working-class culture, others emphasized television's egalitarian character which embraced ordinary culture as a legitimate and important contribution to social reality. The exact same pictures of working-class life as represented by the film HOUSING PROBLEMS were interpreted in two most divergent ways: Hoggart criticized the externalization of experience whereas more enthusiastic voices credited the uplifting of ordinary culture to the sphere of public attention. The second example takes place more than twenty-five years later, when television begins to establish itself as a public institution in the 1960s. Political magazines were popular TV formats that offered critical perspectives on contemporary social and political developments. Their popularity reached a peak in the 1960 and 1970s, but the magazines had to increasingly defend their critical position to their management, which liked to pursue a less radical and more balanced reporting style as an expression of a harmonized democratic society (Hickethier, 1998). Images in TV magazines developed their own dynamic, their own "powder keg," which often exceeded the original intention and message (p. 278, my translation), and which was what the TV officials were afraid of. Thus, even images

in established and regulated program formats could showcase ambiguous meaning and opinions. There were disagreements conventions of the TV magazine, what can and cannot be said in its format. The context of image use thus seems likewise important for the understanding of images. As the examples have demonstrated, images trigger discussions over their meanings that are not always predictable. The following section clarifies what to do with this ambivalence for the analysis of images.

A most simple deduction from this observation is that images can have various possible interpretations. Hence, what images show is accessible to interpretation (Keppler, 2014, p. 223). Needless to say, there is not only one correct interpretation uncovering the truth about a picture. Instead, meaning is created by and especially *for* the different standpoints taken. Images of working-class life have a different meaning and hence cause different associations for an assigned member of the working-class as opposed to a scholar applying a distant perspective in her research subject. Also, independent from any social and political affiliation, the intention of film and TV makers can generally differ from the message the audience derives from the content. The list of different interpretative positions could be continued. All examples lead to the conclusion that it is impossible to identify definite meaning in images, for the latter, as has been illustrated here, is rather contextual and depends on the perspective that is taken.

This fundamental feature of image interpretation also holds for scholarly investigations of media images. However, being attentive to these differing meanings contained in an image does not lead the analysis to relativism, not allowing the formulation of any statements about these pictures. The point is that there is simply no discursive closure by finding a 'definite' translation of an image – neither needed nor possible to attain (p. 237). Research can however investigate likely constructions of meaning in and around images between different positions and contexts to be found in television productions or aspects of it (p. 234). This approach to images, first, avoids an essentialist reading of images that claims to offer the one and only interpretation. Secondly, it supports a multifaceted image subject acknowledged in its many perspectives and possible layers of meaning, which also mobilizes the consideration of my research topic 'the working-class subject' (see next sub-chapter).

If there is no one-to-one translation of images, this also means that next to the pluralistic structures of meaning, images contain something that eludes an interpretative access. Keppler calls it the "potential resistance" (p. 235, my translation) of images, whose 'showing' defies a surrender (in)to the image's message. Keppler gives the example of political images in TV news reports and delineates their resistance of never just completely being absorbed in their appointed political and/or journalistic function (ibid.). They will never be 'just' the messages they are supposed to transmit. This becomes especially clear when stagings of politicians for media events backfire and trigger other undesired reactions from the audience (e.g., if an intendedly serious appearance of a political candidate causes laughter and disdain from the public). Images carry an innate meaning – a "stubbornness" (ibid., my translation) – and their visual level shows something that is to some extent autonomous from the non-visual (spoken and written) level of what can be said about and through the image.

Staying with the example of HOUSING PROBLEMS, its focus on the "show and tell"-rhetoric (Hartley, 1998) of film images can be considered an early example of a self-aware use of the image's visual power of pointing to something by means of trusting the image's very own filmic and dramaturgical strategies to display a certain idea of the world.[37] The camera shows the viewer, in a supposedly unmediated way, the miserable living conditions of people in slums, letting the 'pure' impression speak for itself. But in fact, the film images' underlying mission was to convince the audience of far-reaching urban restructuring projects; the assumedly neutral images relied on filmic strategies of authenticity and documentary genre ideas of an "observational naturalism" (Corner, 2003, p. 93) to unveil their impact. Later on, the same film was criticized for its concealed persuasive and ideological subtext. Images were subject to different understandings about their intention and agency at different moments in time, which are changing along altering ideas of genre conventions and norms in society.

The example of HOUSING PROBLEMS demonstrates that images, despite containing a certain logic of their own "stubbornness" (Keppler, 2014), gain their final status and significance from their use *as* images, and from the practices in which they are embedded and

37 Keppler therefore calls images "world representations" (my translation) because they refer to something that they are not.

toward which they can demonstrate a "stubbornness" at all.[38] However, potentially pluralistic meanings in the image do not mean a necessarily pluralistic use of it. The *actual* use of the image can even lead to an obscuring of the manifold meanings contained in the image, as apparent in the case of HOUSING PROBLEMS, in which the prevailing modern belief in photographic reproduction of reality deceived the audience about the possibly staged character of the depicted situation. In addition to the ambiguity of image interpretation, Keppler therefore underlines the *potentiality* of a differentiated understanding, which implies that there are several ways of understanding, which however do not necessarily make an appearance (p. 224).

To consider the actual usage of the image is very important for investigations of televisual formats because many elements involved in the production process work with strategies that actually aim to minimize the likelihood of a pluralistic reading of its content. Most television programs instead deploy a logic of easy consumption and promote unified, commonly understandable media products that seek to address the majority of their audience. A significant contextual logic of television making in this sense is the use of genres and formats. To avoid misunderstanding between a media product and its audience, a myriad of genres and program formats have been formed during the last 70 years of TV production. Their function is to regulate and balance expectations on both sides: the media producers and the audience. Regulation happens, firstly, as a 'natural' outcome of social interaction when people directly and indirectly communicate over viewing patterns, styles and media forms, and, secondly, by intention when genres are used, for instance, out of economic calculation to advertise a movie in order to secure a ready market.

Because there are so many genres, sub-genres and formats available on television, a big market has been established for cross-references and intertextuality. TV programs generally showcase awareness that they are placed within a more general television program: awareness of the program's position is given when a *Tagesschau* moderator announces the topics of the consecutive *Tagesthemen*, or when comedian Jan Böhmermann sarcastically comments on the channel and employer of his show, the *ZDFneo*. These intermedial and cross-

38 According to Keppler, images can demonstrate a "stubbornness" against: firstly, the intentions of their producers; secondly, the framing of their presentation; and thirdly, against the understanding of the recipients (Keppler, 2014, p. 224ff.).

textual references situate one show or program in the overall structure of what can be summarized as 'television.' Content and context of an image are hence in constant communication with each other, and also with other programs circulating parallelly on television. Thereby, pictorial meaning steps more or less overtly in relation to other images and image forms (sometimes in opposition, sometimes complementarily), especially when it comes to fictional and documentary images placed side-by-side in a program (Keppler, 2014). These references can enrich an analysis of images, but they likewise set the limits of an exhaustive analysis because references to other images and forms have arisen to an unmanageable amount (ibid.).

3.2.2 Methodological implications

These considerations have methodological implications. Generally, it can be concluded that images do not come into existence without context; and on the consumer side, many images are hardly understandable if contextual knowledge is missing (Keppler, 2014, p. 236). Context of production, distribution and post-production processes (e.g., storage) gives us valuable hints regarding the attempted meaning of media content. According to Keppler, the task of an analytical interpretation is to take both aspects into account: the potential plurality of images and their embedding in practices that signify their use *as* images. Both sides are particularly important to consider for the analysis to grasp TV images' characteristics to be organized within broad program structures and genre conventions. Although one might look at an individual media product, it receives its final significance from its particular position within the broader picture that is 'television.'

Against this background, the analysis of TV images does not understand itself as standing *in place of* the image, but rather as disclosing what is shown by the image ("bildliches Zeigen," p. 237). Image interpretation can identify the many connotations inherent *within* an image and the many references to usage, form and context that lie *outside* of the image. Both dimensions are in continuous communication with each other. Although knowing about these 'outside' dimensions is often not possible for the scholar, they are

most often contained and hence analyzable in the filmic and dramaturgical structures of an image. All television films, reports and programs – indifferent to their genre affiliation – follow an audiovisual dramaturgy and are therefore the results of media presentation (p. 227). Thus, *what* a TV image communicates is inscribed in the *how* of its working as image: the unfolding TV event uses visual features and sounds (like off-commentary or dramatic music) in order to suggest a certain understanding. In this microstructure (Peltzer & Keppler, 2015) of the TV image lies contextual information, for instance, about its functioning as format or genre. This belonging can be communicated directly by the image (e.g., the *Heute show* which uses genre knowledge about TV news for its social satire) or indirectly if its position within a genre is not further commented on but assumed as implicit knowledge of the viewer.

For the investigation of my research topic in the *rbb* archive, the implications mean that instead of applying an essentialist reading of representations of working-classness on television, the approach likes to emphasize the flexible enunciation of cultural meaning, also as an answer to the highly contingent and ambiguous source that is the TV archive. In this understanding, cultural meaning is not locked in definite cultural objects or traditions; it moves across space and time together with changing perspectives, traditions, societies and so on (Smith, 2002, p. 95). The focus is on a body of work that is informed by an intertextual, audiovisual landscape moving "to and from" (p. 97), offering many connections and levels of meanings, and many inconsistencies and transformations by means of which the material needs to be understood.

Uricchio once said that "thinking more about the process and implications of constructing history and less about defending a presentist notion of aesthetics, will encourage more far-sighted archival policies," and, as I would like to add, a more far-sighted archival research (Uricchio, 1995, p. 263). In that sense, the analysis does not aim to mimetically read working-class culture in television's representations, which would imply following, step by step, a rather fixed idea of what constitutes 'working class culture' in each individual program, only to conclude that this particular imagination of working-classness has disappeared. This approach would restrict questions for the TV images to whether they wrongfully or rightfully depict working-class neighborhoods, which would result in normative

judgments about the worker's dis- and reappearance in the course of television history. Instead, one has to understand these images – as products of their context and use *as* images – within the "options of understanding" they offer for each historical situation (Peltzer & Keppler, 2015, my translation). Admitting the openness of the material means considering working-class images and the way their meaning is produced, altered, picked-up again and reused in and for other contexts. The subject is thus followed as a fluid enunciation across different TV formats and dynamics.

In order to do justice to the referentiality of television and the flexible enunciation of the working-class subject, the analysis will furthermore bring the various analyzed TV programs argumentatively together by identifying main motifs and strategies in their depiction of former working-class neighborhoods (Ch. 5). Similar and alternating motifs and narratives illustrate the circular work of television described in this chapter, which uses archival material to reuse and reprocess contents and images. This creates TV's very own corpus and memory of the working class in Berlin, which, as the final chapter will argue, is used by *rbb* to promote a vision of shared urban identity.

3.3 The *rbb* archive

After delineating the general framework of the television archive and scholarly work with it, this chapter explains the search and selection process by which the material corpus was formed. Many of the challenges of research in TV archives also applied to the *rbb* archive and have informed the search process to a great extent, which will be described in the following. In general, material search and selection were conducted via a two-step process of data collection, each step followed by a review and an evaluation of the result lists. The first visit took place in the *rbb* archive's location in Potsdam between July 4-16, 2017, and the second visit in the newly relocated department next to the *Haus des Rundfunks* in Berlin between July 29-August 2, 2019. The latter served to clarify questions about the material that came up in the course of the analysis and to complement the corpus by additional screenings.

Before explaining the database and selection process, it is important to shortly note the twofold status of the archive in the context of this dissertation: firstly, editors use the database for their research and production, and secondly, I retrieve the material from the same archive that might have been used to produce the programs I am looking at. In short, the archive and its material are the perspective and the object of research at the same time, just as television is both, the "problem" and the "instrument" of approaches to it (Stauff, 2005). This can be made fruitful for the research because it allows statements about the way order and meaning were given to the film material through archiving and its complementary praxis of 'archeological excavation,' of searching and (re-)using the material. However, most of this archival work by editors and producers in the process of producing a show cannot be traced back. Their rationale for searching and selecting certain material within a variety of archived footage is not documented. However, what can be made transparent is the functioning of their tool, the *rbb*'s electronic database with which editors work and to which I was allowed access to find my material.

The change of location was due to the archive's relocation. This change reflects more than just a physical relocation and indicates bigger restructuring processes that the archive and other units at the broadcasting station have undergone in the context of a reform of the *rbb*'s organizational structure in May 2018, which continues to this

day. At its core, the reform includes a strengthened multimedia orientation of the channel's program development, which involves a "comprehensive organization and intensive cooperation" between units in future production processes (*rbb* program director Schulte-Kellinghaus, as cited in Medienkorrespondenz, 2018, my translation). This includes the extension of responsibilities for certain departments and a decentralized approach to resources (like the archive) involved in the production of programs. In concrete terms, this means that individual editors will access the archive database independently making a separate department for archival research and archiving redundant through better connected work processes and program units. These processes therefore also hint to fundamental changes in the self-conception of archival work in the future, the way material is archived, ordered, processed and reused for future productions.

Archiving has always been a complex process – not just since the reform – and reflects interactions and communication between many different departmental levels and responsible units. When it comes to the 'institutional home' of the archive at the *rbb*, it is therefore hardly possible to pinpoint '*the* archive' or 'archive department' as in more traditional libraries and archives. Archival work is needed in nearly every production unit of the *rbb*: for television, radio and the online platform. It is therefore important for the channel's day-to-day service that employees can openly access the archive database and also that individual departments can archive the programs themselves. However, one can say, most generally, that the core of archival work is taken over by the 'archive and documentation' department, which, after the reform in 2018, is part of the new department 'multimedia production' that is subordinated to the program directorate. The *rbb* is broadly divided into various directorates, with the program directorate uniting the relevant sub-departments: research service, program documentation and digitization.[39] The department's main purpose is to provide support for the editorial staff in searching footage and to provide the data carrier. The department's main tool is the current database for file storage and retrieval, FESAD, which is also the database and source of material analyzed in this dissertation.

Because the *rbb* archive is a production archive, access to the database is usually restricted to internal staff only. My research stay

39 The following information is based on personal conversations with employees of the archive department. I am grateful for their time and trust.

was hosted by the research service who had also accompanied the search process with their advice and time. Navigating through the FESAD database and understanding the data listed in the files was not immediately comprehensible as the database reflects the complex and always-changing archiving process of the TV station. The various practices and people involved in the archiving process affect the structure of the database and the nature of the stored files. Information on the files can be irregular and incomplete. Often, there is almost no information about material that goes back further into the past. It was not until 1991 that an attempt was made to set up a more comprehensive database for the various sources and material that had been collected throughout the previous years. Again a few years later, FESAD was introduced as a new system to simplify the program exchange between different public broadcasting stations in Germany. With FESAD, it is generally possible to search within the internal archive of the *rbb* and the *ARD*. Theoretically, this means that material from other public channels is accessible. Practically, however, each broadcasting station has its own 'extra' archive that escapes the access of third parties. The general search therefore cannot claim completeness and additional efforts are needed to collect material.

Because attempts to thoroughly archive the programs had only come up in the 1090s, there had been a long period between the mid-50s and the mid-90s during which programs were recorded very selectively (if at all), and even much was written by hand on index cards. Furthermore, strip material to record video footage was expensive and led to the rewriting or partial recording of previous programs. This wild mix of selective information had gradually been fed into a database system in an effort to complete the archive, but it remains unclear who, when and according to what rules the files were registered into the system. The digitalization process, which is only now about to be completed, adds another mediating layer to the (completeness of the) material. Altogether this muss of data, archival practices and information lies beneath the *rbb* material corpus and makes contextual and classifying judgements about the retrieved programs very hard. This is why, for instance, information on the repetition of a program can give a valuable *hint* about the popularity of a show, but it does not represent an absolute number. The same goes for blank spaces in the lists, meaning information is not listed at all: does 'not listed' mean a show was not repeated at all or does it mean

this piece of information is just missing? Listed information in the files is therefore considered additional but does not provide a valuable ground for comparisons.

3.3.1 Search process and structuring of the material corpus

Access to the FESAD database for external people is provided, after consultation, by an on-location search in the database on the department's computers. Most of the material can be viewed on-location and purchased for private viewings if necessary. As a federally organized institution, the rules and conditions for access are determined individually by each local archive. In the case of the *rbb*, I was fortunate to be provided open access and permitted to conduct a self-guided search process in their database. This allowed an open and dynamic data collection that could adapt to the research progress and upcoming questions for the material.

Most generally, the database is organized like index cards that contain a list of information about a TV program. Each 'card' includes the program's full title, a copyright notice, content description (sometimes even a transcription of the visual level), index tags, name of author(s), and further details on production and recorded medium. The information can be retrieved from the *Medienbroker*, *rbb*'s intranet search engine. The *Medienbroker* functions like any other regular search engine: single words, word combinations and sentences can be searched and selected. The general search options in the FESA database are divided into the categories music, word, video and press. Each category allows for further specification on the search term according to the category's necessities. For this dissertation's interest in audiovisual TV programs, the category 'video' was prioritized, which offered the following search options: overall search, title, image content, authors/co-producers/originator ("Autoren"/ "Mitwirkende"/ "Urheber"), content, air date and duration. By adjusting these indicators, different search results could be compared and complemented. What categories were ultimately archived depends on many things and may be inconsistent between search results. Nevertheless, television documents in the database are usable sources as they guarantee a reference to the date of the first broadcast, the

broadcast environment, the creators of the product or (in rare cases) the history of origins (Wehling, 2014, p. 160).

Because of the unsteady nature of the archive and the fluid expression of cultural enunciation by which the working-class subject is understood, an open search process was chosen. The first search in July 2017 started with search terms defining the field of interest as broadly as possible in order to allow an undetermined approach to the filmic material and utmost flexibility in gradually complementing the search process. The German search terms included “Arbeitervierteltel” (working-class district), “Mietskasernen” (tenement houses), “Wedding Arbeit*” (Wedding work*). After the first screenings, the search was adjusted by adding more local terms that were found in the material, such as “Roter Kiez” (Red district), “Heinrich Zille” and “Kösliner Straße” (Kösliner street). Endings of the words with "*" were completed by the search engine and summarized different search terms in one search. “Wedding work*” included, for instance, "Wedding working-class district,” “Wedding workplace,” “Wedding working-class culture,” and “Wedding workers’ strike.” In this way, search results were secured for all terms so that none was missed out. Search results were firstly limited by setting the start date of broadcasting to the year 2005 and the minimum length of programs to one minute in order to get a broad overview of the material found in the archive.[40]

The first results map a general picture of *rbb* programs within the last 16 years that feature the working-class topic in one way or another. Most results were found for news programs like the *Berliner Abendschau*, including short two to three minute-long sequences on local events like worker strikes, raids in streets, art exhibitions, tenant initiatives and historical anniversaries. In these sequences, the topic of the working-class neighborhood rarely appears as a direct mention in

40 A natural filter is the fact that I searched in the *rbb* archive, which delimited the results to the Berlin context. Generally, the results are categorized in folders named after the public broadcasting organizations *BR, DRA, DW, HR, HSB, MDR, NDR, RB, SR, SWR* and *WDR*, plus the category ‘*ARD-Digital*.’ *RBB* results can be found in a separate folder named ‘Fernseharchiv.’ With the help of this structure, it is possible to overview the distribution of programs, and to guess how a topic might be more interesting to one broadcasting station than to another (at least quantitively, by the number of found results). However, these assumptions are limited as the results only show a small excerpt of another station’s database. For example, not many results for the search terms were found in *WDR*, and it seems unlikely that the station has not covered the searched topics at all.

the program itself. In some cases, these programs were found because a *rbb* employee once tagged or described an image sequence in the file by the words "police operation," "street x" and "working-class district Wedding." However, the knowledge that a certain event happened in a working-class district remains at best intuitive for the audience depending on the program's framing. It would be interesting, though, to see how those journalistic practices and work processes (like tagging) can influence and eventually reproduce certain stereotypes and biases because they urge people to (over)simplify matters. In other cases, programs only refer to the working-class past of a district in a side note, for instance, when they mention a historical tenement house that is being restored. Because of these subtle appearances in very short sequences, programs below 10 minutes were bracketed out from the corpus. This also included TV magazines and journal reports (like ZIBB and HEIMATJOURNAL) that usually range between three to five minutes and give a condensed overview of cultural histories and events in the city. Although these indirect framings also contribute to the interpretation of working-class neighborhoods (for instance, if a district is repeatedly associated with bad news and hence criminalized), this dissertation is interested in the approach TV takes to the working-class tradition in the districts, i.e., how programs reconstruct this history and make it recognizable and meaningful for the audience in and for particular contexts. Therefore, the research corpus only considered programs that have at least one direct reference to the working-class history of Wedding and Friedrichshain.

In line with the latter examples, most noticeable for this dissertation are programs dealing with the city history of Berlin in the form of anniversaries, street portraits and local exhibitions. They were the dominant reason to produce content calling districts like Friedrichshain, Wedding and Kreuzberg (former) 'working-class neighborhoods.' This is also reflected by longer TV programs that span 10 or more minutes. In district portraits and documentaries about streets and buildings, they most directly use terms like 'working-class district/neighborhood,' 'working-class culture' and embed the representation of the neighborhood in broader social contexts. Generally, one can conclude that the rare use of the term 'working-class district' and the focus on history and exhibitions in the context of which the term is still used indicate that the working-class neighborhood has lost its topical character for television. This is

affirmed by broadening the timescale of the search by another 40 years. In consideration of the scarce record of television's early years, it is observable that the peak of shows dedicating a whole episode or documentary film to the topic of the working-class district was between 1960 and 1980. Films like DIE WELT IN DER SIE LEBEN. DER WEDDING VON ZILLE BIS HEUTE (1960) and DET WAR ZILLE SEIN MILLJÖH. BERLIN GESTERN UND HEUTE (1981) saw working-class life and its cultural impact on Berlin society as relevant enough to deal with the topic in a full documentary. However, it is striking that in both films it is the popular figure of Heinrich Zille that gives the occasion for a discussion about the workers district. The last films centering the 'Red' Wedding proclaimed its death in the 1980s in the face of radical urban reconstruction plans by the government: NAHAUFNAHME. ROT IST NUR DIE ERINNERUNG (1987) and WAS WURDE AUS DEM ROTEN KIEZ (1979, and 1994 repeated by the show DAMALS WAR'S). Parallel to the gradual decline of political magazines on television (Zimmermann, 1994), these were the last politically intended, critical documentaries to take up the working-class district as a topic in itself. Afterwards, most TV programs that were found by the tags like 'working-class district' are street and district portraits, or mention urban proletarian living in a general documentary about Berlin's history and development.

For the years up until the German reunification, the database predominantly contains media coverage from West Berlin. After the reunification, coverage is distributed more equally among all Berlin districts and the Brandenburg area. A district that most steadily emerged as the symbol for Berlin working-class living throughout the years is Wedding. Wedding is taken as a major focus for the analysis because it exemplifies the development and dynamics by which (western) television made sense of the working-class neighborhood over the years. It allows us to look at the shift from critical documentaries prominently reflecting on the Red district to city portraits that incorporate the working-class past into a narration of shared urban identity. This critical moment in time, when society allegedly moves into a post-industrial era, is considered a good departure for the analysis. Starting from the documentaries NAHAUFNAHME. ROT IST NUR DIE ERINNERUNG and WAS WURDE AUS DEM ROTEN KIEZ (Ch. 4.1), the analysis explores the changes and

consistencies in representations of the working-class neighborhood Wedding and its meaning in changed social contexts.

More recent TV programs dealing with Wedding are represented in the analysis by district portrait series BERLINER BEZIRKE (for the 1990s) and BILDERBUCH (for the period between 1997 and 2016). Portrait series depicting local sights and stories had become increasingly popular after efforts were made by public broadcasting stations to regionalize their program. BILDERBUCH is a joint documentary series of the *ARD* and presents the history, architecture, landscape and/or tradition of a region produced by the respective broadcasting area. Since 2010, the series is only continued by the *rbb*, which demonstrates the importance the channel attaches to the representation of regional identity. Next to BERLINER BEZIRKE WEDDING and BILDERBUCH WEDDING, the analysis looks at episodes about district Mitte, too, which include the Wedding after an administrative reform in 2001. Furthermore, episodes on Mitte are interesting because the district is widely treated as the representational center of Berlin. Taking BERLINER BEZIRKE and BILDERBUCH as examples also allows the inclusion of the former eastern district Friedrichshain as another focus of the analysis. Known for the 'worker palaces' on the *Karl-Marx-Allee* and the many small backyard businesses, Friedrichshain represents the eastern perspective of working-class history in Berlin. The series format makes it possible to compare the episodes about Wedding, Mitte and Friedrichshain with each other, and to carve out differences between a Western and Eastern implementation of working-class history. And furthermore, it allows us to look at general similarities and differences in the depiction of working-class tradition among all districts.

Finally, the analysis emphasizes the development of the representation of working-class tradition in Wedding and Friedrichshain over the years. Starting from political documentaries around the 1980s, the analysis looks at paradigm shifts in the late 1990s and early 2000s up until the latest BILDERBUCH episode on Friedrichshain in 2016. Of course, the long timeframe only allows a small glimpse at each moment in time but it is believed that a wide perspective is helpful for delineating a general development of representations of the working-class neighborhood on television. Because television works with diverse formats, directors and editors, it can be difficult to give a representative picture of only one period.

Taking the whole perspective, however, makes it possible to identify similarities and tendencies that move beyond individual views and artistic expressions as represented in each program. Within the confined format of the portrait series, and by additionally considering the televisual and social context of each period, the analysis traces major changes in the incorporation of working-class tradition with regard to contemporary issues in society (considered by television). In this context, it will be particularly interesting to see how a format like BILDERBUCH revises some of its episodes over the years to adapt its portraits about Wedding, Friedrichshain and Mitte to new social contexts and format designs.

Ch. 4 *SFB/rbb's* storytelling of the working-class neighborhood

The analysis traces the changing depiction of working-class neighborhoods in TV portraits of Wedding, Mitte (incl. Wedding) and Friedrichshain from 1979 to 2016. Based on the idea that the working-class neighborhood is a relative and fluid enunciation across TV formats and dynamics (Ch. 3.3.2), the following analysis looks at various television programs to examine the altered representation of former working-class neighborhoods Wedding and Friedrichshain at *rbb* and formerly at *SFB* (*Sender Freies Berlin*). The analysis is interested in what context the working-class past of a district appears in documentary programs about Berlin, how this tradition is framed and for what purpose. Along these analytical stops, the attempt is to delineate a picture of working-class culture and tradition on television, when and how it becomes important, and what meaning it has in the respective context.

The analysis has identified three major narratives in the coverage of working-class neighborhoods on television, which structure the analysis chronologically in three chapters. In Chapter 4.1, the two earliest documentary portraits in the corpus tell the story of a working-class neighborhood in a post-industrial society. 'The working-class neighborhood' is still present as a topic in itself. It is a story about the successive replacement of culture (either/or narrative), in which the idea of a homogenous 'Red' neighborhood is slowly but steadily replaced by a supposedly new bourgeois culture. In Chapter 4.2, 'the region,' i.e., the city is put into focus. Here, an enthusiastic narrative of a 'melting pot of milieus and people' dominates the TV portraits. Working-class culture and bourgeois culture no longer run contradictory to each other but offer parallel perspectives of Berlin. New figures like the construction worker become part of the district portraits' narrative of Berlin. Chapter 4.3 sees a return to romanticized ideas of originality and authenticity. Here, the narration of working-class tradition works to authenticate urban practices and experiences of the individual. The analyzed episodes focus on the subject, lifestyle and creativity. Herein, artists and crafting creatives emerge as a successor of working-class tradition in which boundaries of 'work' and 'living' blur.

4.1 The Red Wedding – working-class tradition in a post-industrial society

The following analysis chapter discusses two documentaries that place their narration of the district Wedding in a crucial moment of transition. Characterized as a former working-class neighborhood, the Wedding is said to be heading towards a bourgeois future. As indicated by their titles, both classic 45-minutes documentary films WAS WURDE AUS DEM ROTEN KIEZ (1979/1994) (hereafter abbreviated to WAS WURDE AUS DEM ROTEN KIEZ for the original documentary from 1979, and to DAMALS WAR'S for the remediating TV show from 1994) and NAHAUFNAHME: ROT IST NUR DIE ERINNERUNG (1987) (hereafter NAHAUFNAHME) most directly address the question of what happened to the 'Red' working-class tradition in face of broader modernization and transformation processes in the district.

Both TV documentaries are expressions of an era of political and economic upheaval in which perspectives and narratives were sought to accompany these changes. The films bear witness to significant events taking place in society: the division and reunification of Germany, the immigration of new residents from Turkey and former Yugoslavia, and a modernizing work environment that causes structural changes in the neighborhood. All confront prevailing ideas that gained their significance in the industrial era, leading to the restructuring of urban space, notions of identity, work and living. Dealing with the question of the working-class heritage in substantial social and economic transformations, the two documentaries and the moderated TV show DAMALS WAR'S are typical expressions of their time by discussing the transition to an era understood to be post-industrial, in which former values and traditions of an industrialized society still play a role but no longer constitute the central concern for journalists and politicians. Although their dates of release differ, the films are therefore comparable in that they deal with the question of the working-class heritage during and after the divide of Germany.

In addition, the documentaries bear witness to changing conventions in TV journalism and television's treatment of critical topics. Within the overall corpus material, the two films can be considered to belong to the category of vanishing critical TV documentaries that Zimmermann observes for the 1970s (Ch. 2.3). The journalistic work about working-class neighborhoods is

characterized by a critical investigative reporting style that aims to *expose* deficits of modernization processes in the neighborhoods and on the level of political decision-making. Both documentaries are placed relatively prominently in the overall TV programing so that they can potentially reach a broad audience. The film NAHAUFNAHME [41] by Frank Krink and Richard Schneider is a documentary produced for the channel *SFB* in 1987 and was aired on a Sunday (September 6), the day of the week with the biggest audience share (Karstens & Schütte, 2010, p. 141). Although *rbb*'s archive does not convey information of the exact airtime, the fact that a 45 minutes-long critical documentary was presented on a day traditionally reserved for recreation and relaxation by TV programming indicates the significance the channel granted to NAHAUFNAHME to deal with a socially relevant topic, which also (and particularly) interests the working population. The documentary WAS WURDE AUS DEM ROTEN KIEZ was shot in 1979 as a co-production by the journalists Joachim Trenkner, Lutz Lehmann and Fritz Pleitgen. The film's production was extensive as the content involved a comparison of working-class neighborhoods in East and West Berlin and thus laborious journalistic investigations on the other side of the Wall. In accordance with that, the documentary was aired on a Friday (June 8) on the *ARD* and thereby received national attention. The documentary was directed to an audience beyond Berlin by framing the destiny of the two working-class neighborhoods in larger developments of two competing political systems and models of society. Also, NAHAUFNAHME was repeated on north German broadcasting stations *N3*, *NDR*, and *RB*, indicating an interest in the topic beyond the Berlin context.

After 15 years, WAS WURDE AUS DEM ROTEN KIEZ was re-broadcasted by the show DAMALS WAR'S and provided an additional introduction and concluding remarks by a moderator (DAMALS WAR'S: WAS WURDE AUS DEM ROTEN KIEZ, 1994). DAMALS WAR'S is a moderated television show hosted by Harald Karas, which addresses historical and contemporary events and people in and around Berlin. Although the rerun shows a reevaluation of the critical documentary on television in the 1990s, the film's repurposing by Kara's show already signals the altered function and interpretation of the topic of the working-class neighborhood in future TV programs: the coverage

41 Time codes in the analysis refer to NAHAUFNAHME (1987) played on QuickTime Player.

goes away from a factual, critical examination of working-class tradition towards an incorporation of the history of the district specifically for the Berlin context and Berlin identity (more on this in ch. 4.2 and 4.3). This is also characterized in the show's targeted audience: as a weekly format positioned in the transitioning period from primetime to late-night, DAMALS WAR'S addresses the culturally and historically interested (Berlin) audience every Thursday night at 10:15 pm. By airing the documentary one month after the Berlin senate had decided on extensive administrative reforms that affect the boundaries of districts, the show DAMALS WAR'S further places the film in the political discourse of Berlin and makes the question of what restructurings mean for a district interesting again for Berlin citizens in 1994.

The analysis, firstly, compares the original documentary film WAS WURDE AUS DEM ROTEN KIEZ with the film NAHAUFNAHME in terms of their take on changing working-class neighborhoods. The final part emphasizes the remediation of WAS WURDE AUS DEM ROTEN KIEZ [42] by the show DAMALS WAR'S and how it updates the issues presented in the film by a 1990s perspective.

4.1.1 Visualizing the working-class neighborhood by archive material

The Wedding as a former working-class district is the general angle of both WAS WURDE AUS DEM ROTEN KIEZ and NAHAUFNAHME, and it is a challenging one for the filmmakers. Having developed during the industrial era, the neighborhood no longer exists in the same way it used to be when it symbolically embodied the living conditions of the factory workers in Berlin. Media representation of working-class culture in the Wedding therefore deals with the creative question of which filmable traces are still present and which gaps in a changing cityscape have to be filled by other cinematic and dramaturgical strategies. This chapter deals with the many ways the working-class neighborhood Wedding is reconstructed and visualized by the films. The two foci are temporality and the archive material used in this

42 Time codes in the analysis refer to the version DAMALS WAR'S: WAS WURDE AUS DEM ROTEN KIEZ? (1994) played on QuickTime Player.

context. Both are interconnected aspects. Looking at the archive material sheds light on which material is used to represent what characterization of the working-class neighborhood and the residents living in it. In connection to this, it is interesting to see how memorizing the Red Wedding affects this perspective on contemporary social issues caused by the division and reunification of Germany. The following section explicates how the films make use of their audiovisual material in order to situate the 'Red' working-class tradition in-between past and present, disappearance and remembrance.

WAS WURDE AUS DEM ROTEN KIEZ and NAHAUFNAHME both make use of visual and auditive archive material to depict the working class. This is in line with the underlying premise of the films that working-class tradition in the Wedding has become a subject of the past. Already the film titles give the audience a hint of classifying working-class culture in the district as a thing of the past by talking about memories (ROT IST NUR DIE ERINNERUNG) and using the past tense when questioning what has happened to the Red Wedding (WAS WURDE AUS DEM ROTEN KIEZ). In addition to that, the first few minutes of each film are eager to emphasize the changing face of the neighborhood according to which local pubs, barrel organs and the 'original' inhabitants are either 'increasingly hard to find' or had already disappeared from the city map. It is made clear that the film's subject – the Red Wedding – is a dissolving entity whose visualization by the films happens through the search and partial recreation of the working-class tradition. The films thereby employ original film recordings of Berlin from the times of the Weimar Republic, music recordings and interviews with contemporary witnesses.

When NAHAUFNAHME and WAS WURDE AUS DEM ROTEN KIEZ refer to 'the typical working-class neighborhood,' they primarily use archival sources instead of filming the current Wedding, which is indicating a rather nostalgic retrospect by which they view the district. This retrospect is caught up in an ambivalent temporality between a 'red' working-class past and a destructive presence marked by social and urban change. The stretch between past and present in the neighborhood becomes particularly tangible right at the beginning of the films, each opening with a different song. In WAS WURDE AUS DEM ROTEN KIEZ, it is a typical working-class song from the early twentieth century used to animate the underlying black and white images of

marching workers. The song adds a sense of determination and strength to the depicted workers. In NAHAUFNAHME, a working men's choir is re-staging a pub performance singing a song about the "real" [01:00] Berlin citizens, positively characterizing the "original Berliner" [00:40] as humorous and loud. In both films, music marks a powerful case of transporting the audience back in time while similarly creating a feeling of presence through the unfolding sound. The two songs are an efficient tool to recall working-class tradition into the audience's present time, yet they convey a sentimental certainty that these songs are no longer heard in the current Wedding. They evoke the feeling of further listening to an intimate tale, but the stories told by the films differ.

Bloody May and "Roter Wedding" – A song and its images about the labor movement

WAS WURDE AUS DEM ROTEN KIEZ starts with the powerful and enthusiastic song of the *Red Front Fighter's League* ("Rotfrontkämpferbund"), a paramilitary group of the KPD in the Weimar Republic, whose song "tells the story of the Red Wedding" [02:38, my translation]. A commentator from the off mentions the communist artists who wrote the song due to the events of the Bloody May in 1929, in which, during a three-day riot, more than 30 civilians were killed because protestors had disobeyed the government's ban on public gatherings. The Bloody May marks "a significant portent of the disintegration of social and political stability" in Weimar and Prussian politics (Bowlby, 1986), also foreshadowing the decline of the labor movement and the working class as understood in the political left.[43] Yet, the May riots can simultaneously be commemorated as the heydays of the labor movement – days, in which the unification of workers had been the strongest and revolted against a rising fascism (Heister, 2013). Hence, beginning the film by reciting this historical event already anticipates the twofold tension according to which the story of the 'Red' district is going to be told: it is a story of decline and a story of resistance to decline, upholding memories of more glorious days of the workers movement identified with the 'Red' tradition.

43 The National Socialist Party NSDAP created another ideology of a combat-capable work force and a reproducing worker family.

In addition to the song "the Red Wedding" ("Der Rote Wedding"), WAS WURDE AUS DEM ROTEN KIEZ uses black and white video footage of marching workers (Image 1, 02:17). The footage depicts crowds of people from various angles in the streets of a Wilhelminian Berlin: one can see people passing by, workers marching and leaving the factory (Image 2, 02:21), while some workers even laugh and look straight into the camera. The hustle and bustle of moving people occupies the complete image and obstructs the view of the surrounding neighborhood. Depicting movement within the city seems to be more important than a detailed look around. In contrast to the moderator's commentary on the deathly events of the Bloody May, these moments emphasize the uprising and dynamics of a strong labor movement, rather than depicting dead bodies and conflict with the police.

Fig. 1 (Image 1, 2 & 3 Capture WAS WURDE, The presence of the worker movement)

The way the images are put to use in relation with the song, indicates that the film is less concerned with the actual ongoing of the May revolt than with the memories associated with it: memories of a strong working-class tradition and a united, confident work force in fight against injustice. In fact, the presented images alone do not reveal if they are images of the May demonstration at all. They do not offer any orientation of space and time to the viewer: the hand-held posters of the protestors are hardly identifiable, there are no street names, and the quality and content[44] of the footage changes from scene to scene leaving one to assume they were assembled from different material. Hence, instead of a clear localization, what counts for the images is their historicity; in other words, their significance of being authentic witnesses to this period. The archive footage transports the viewer into the original setting and together with the worker song they bring history into a resounding presence.

44 For example, one scene depicts an everyday situation on a busy street in Berlin, showing a tram and citizens dressed in bourgeois clothing [02:30]. They obviously do not belong to the working class.

However, it is a presence which had been undone. These lively memories of a dynamic worker movement are used to contrast the following scenes that show the Wedding as a battleground of different interest groups and historical actors. A time lapse of alternating historical videos and photography demonstrates the push and pull in the Wedding leading to images of the district's complete destruction by which the film ends its historical introduction and goes to the present time. The camera is pending on a deserted construction site and the film title appears (Image 3, 04:39). The abrupt ending of the worker song and its shift into a menacing low tone during the time lapse and the blending of the title is the acoustic version of the rupture the district Wedding is facing according to the film. WAS WURDE AUS DEM ROTEN KIEZ uses archive material to point to a past that is no longer there. The footage signifies a lost tradition literally being erased by the present.

NAHAUFNAHME starts with a similar premise: the 'Red' Wedding is only found in the memories of previous inhabitants and preserved buildings. However, it uses archive material to paint a lively image of the old Wedding with multiple 'faces.' Unlike WAS WURDE AUS DEM ROTEN KIEZ, archive material is dispersed throughout the film and supplements various topics such as urban reconstruction, social welfare, political revolts, foreign inhabitants, and so forth. In this way, the Red Wedding is continually being reinforced as memory, even if the film is talking about present topics. While WAS WURDE AUS DEM ROTEN KIEZ emphasizes a history and tradition of the Red Wedding being overwritten by reckless urban planning (embodied by images of contemporary construction sites succeeding the historical introduction), the 'Red' tradition in NAHAUFNAHME is hovering over new developments in the Wedding like a pending question.

Like WAS WURDE AUS DEM ROTEN KIEZ, NAHAUFNAHME uses the exact same video footage of marching workers and the "der Rote Wedding" song by *Red Front* in order to visualize the political story of the Wedding. Similar to the first, NAHAUFNAHME understands the politicization of the neighborhood, especially during the revolts of the late 1920s, as the establishment of a "classical working-class neighborhood" [12:54]. In retrospect, the working-class district thereby gets interlocked with a political perspective. Also, in the film's general word choice one can see this coupling of working-classness

with politics: the film mentions a socialist tradition in the district and calls the inhabitants of the Wedding 'workers' primarily in the context of political events and politically conceived decisions of plant closures. In other cases, the film characterizes people in the Wedding more neutrally as 'original Berliner' and 'residents.'

While WAS WURDE AUS DEM ROTEN KIEZ combines the images of protesting workers with the narration of the Bloody May, NAHAUFNAHME separates the song from the May events. The song is only used in the context of old footage of marching workers. The revolts are mentioned only after a temporal jump into the present, marked by a close-up shot of the street sign *Kösliner Strasse*, where the riots had climaxed. For the May events, the film uses different archive material and an interview with a contemporary witness who discloses her personal experiences in the protests when the police opened fire. As a consequence of this narrative structure, the video footage of the protests is solely associated with a powerful working class and its revolt: the footage is additionally interspersed with workers hanging posters and distributing flyers in the street. An off-commentator adds that during the class struggle the working class was irreconcilable and the Wedding became a red stronghold. NAHAUFNAHME in this way stylizes a strong workers movement while similarly personalizing and hence dramatizing the betrayal of the working class by the state and politicians.[45] This contemporary witness tells in detail how she and other workers were intentionally dispersed by the police and ambushed by armed police dressed as civilians. In this story, it is the moral betrayal that weighs more than the urban planner's betrayal like presented in WAS WURDE AUS DEM ROTEN KIEZ.

The deaths of the May revolts are narrated as a sad loss for the whole of Berlin. After the witness interview, the camera screen switches to an empty street and slowly zooms onto paved stones while the commentator lists other dramatic deaths in the rest of Berlin. The image of the empty street functions as a visual placeholder by which NAHAUFNAHME anchors the story in the general history of Berlin, which is contrary to WAS WURDE AUS DEM ROTEN KIEZ, which primarily considers a political dimension of the events. This is

45 The police operation was led by social democrat Zörgiebel and was generally conceived to be exemplary for the willingness of the SPD to operate against their working-class people (Tode, 2003).

consistent with NAHAUFNAHME's general emphasis on telling complex processes of change in the Wedding by the experiences of inhabitants and concrete stories behind the district's different facets. In WAS WURDE AUS DEM ROTEN KIEZ, most of the film is narrated by a commentator. If interviews are presented, one at least sees the moderator holding a microphone suggesting he is still in charge of the situation. This reflects the film's different dates of release (1979 & 1987), which marks a change in documentary conventions on television from educative and informative programs to more personalized stories (this trend continues in the 1990s, see ch. 4.2). Accordingly, NAHAUFNAHME provides more intimate views on Berlin and its history whereas WAS WURDE AUS DEM ROTEN KIEZ uses material for a distanced perspective on history. Nevertheless, both films end up with the same premise: they discuss the consequences of urban renewal and bourgeois culture for the disappearance of the working class.

In summary, the "der Rote Wedding" song and archive material of the May revolt in both films provide an example in which historical footage from the time of the workers' resistance does not provide a detailed background or contextual information. Rather, historical footage should capture the overall zeitgeist during the labor movement. Beate Schlanstein, editor for historical formats at the *WDR*, summarizes this intent by recognizing archive material as a "wonderful time machine" for "transporting the viewer at once from the present to another era in the past" (Schlanstein, 2008, p. 209, my translation). Reversely one could say that the song "der Rote Wedding" is also a great opportunity for the films to evoke a feeling of presence for a bygone working-class tradition. The song enforces the worker movement as strong and united while simultaneously dramatizing the movement's historical decline. In this way, the films, who emphasize the political core of the former working-class neighborhood Wedding, can celebrate the politically strong movement that could make its claims be heard in public, and at the time bemoan its vanishing visibility in contemporary considerations of the Wedding.

Generalizing 'real' misery: De- and re-contextualization of proletarian films from the 1920s

The previous comparison of the two films and their use of the same archive material demonstrates that archive footage cannot be considered an unproblematic historical document that contains the same information for all contexts it is used in. Rather, the material constitutes a storytelling device for filmmakers and contains dramaturgical functions which significantly alter their meaning depending on the way the material is staged within the overall montage. For film directors, the evidence function of historical sources often steps back in favor of "illustrative, emotionalizing, dramatizing, and rhythm-providing" intentions of using historical material (Lorenzen, 2015, p. 82, my translation), as could be seen in editor Schlanstein's commentary on archive material as a "time machine." While the act of assigning narrative function to historical documents is not called into question here,[46] a bigger problem arises with the disappearance and dramaturgical reappropriation of historical, social and political contexts of archive material, when in fact the footage claims to do just that.

As archive material is used in various ways by media (e.g., to dramatize, emotionalize, etc.) exceeding its primary use as historical source, difficulties and inconsistencies can easily sneak into the process. In the context of TV productions and historical documentaries, Jan Lorenzen points to the "problematic of so-called authenticity" (p. 81) inherent in almost all uses of archive material. Archive material generally assigns authenticity to narrated events on television and in other media; it evokes the impression for the audience that what has been shown and told had really happened that way (ibid.). According to Lorenzen, a frequent example of inconsistencies are materials that have been decontextualized, either before or after directors get in touch with them. Decontextualization can occur with regard to place, time and the image's content, and its cause and function has to be considered for each and individual case (p. 85). The embedding of the "der Rote Wedding" song in WAS WURDE AUS DEM ROTEN KIEZ can function as an example of the decontextualization of time.

46 Regardless to genre affiliation, film is always staged so that even a most carefully produced and accurate documentary involves decisions of storytelling and aesthetical embedment.

A closer look on WAS WURDE AUS DEM ROTEN KIEZ reveals that the filmmakers have rather liberally allocated historical facts and dates: the film uses a version of the "der Rote Wedding" song which had presumably been adjusted by Ernst Busch *after* World War II, whereas the original version is estimated to be written around 1929 as a reaction to political attacks by the fascists. The problem is that because both versions were produced during different time periods, their content likewise differs: the new lines added by Busch, which are used in WAS WURDE AUS DEM ROTEN KIEZ, do not refer to the actual Bloody May event and therefore make less sense when used in this context. The supporting song text for the film images about the May events goes as follows: "And even if the enemy killed our best/ The Wedding will return; Berlin stays red/ So that Germany belongs to the German people."[47] The nationalistic idea of Germany belonging to the German people in the last part of the song seems odd for the usual worker song rhetoric which often frames fascists as the movement's main opponent. Other worker songs of the late 1920s (including the previous version of "der Rote Wedding" by Eisler and Weinert) are in fact calling for solidarity between workers *across* nations, parties and questions of race in a common fight against Hitler (Knopf, 2001, p. 200).[48] Thus one could ask: why these song lines about the Germans?

After World War II, for the communist Busch, the USA posed the main threat to the working class as the major incarnation of capitalism. Busch therefore added the passage "so that Germany belongs to the German people" in protest against the occupying allied forces in an attempt to mobilize the work force against infiltrating ideas of capitalism.[49] Decontextualization happened as the song lost part of this historicity of having experienced a process of re-writing and re-appropriation – all song versions being a concrete response to the political situation of their time. Instead, the focus shifted to the

47 German original: "Und schlug auch der Feind uns're Besten tot, der Wedding kommt wieder, Berlin bleibt Rot, damit Deutschland den Deutschen gehört." [02:00-02:15]

48 Another classical worker song, the *solidarity song* by Bertolt Brecht and Eisler, repeatedly calls for solidarity and includes "the black, the white, the brown, the yellow" into their call (Heister, 2013).

49 Being a protest against capitalism, Busch's extended version of the song actually seems quite fitting in the general context of WAS WURDE AUS DEM ROTEN KIEZ, which interprets the new bourgeois culture and cosmopolitism as the new development in the Wedding finally erasing the last bits and pieces of the "Red" tradition. Nevertheless, placing the song as support for images of the May events is a de-contextualized use of historical sources.

illustrating function of the song to capture the atmosphere of fierce worker resistance and to transport the zeitgeist. What is important for the film is the traces of a zeitgeist in the song, not the history the object has experienced itself.

One argument in defense of the film is that discussing a topic like the vanishing working-class neighborhood is posing a very pragmatic challenge to the filmmakers. They have to juggle its subject's elusiveness in the present with an authentic depiction of the past although material from that time can be rare. It often lacks adequate footage of the depicted event (for example, because video material went missing or was not considered record-worthy in the first place). Filmmakers then have to be inventive in order to refer to their subject while simultaneously maintaining the authenticity of that which is portrayed. This balancing act becomes even more of a stretch as productions of television aim to entertain their audience. Since both films were placed in prominent positions within *SFB*'s and *ARD*'s program, on Sunday and Friday, the films were expected to offer a captivating documentary. Considering again the "time machine function" of archive material as mentioned by Schlanstein, it becomes clear that television production has to deal with audience expectation, demands of entertainment, and the conservation of its source material's characteristics at the same time. Using the modified version of the song "der Rote Wedding" seems like a minor issue in this context that nevertheless fulfills its function to bring a part of working-class tradition back to life.

Considering the authenticity promise of *images*, the decontextualized use of archive material entails bigger consequences. Lorenzen highlights the significant role of the visual for attesting authenticity to a historical documentary (2015, p. 81). Whereas contemporary witnesses are used in documentaries to narrate their own personal story and perspective, and whose credibility is then judged by the audience, visual footage, for Lorenzen, immediately verifies the process itself (p. 82; see also Hißnauer, 2011, pp. 117-137). Original recordings are proof that an event has really taken place; even more so, they are able to transport a major sentiment and message about the event within just one frame. Precisely because of their significance as documents, images can have a strong impact on the way history is going to be told and perceived.

NAHAUFNAHME relies on archive material at different points in its narration to bring back atmospheric visions of working-class life during the Weimar Republic. A sequence, for instance, depicts poor and drunken men on the streets, exemplifying the misery of many workers after World War I. An off-narrator talks about the consequences of the war, which were "especially devastating for the working-class districts" [15:52, my translation]. Noteworthy is the narrator's mention of "working-class districts" in the plural: the narrator thereby generalizes the content of the footage to talk about the overall situation of the working class in Berlin after World War I. In contrast to that, the remaining part of the film is exclusively about the Wedding. The following sequence of black and white images of workers at the labor office (Image 4, 16:00), on the bench (Image 5, 16:01) and drunken in the streets (Image 6, 16:16) is therefore primarily used to represent everyday life and misery due to the inflation and economic crisis, while altogether it remains unclear where the images came from – and whether they are, indeed, *authentic* footage.

Fig. 2 (Image 4, 5 & 6 Capture NAHAUFNAHME, The misery of workers)

The sequence's origin actually goes back to the period between 1924 and 1930, when the production of worker films and films about the situation of the working-class had reached a peak (see ch. 2.2). Way before television started to produce content on its own, film teams had gone out into the streets to depict conditions of life and work in so-called working-class neighborhoods, delivering valuable testimonies on the condition of the working class from a worker-affiliated standpoint – later even attempting a perspective from the working class. Television production with historical content relies on film and photography from this era. The representative footage in the sequence

is most likely [50] taken from two silent movies produced in these heydays of filmic activity on the working class: MUTTER KRAUSENS FAHRT INS GLÜCK[51] (1929; hereafter MUTTER KRAUSE) and WIE DER ARBEITER WOHNT (1930).

MUTTER KRAUSE [52] by director Piel Jutzi is one of the most significant feature films of the proletarian cultural movement in the 1920s (Michaelis, 1980, p. 103). The film remains one of the few commercial successes gaining broad approval among a proletarian audience. Although the film is a fictional story about the tragic struggle of a worker family for financial survival, its story is preceded by short documentary scenes capturing everyday situations in working-class districts in Berlin (e.g., Images 5 and 6). This prelude generally functions to situate the story within a realistic working-class setting aiming to provide a differentiated portrayal of the 'Zille milieu' during the Great Depression. These films were therefore often characterized as "proletarian-*realist* movie[s]" (p. 109) and their main goal was to unite working people by drawing attention to the shortcomings and conditions of their existence. Next to an appealing storyline, filmic strategies promoting authenticity and a realist aesthetic have therefore been major means for filmmakers to address the working class, often leading to a genre mix typical for the proletarian film. Most popular were feature films with more or less obvious documentary elements, but there were also documentaries with a tendency to fictive narration (e.g., WIE DER ARBEITER WOHNT).

Also, in the case of MUTTER KRAUSE, the documentary sequences in the beginning demonstrate a strong narrating tendency. After every new theme, the sequences are interspersed with explanatory excerpts of hand-writings by Heinrich Zille, who is taking on the role of the sympathetic observer of the working-class milieu as it has commonly been attributed to him. His quotes are guidelines for the audience on

50 An uncertainty remains because these old films regularly use the same video footage. One can assume that directors like Piel Jutsi and Slatan Dudow worked closely together, and exchanged and reused material for new films since the shooting of film material was expensive. However, one can conclude from the selection of images, the montage and image quality from which films the material was likely taken.

51 Several versions of MUTTER KRAUSE exist. It is believed that the film was shortened and re-edited immediately after its premiere at *Alhambra* at the Kurfürstendamm in Berlin. The following analysis refers to the reconstructed version of the Munich Film Museum, which organized preserved fragments and copies according to the original film script.

52 Time codes in the analysis refer to MUTTER KRAUSENS FAHRT INS GLÜCK (1929), reconstructed version of the Munich Film Museum, played on VLC Player.

how to judge the depicted situations. For instance, images of backyards with playing children are described as "the dark world of servants and slaves" [02:26, my translation]. Zille's sharp social commentary pointedly illustrates the proletarian film's intended political message and shall ultimately attest the image's authenticity. Against this foreshadowing harsh reality, the film then begins to tell its story about the Krause family by a tracking shot across the backyards into the window of Krause's apartment, in which the audience can see a couple dancing cheerfully [06:10]. Thus, although these scenes might claim documentary quality because they are shots taken from real street scenarios, their selection, choice of topic and montage clearly fulfill a persuasive, even openly propagandistic goal.

NAHAUFNAHME deprives the footage of this original political intention by re-contextualizing the images into a new narrative structure and deleting the Zille commentary. Being used to only represent the misery after World War I, the images in the TV documentary lose something of their original intention to depict working-class life in its full variety. What went missing, amongst others, is the moral aspect that the film MUTTER KRAUSE saw in its worker subject. Despite tough living and working conditions to which some residents indeed surrendered, the audience sees protagonists and other characters also in moments of joy (e.g., the dancing couple), of virtuousness, with a sense of morality, and sometimes even in a defiant fighting spirit (e.g., when daughter Erna joins the labor movement). The depicted miserable conditions of these people are used to contrast and heighten the working-class character, whereas in the new context of NAHAUFNAHME the one-sided representation degrades workers into a bunch of pitiful drunken people. For example, the footage of street scenes and drunken men is accompanied by the film's narrator: "In 1923, the mayor of Berlin […] stated: 'Poverty and hardship are gradually suffocating every feeling of order, cleanliness and morality […].'"[53] The new auditive characterization of the material therefore goes against the actual intention of the footage to show workers being able to respond to their situation.

A similar decontextualization happens with two black and white scenes taken from WIE DER ARBEITER WOHNT directed by Slatan

53 German original: "1923 stellte der Berliner Oberbürgermeister […] fest: 'Die Not erstickt allmählich jedes Gefühl von Ordnung, Sauberkeit und Sitte […].'" [16:05-16:14]

Dudow. These two scenes directly precede the material taken from MUTTER KRAUSE and support the 'poor people' narrative by showing people entering the employment office in search of work (e.g., Image 4). WIE DER ARBEITER WOHNT is a socio-critical short documentary film, however, it montages the filmic material with a strong preference for narrative presentation. The scenes, which are themselves unnarrated documentary scenes on aspects of working-class life, are thoughtfully arranged one after another so that they are suggestively embedded into a fictive plot about rising rental prices and the illegitimate eviction of a worker family by a horrifying landlord. The two scenes in the employment office, which are selected by NAHAUFNAHME, show the worker's hopeless attempt to find work in order to cope with the rent increase he had just received. However, NAHAUFNAHME only extracts these two scenes without giving further context and rebrands them as evidence of mass misery of a growing "army of unemployed people" [15:54-16:00]. This changes the connotation of the images. In the original version, the images could have also been interpreted to demonstrate a worker taking action despite his desolate situation. But the images now lose a lot of their actual subtle characterization of the working class. Instead, even in the case of WIE DER ARBEITER WOHNT, the material is rather valued for its documentary quality of depicting scenes from the 1920s that fit a late-1980s perspective, which only sees generalized misery in worker slums in the industrialized city instead of individual characters.

In addition to and as a consequence of decontextualization, Lorenzen lists another problem of using archive material: archive material that has not originally been produced for documentary purposes (alone) but subsequently receives the status of a document and claims authenticity[54] (Lorenzen, 2015). This can be argued to be the case if using footage from MUTTER KRAUSE, which is a feature film and whose images were re-appropriated for documentary purposes by TV programs. For NAHAUFNAHME, a production from the 1980s, the revolutionary thought of proletarian film is less relevant than the assumed authentic representation of the period, which is believed to be transmitted by the visual material from the turn of the century. The TV film uncritically follows the narrative of MUTTER KRAUSE (and WIE DER ARBEITER WOHNT) by ascribing authenticity to

54 Significant examples of decontextualization and authenticating sources can be found in propaganda material from World War II.

these images and turning them into documents of their time. However, even the original's authenticity could be doubted. Firstly, MUTTER KRAUSE and WIE DER ARBEITER WOHNT both use the same pool of images. The films show the same scenes with a slightly different angle and sometimes the scenes are shot a moment sooner or later. These images also appear in other proletarian films of the time like IM SCHATTEN DER WELTSTADT (1930) by Albrecht Viktor Blum. It is therefore even hard to tell the image's origin back then. Images are used for different purposes and interpretation and are not objective documents of their time. Secondly, the (nearly) propagandistic intention of both early films is neither mentioned nor questioned by TV's adaption of the material. The actual moral and political character of these images is left out in favor of pleading the evidence character of the images to depict the period after World War I. For Lorenzen, this usage of archive material becomes especially problematic as soon as both functions of the material – the material as evidence and as a narrative tool – overlap and are no longer distinguishable for the audience (p. 88).

NAHAUFNAHME even uses a detour to authenticate its material. If NAHAUFNAHME simply copied the original way of presenting the images with, for instance, Zille's text passages, they would have exposed the used footage as extracts from a staged feature film. The credibility of the images as undoubted historical documents would have suffered in the eyes of a TV audience from 1987. So instead, the directors have re-edited the auditive level, changed the sequence of images and cut out all text passages by Zille in order to tell a more neutrally considered story about the Great Depression in Berlin. The distanced reporting style also corresponds to the commentator who replaces Zille as a narrative authority. Ironically, the film thereby takes a circular detour to authenticate their material in that they extract the images from their localization in the Wedding milieu (by not mentioning that they are shot in the Wedding for MUTTER KRAUSE) to talk more generally about the 'great misery' in Berlin, only to make the footage again exemplary for the district Wedding in the further course of their documentary.

4.1.2 Historical expeditions to the working-class origin of Berlin

After looking at different uses of archive material and their problems, the following chapter analyzes how these strategies are put to work in the overall narrative of both films and their discussion about the contemporary situation of the working class in a modernizing district. Archive material has been central to both films, on the one hand, to back up historical events with visual evidence, and on the other hand, as a narrative tool and dramaturgical element in support of their story. What could be observed is a change in the attribution of meaning and authenticity to the images by transferring early film footage into the logics and practices of television. Most noticeable in this transformation is the change in perspectives taken on the material and on working-class culture. The originally very intimate depiction of the working class sought by the proletarian film around 1930, with its inclusion of morality to mediate between the private level and wider social conditions, is externalized in favor of an investigative journalistic view from the outside. 'From the outside' also means a historical perspective from the present society, which looks back on its past and understands working-class culture as part of it. This chapter will examine how a historical perspective is taken by the films to explore working-class tradition in the district as part of narrating an 'original' Berlin, and how this originality claim is used against new influences of bourgeois and capitalist culture.

Comparing old and new uses of archive footage, a most obvious expression of an externalized perspective on working-class life can be found in NAHAUFNAHME reusing a tracking shot of MUTTER KRAUSE. In the original version, the shot is meant to transfer the storytelling from the documentary scenario preceding the film to the interior space of the fictional life of the Krause family (Sequence 1). Above the roofs of worker houses, the film camera approaches a window of a tenement

Fig. 3 (Sequence 1 Capture MUTTER KRAUSE, An intimate view of proletarian life)

house and stops right in front of it. The screen then changes to a sheet of paper with the written words “There lives” [06:24] on it, metaphorically entering Krause’s world through the window. In the following, the camera zooms into the interior space of the Krause’s, where the audience is introduced to the dancing night lodger, Mother Krause and her daughter. The dancing scene of Krause’s daughter is embedded in a series of semi-documentary parallel shots of other people in the house and on the streets listening to a hurdy-gurdyist and amusing themselves.

The scene of the joyful crowd in the backyard and tenement house is a strong contrast to the depressing documentary scenes of poor people preceding the dance. Despite the denouncing depiction of unhealthy and dangerous living conditions, the film’s message is that there is ‘real’ life and people behind the walls (and circumstances). The inhabitants have fun, they dance and laugh, and even quarrel with each other. The camera moves closer to the inhabitants and observes the hustle in the backyards with medium shots and close-ups of faces, bodies and the barrel organ. The audience is allowed an intimate view behind the grey facades of worker barracks, in which the film attempts to depict its characters in their seemingly natural behavior. Even in the documentary sequences of the film’s beginning, laughing children and joyful, drunken men prove a kind of resilience to the otherwise bleak conditions under which they have to live. Many pictures, after all, depict the inhabitants of the Wedding in a somewhat humorous and oddly adorable way, bringing more complex characters to the screen than just victims of their living circumstances.

Fig. 4 (Sequence 2 Capture NAHAUFNAHME, Expeditions to the historical neighborhood)

In contrast to this intimate view, NAHAUFNAHME uses the same tracking shot to tell a rather distanced story about working-class life during the Weimar Republic. This short scene is embedded in additional black and white footage of front yards and backyards, sometimes watched from a camera behind the clothesline, sometimes

through a panning shot along a house facade (Sequence 2). The images are accompanied by quotes of famous authors like Alfred Döblin, Arno Holz and Franz Hessel, whose text excerpts describe the look, sound, smell and feeling of these neighborhoods. The MUTTER KRAUSE sequence is commented on in Hessel's notes from his urban exploration, collected in his 1929 book *Walking in Berlin: A Flaneur in the Capital*, in which he states:

> In order to get an impression of the lives of the [neighborhood] residents, one has to advance into the backyards. Anyone can learn who is given the opportunity to climb the hollow stairs to poor kitchen-cum-living rooms with their cabbage mist and bedrooms with a sour baby smell.[55] (Hessel, 1929/1984, p. 220, my translation)

Like in the original version, the image stops in front of the tenement house window. However, MUTTER KRAUSE invites the audience in and switches perspectives to the intimate life of the working class in their homes. The image in NAHAUFNAHME instead slowly dissolves into a photograph of the front of *Meyerhof*, a very symbolic complex of narrowly placed tenement houses. The audience can neither take a look inside the houses nor develop their own impression of the situation on the basis of the footage. Perceptions are solely mediated by authors who had been living in the late 1920s and (except for Holz, who had actually spent a part of his life in the Wedding) went on explorations to other districts outside their own social affiliation.

By the very haptic description of his experience, Hessel takes the audience on a walk with him through the narrow streets and courts of the district. His descriptions aim at providing an empathetic image of what he sees. Hessel observes and describes with the view of an outsider, offering an externalized perspective on the lives of the poor urban working-class. Functioning as the main narrator to the visual footage in the scene of NAHAUFNAHME, the original material from MUTTER KRAUSE, which had been produced by the proletarian film in an attempt to offer cultural representations *for* the working-class (which meant to take in their perspective), is re-appropriated in the spirit of early ethnographic travel literature and of early filmic expeditions (Ch. 2.2). The camera alternately scans the workers' barracks and yards with pans from left to right, and from top to bottom.

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55 German original: "Wer Gelegenheit hat, die dumpfen Stiegen hinaufzusteigen bis zu den armseligen Wohnküchen mit ihrem Kohldunst und den Schlafkammern mit dem säuerlichen Säuglingsgeruch, kann lernen." (Hessel, 1929/1984, p. 220)

These investigating images used by the film underly Hessel's words and fit his neighborhood description in that they offer curious studies of the urban environment and its people, expressing curiosity and horror, empathy and disgust at the same time – quite in the tradition of literate descriptions from the 1920s and 1930s (Bienert, 1992, p. 137).

The written and visual examinations attempted to provide an entertaining *as well as* educating element for the explorer and his audience, as it is indicated by Hessel's final remark about how "anyone can learn" about the lives of the people. In the name of sociological explorations, other milieus – like the working class – were studied and characterized by an outside person who delved into the unknown world. [56] These travel reports, which were published frequently in newspaper feuilletons and books, had been an early medium for people to see from a distance and learn about other social realities, making these reports a popular piece of information and entertainment. In this sense, they still reflect a (self-)conception of television to offer a 'window to the world' through combining entertainment with a sense of informative reportage. It is not surprising that the literary travel reportage is one of the precursors for the reportage on television (Hißnauer, 2011, p. 233), and travelling still represents one of the most popular topics for the TV documentary genre.

What can the modern TV audience learn from NAHAUFNAHME's 'expedition' into the working-class history of Wedding? NAHAUFNAHME interprets the archive footage from the perspective of its mid 1980s context and asks about its meaning for Wedding's identity. The film's use of black and white material is however not so much guided by a sociological expedition. After all, there are over 50 years in between the release of both films and a working-class expression of industrial life barely exists anymore. Motivation is rather based on a *historical* interest in working-class districts: How did they develop? What did they look like? And how did this part of Wedding's history contribute to Berlin's character? Images of the working-class neighborhood and its inhabitants on TV are thus not so much a horizontal journey to 'the other side of the city' like they used to be in 1925. They rather take the viewer on a vertical tour through time, interpretively situating the material in the course of historical

56 Despite these traversing people, the travel rather demonstrated the demarcation of social positionings, which stayed visible and feasible at all times (p. 141).

events. In this historical journey, the Red Wedding is treated as a memorable part of Berlin's history, whose story the film tries to capture and preserve. Right at the beginning, the commentator makes clear that the Wedding is the only district in Berlin where the 'original' Berliner can still be found. NAHAUFNAHME thereby writes the 'Red' tradition in the very character of Berlin, and the search for the Red Wedding becomes a search for Berlin identity, ultimately explaining the interest in exploring Wedding's history.

The exploration to Berlin's core is mediated by a journalist during the interviews and by a distanced off-narrator who contextualizes the images. The off-narrator lends the overall film a strong narrative touch and provides the general framework in which images are understood by the audience. This voice of authority is relevant to TV productions because television already offers a visual presentation of a situation (unlike literature and radio, which have to first create that image for their audience). The reporter is thus obliged to go "beyond the image" and penetrate the material with a commentary, making the "accompanying word" at least as important for television as the visual mediation (Eckert, 1953, p. 80f.). This is particularly true for the classification of historical events. For example, when the film discusses the plant closure of the AEG factory, it depicts footage from worker demonstrations against the closure in 1982 (Image 7, 25:42). The narrator frames the footage by highlighting the massive impact this event had for the district.

In addition to that, the journalist in NAHAUFNAHME provides the concrete side of narrational intend, which goes beyond historical facts and facades. In place of the audience, he explores the neighborhood and conducts interviews with inhabitants and former workers of the Wedding. In these personal talks, the identity crisis caused by the break-away of industrial locations in the Wedding becomes particularly feasible. One interview sequence with a former worker of the AEG factory especially emphasizes the connectedness of Wedding's industrial history with Berlin. The interview takes place at the former AEG factory site, whose red-brick factory building was "a symbol of Berlin as industrial metropole."[57] After talking about the worker's disappointment in losing his job after decades at AEG, the interview precedes to the loss of history for the whole district.

57 German original: "Die von dem Architekten Peter Behrens entworfenen Fabrikbauten wurden zu einem Symbol Berlins als Industriemetropole." [25:00-25:07]

Between the journalist and worker one can see the old AEG gate reflected in the glass facade of a new computer company that replaced some of the factory buildings (Image 8, 26:20). After the interview, the camera pans out with a focus on the gate: "The old AEG gate as a mirror image in the glossy facade of a computer factory - 100 years of industrial history in Wedding in contrast."[58] What had however been "rescued from the pickax"[59] has officially been acknowledged as part of Berlin's history. Some buildings were announced as listed monuments as the commentator affirmatively explains. One of them is the machine hall – "the cathedral of labor" (Image 9, 28:35). Other buildings are continuing tradition by hosting new tech companies in the context of an initiative of the Berlin Senate.

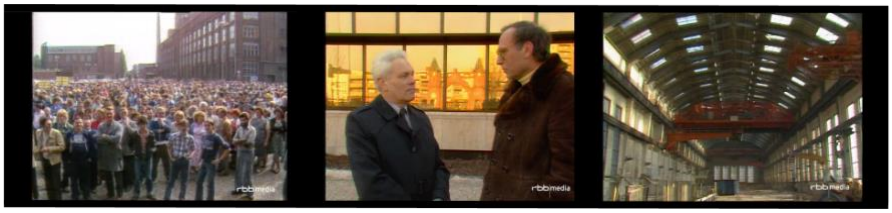

Fig. 5 (Image 7, 8 & 9 Capture NAHAUFNAHME, Industrial history in Wedding)

NAHAUFNAHME generally takes effort to picture a balanced portrait of the Wedding, mentioning the political impact of the worker movement as well as everyday life and economic developments in the district. It however places working-class tradition in an ambivalent position. On the one hand, it emphasizes the hardships of living in the former working-class neighborhood and thereby acknowledges the infamous sides of this story. On the other hand, it celebrates working-class culture and its role for Berlin's identity. Especially the symbolic and folkloric style of the working class as inscribed in the film's idea of an 'original Berlin.' An example in case is the proudly sung working-class song at the beginning and end of the film. NAHAUFNAHME closes

58 German original: "Das alte AEG-Tor als Spiegelbild in der Hochglanzfassade einer Computerfabrik – 100 Jahre Weddinger Industriegeschichte im Kontrast." [27:30-27:40]

59 German original: "Auf dem AEG-Gelände noch vorhanden: die Großmaschinenhalle – eine Kathedrale der Arbeit. Hochspannungs-, Kleinmotoren- und Neue-Bahn-Fabrik konnten vor der Spitzhacke gerettet werden. 1986 wurden sie unter Denkmalschutz gestellt. Heute sind sie Bestandteil eines vom Berliner Senat gegründeten Technologie- und Innovationsparks." [28:27-29:00]

by revisiting the music society in a pub saying: "The Wedding – that's more than just a district in Berlin. It's part of the old Berlin."[60]

'Original' Berlin vs. a new bourgeois lifestyle

The previous chapter discussed how working-class history is considered an important part of Berlin's identity by NAHAUFNAHME. Reestablishing the memory of working-class tradition for the city is also the aim of WAS WURDE AUS DEM ROTEN KIEZ. The film's intent is however less a historical travel to the city's roots. Rather, the film offers a political (re-)visualization of the 'Red' tradition in defiance of urban and social restructuring processes in the present. Its perspective is based on a similarly essentializing view of the Wedding attributing a 'real' and 'authentic' Berlin character to the district in opposition to new developments contrastingly characterized as superficial and nonspecific. This chapter analyzes how WAS WURDE AUS DEM ROTEN KIEZ uses the memory of the Red Wedding to establish a narrative of originality against the perceived threat of cosmopolitan culture.

WAS WURDE AUS DEM ROTEN KIEZ starts with a historical introduction of the Wedding, using archive footage that demonstrates decisive moments in history. The commentator and the archive footage draw an adventurous picture of the time. After the Wilhelminian years, the capital Berlin would become the industrial center, and factories "spring up like mushrooms from the sandy Märkisch ground," dragging masses of workers into the city and resulting in the "typical proletarian housing." [61] Images of the bustling streets of the Gründerzeit are superseded by shots of big, spinning wheels and machines in factories. The film uses images of anonymized people moving around as an allegory for movement and progress, forming a rhythmic collage of a busy city. The film thereby visualizes a forward movement in history with the Wedding as its fruitful and at times

60 German original: "Der Wedding – das ist mehr 122l sein Berliner Bezirk. Es ist ein Teil des alten Berlin." [42:08-42:14]

61 German original: "Die Betriebe schossen wie Pilze aus dem Märkischen Sandboden. […] Auf diese Weise wuchsen in den damals noch dörflichen Vororten Wedding und Prenzlauer Berg Berlins neue Industrieviertel. Gleichzeitig siedelten ganze Arbeiterheere um die Fabriken herum. Arbeiter, die Unterkunft brauchten. Die Mietskaserne wurde erfunden. Die typische proletarier Wohnung […]." [03:10-03:38]

unruly ground: staging World War I, with the economic crisis and poverty, the Nazis finally conquered the 'Red' district and started World War II, eventually resulting in post-war destruction and the separation of Germany and Berlin. The Wedding is functioning as a historical stage that is played upon by many different actors in the course of its development. The political overview offered by the film and the choice of words (here provided in extracts) make clear that the district had been up to a destructive push and pull. The film finally asks by blending in its title against the background of a destroyed city panorama: "What happened to the Red district?" [04:33, my translation].

The historicizing perspective facilitates an 'origin' narrative supporting only one option as the 'real' and 'authentic' Berlin. At the least, this has to do with an understanding of linearly progressing history to the present day. A feeling of continuity is evoked by using archive material within a certain local and temporal framework which carefully considers not to interrupt the experience of continuity with the audience. Different stages of German history are told to proceed in a seemingly effortless and logical way up to the present. The successively organized material suggests a present society inevitably springing from history with the Red Wedding as a common ground. Although the original recordings of the Weimar Republic are decontextualized from their origin in the proletarian cultural movement, they are used to represent situations, feelings, and conditions of that same period, retaining its promise of authenticity. They adhere to the conformity of space and time, providing a seemingly coherent picture of history (Lorenzen, 2015, p. 86).

In the remaining film, WAS WURDE AUS DEM ROTEN KIEZ hardly uses any kind of archive material (at least, it is not recognizable as such) and instead focuses on neighborhood developments respectively in East and West Berlin. The film's picture of the present time in the Wedding looks like snapshots of a massive reconstruction area. Debris and fallow land are filmed where houses and residents so rich in history used to be (Image 10, 07:05). The images are contrasting each other, opposing the long-standing history of the Wedding with a dead landscape that emerges on the drawing board. The accusation that can be heard in the film is that working-class history is literally being erased and causes people to forget about this identity-giving part of Berlin.

Just like NAHAUFNAHME, the rejection of the new is turned into a glorification of the old. WAS WURDE AUS DEM ROTEN KIEZ appreciates folkloric culture of the working-class at different points in its narrative. For instance, the first scene after the historical introduction, in which the film switches from archive images into the colorful present time, shows a barrel organ player playing his instrument in the backyard of an old tenement house. A voice-over explains that the viewer would witness a reenacted scene and that such a "deceiving nostalgia" [05:20] will only emanate from "old, yellowed pictures" [05:22] as working-class tradition is vanishing. Reenactment emphasizes a lack of presence – in this case, of recent performances of the working class in the city. It shows a process of urban renewal on the threshold of sealing the working class into a yellowed picture,[62] urging the question of what stage comes next for society. Although the film reminds us to not fall into a "deceiving nostalgia," it nevertheless does evoke nostalgic feelings by presenting the organ player as a lost cultural good. Also, the worker song at the beginning of the film brings back memories of a lively worker movement in comparison to the images of deadly silent construction grounds following the archive footage. These two cases demonstrate an essentialist view defining working-class culture as an inevitable attribute of Berlin identity. Working-class neighborhoods are naturalized; their formation and authority remain unquestioned throughout the film. Instead, they are essentially told as the original character.

Fig. 6 (Image 10, 11 & 12 Capture WAS WURDE, Discrepancies of modernization)

This critical perspective on Wedding's development informs the film's perspective on the 'new' inhabitants in the neighborhood – migrant workers from Turkey. An interview scene places a migrant family in front of their television, which airs an episode of Charlie

62 In the show DAMALS WAR's, one can see how the whole film WAS WURDE AUS DEM ROTEN KIEZ has turned into a document of its time. The remediation is analyzed in the final sub-chapter.

Chaplin's MODERN TIMES which embodies industrial culture. Although not further commented, the setting illustrates the migrant worker's odd positioning between Wedding's industrial past and a modern narrative of cosmopolitan culture. An exemplary scene captures dull-looking housing facades of a typical post-war building. According to the narrator, 'old' residents of the Wedding miss local supply shops such as butchers, corner stores and bakeries in the desolate area. The voice-over suggests immigrants could fill these blank positions, but a contrasting cut to the next scene implies that they rather enjoy themselves in a Turkish bar (Image 11, 09:37). Accompanied by a Turkish singer in the background, the narrator delineates an exotic world "like in Thousand and One Night"[63]. Soon after, he reminds the viewer that the story is still taking place "in the good, old Red Wedding" [08:56].

Ideas of *heimat*, nationality, and identity are further played off against each other by the narrator simplifying the migrants' background story as follows: West Berlin would be the third largest city of Turkey with 100.000 Turkish descent citizens – the Wedding inhabiting over 20.000 people alone. Many of the migrants came to Berlin ten years ago and made themselves at home by now. Feeling at home in Berlin is presented by people dancing in a bar and by the pursuit of a "jet set" lifestyle by wearing "symbols of an illustrious Bohemian society."[64] But this kind of belonging to the Wedding and Berlin would be an illusion, the film claims: Turkish people only adopted cosmopolitanism, but their far-away 'real' *heimat* is somewhere else:

> At the end of every disco night, […] the fiddler bemoans the misery of peasants in the poor villages of Anatolia. […] Turkish people in the Wedding – these are first and foremost poor people who had moved northward, to the rich Germans, to earn and save money.[65]

63 German original: "Melodien und orientalischen Klänge, wie aus Tausend und Einer Nacht. Man glaubt sich versetzt in die Welt der Sultane und Kalifen oder auch nur ins Nachtleben von Istanbul. Und man befindet sich doch im guten, roten, alten Kiez." [08:36-08:57]

64 German original: "Man umhüllt sich mit den Schickeria-Symbolen der großen weiten Jetset-Welt." [09:39-09:44]

65 German original: "Und am Ende jeder Diskonacht, erklingt das Lied der fernen Heimat – beklagt der Fiedler das Elend der Bauern in den Dörfern Anatoliens. Türken am Wedding – das sind vor allem Arme Leute, die nach Norden zogen, ins Land der reichen Deutschen, um Geld zu machen und zu sparen." [09:15-10:22]

Between being poor people in their home country and viewing the illusionary image of modernist symbols in Berlin, the harsh reality would look different. Again, the film jumps to another contrasting scene of women processing material in the ruins of a construction site (Image 12, 10:34). The commentator adds: "Turkish people in the Wedding today – female labor like at home, waste recycling in the clearance area."[66] The film attempts to lay bare the discrepancies of modernization processes in urban space and to foster narratives of place, 'real' belonging and national identity against a generalizing, illusionary cosmopolitanism.

Turkish migrants are hard-working and poor, yet they are not viewed as a continuation of a working-class tradition in the district. Later on, the film presents a more conciliatory perspective by recognizing that most Turkish people follow an "ordinary job, contributing to the increase of the German gross natural product."[67] Their integration into the German labor market is praised, however, the migrants' labor is viewed differently in comparison to the industrial work force formerly constituting the working class. Hard work and affiliation to a lower class are apparently not the criteria the film follows in outlining working-class culture in the Wedding. Although it certainly has to do with issues of race, the demarcating criterion is above all based on an idea of 'original Berliness' based on the working-class tradition in the district.

Also, the film NAHAUFNAHME connects the idea of a "prototypical Berliner" [00:37] with the working-class residents of the Wedding. Similar to WAS WURDE AUS DEM ROTEN KIEZ it confronts recent urban renewal projects and the arrival of Turkish and Yugoslavian migrants with the district's changing face and the diminishing of working-class culture a.k.a. the 'typical' Berlin. Turkish workers take over small businesses in the backyards of typical tenement houses and practice their religion in a former factory building – nonetheless, they are considered a rupture in the development of working-class tradition. The 'Red' tradition, in contrast, would develop its typical character in being a stronghold of the social democrats and later of the communists, regularly staging confrontations with and oppositions to the state and

66 German original: "Türken am Wedding heute, Frauenarbeit wie daheim, Abfallverwerter im Sanierungsgebiet." [10:26-10:37]

67 German original: "Die Meisten aber gehen hier ihrer ordentlichen Arbeit nach und helfen das deutsche Nationalprodukt zu mehren." [11:42-11:48]

society. A unionized political voice of the workers is defined to be a major element in the formation and characterization of "the classical working-class district"[68]. Compared to this very politically understood tradition of the Wedding, the film characterizes new migrant residents as conservative or apolitical.

A lost political perspective for the working class and the filmmakers

In an interview with young SPD men, who are represented as political spokesperson of the working class, the journalist in WAS WURDE AUS DEM ROTEN KIEZ asks if the Wedding has become a stepchild. One could observe the city administration and 'old' inhabitants growing apart from each other. An SPD man replies: "Actually, I think what the district lacks is pride in being a working-class district. One wants to leave aside the tradition of an old workers' district, actually a bit like an illegitimate child, […] and not show it to the public."[69] In this quote, the relationship of people to their working-class past is characterized as a question of attitude. It is one of many instances in which the film frames new developments in the Wedding as a *political* question. As the commentator adds, the Wedding "ceases to be a center of political concern" and only plays the role of a "wallflower in Westberlin" [17:16-17:19] pointing to its marginalized role in what the film characterizes as the "relentless way in the becoming of mass society" [17:15] – the allegedly new directionality of society's social and economic efforts.

The downfall of working-class tradition is ubiquitous, according to WAS WURDE AUS DEM ROTEN KIEZ. The film neither approves of a Western or Eastern development. Working-class tradition in the film's narrative is a realm that had been left behind in both systems for the sake of mass society, capitalism and bourgeois culture. The film considers the generalization of society into a 'mass' as so massive that it omits former ideological differences in eastern and western notions

68 German original: "Der Wedding wurde eine Hochburg der Sozialdemokraten, später der Kommunisten. Es entstand ein klassischer Arbeiterbezirk." [12:56]

69 German original: "Ich glaube eigentlich das, was dem Bezirk fehlt, ist der Stolz darauf Arbeiterbezirk zu sein. Man will die Tradition, die man hat als alter Arbeiterbezirk, eigentlich so ein bisschen wie ein uneheliches Kind, wie man das früher gemacht hat, beiseitelassen und nicht der Öffentlichkeit zeigen." [19:12-19:31]

of working-class culture. Shortly before the story leaves the Wedding and leads over to the second part of the documentary about the structurally similar working-class district Prenzlauer Berg in East Berlin, a voice-over opposes the East and West perspective by symbolically peeking over a bridge to the eastern side of the border: "The old working-class traditions have gradually vanished into excessive consumption and prosperity thinking – the Wedding people today are petite bourgeoisie."[70] On the other side of the wall, the journalists will arrive at a similar pessimistic conclusion: in the West, old working-class traditions have nearly disappeared, and in the East, they are "fraught with history of an undoubtedly militant past of class struggles."[71] Although the two political systems look back at different ways of dealing with the idea of a working class, they both result in an orientation toward a bourgeois lifestyle and the turning away from an industrial heritage people are no longer proud of.

In a transitioning Wedding, the film suggests that the unruly voice of the working class is lost and overwritten from the "original" Berlin by other less political and alienated perspectives. Whereas the film WAS WURDE AUS DEM ROTEN KIEZ is pessimistic yet open to the question of what happened to the Red district, NAHAUFNAHME suggests that a 'Red' tradition only remains in the memories: "The Wedding has lost its identity. No poor people's district anymore but no middle-class district either as desired by some."[72] It is as if the Wedding is in a no-man's-land, between the erasure of old structures and the lack of real alternatives: bald office buildings and dreary shops would have taken over the cityscape – streets with standardized new buildings in the becoming of another ordinary street. Both films are similar in their critical tone concerning modernization. They criticize massive redevelopments in the neighborhood that operate recklessly with grown socio-spatial structures and that superimpose official planning concepts which are alienated from the citizens' living reality.

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70 German original: "Die alten Arbeitertraditionen versickern allmählich im Konsumtaumel und Wohlstandsdenken – Kleinbürger sind sie geworden, die Weddinger von heute." [22:30-22:38]

71 German original: "Historische Überfrachtung einer unbestritten klassenkämpferischen Vergangenheit – Anders als im Wedding, wo die Beziehung zur Arbeitertradition fast völlig verloren ging." [42:44-42:53]

72 German original: "Heute hat der Wedding seine Identität weitgehend verloren. Kein arme Leute Bezirk mehr, aber auch kein – wie gewünscht – gut bürgerlicher." [36:26-36:41]

The loss of a political perspective for the neighborhood is described as going hand in hand with the loss of the attributes of uniqueness, warmth and charm. The majority of affected people would be either excluded from political decision-making processes or indifferent to politics, which would have the consequence that new structures in the district lose their meaning and matter for the residents. They would become grey and dull streets without character. Without an original fundament, every expression of bourgeois culture and modernity would seem to fail as hollow and superficial.

Although there are alternative developments in the Wedding introduced by NAHAUFNAHME – for example, it ventures a look ahead about Berlin as a 'mecca' for cardiac surgery and robotic industry – the diminishing of working-class tradition remains a very political concern. The film understands decisions about the future of the district and city in the context of political and moral responsibility. In one of the several short interview situations in which the reporter interacts and reflects on certain aspects of Wedding's development, he asks a CEO why the management of his big company has not moved away from Berlin like so many other companies did before them. The manager replies that he sees it as their moral duty to those employees who "sorted out the mess after the war."[73] The reporter specifies: "Thus, a political decision?" It can be assumed that the very short interview sequence is deliberately chosen and carefully placed between other film sequences talking about directional decisions in Berlin. The reporter emphasizes the weight of the company's decision, therefore allowing it to be staged as a moral and political act of solidarity with the working class. The reference to society's duty toward those who have worked hard is exemplary for the film's general idea about the demand for (political) representation of the working class based on their earnings for what Berlin is today.

Surprising is both NAHAUFNAHME and WAS WURDE AUS DEM ROTEN KIEZ's strong, irreconcilable stance against modernization processes they observe in the Wedding. They respond to an assumed capitalist

73 German original: "Mein früherer Chef, Herr Dr. Reinert Klarg, der den Aufbau hier am Wedding geleitet hat, hat mir einmal gesagt, dass ist in erster Linie die moralische Verpflichtung gegenüber den Mitarbeitern, die nach dem Krieg hier den Karren aus dem Dreck gezogen haben, wie er sich ausdrückte, gewesen ist, die den Vorstand dazu veranlasst hat, hier in Berlin zu bleiben, nicht etwa wirtschaftliche Überlegungen so sehr. [...] Es waren also in erster Linie die moralischen Kategorien. [...]" [31:42-32:06]

generalization of culture with a return to national merits, originality and a prototypical Berlin, also in an attempt to differentiate immigrant residents. The unusually sharp, political message of both films might seem odd compared to the otherwise balanced conventions in the TV program. The films, especially WAS WURDE AUS DEM ROTEN KIEZ, can be understood in the context of a general crisis of socially critical documentaries on television. On the one hand, system critical films and films discussing social taboos have always been at risk to conflict with media conventions and conservative agendas. Since the mid-1970s, television studies have observed a tendency toward conservative reporting styles and a growing conformity of program standards (Zimmermann, 1994, p. 108). On the other hand, Zimmermann interprets the crisis of critical documentaries as an expression of "the failure of the New Left with regard to their claim for practices to change social reality" (ibid., my translation). In his following description of leftist socio-melancholic documentaries, one can find many parallels to NAHAUFNAHME and WAS WURDE AUS DEM ROTEN KIEZ:

> The tendency toward resignation and left-wing melancholy, skeptically observed by many critics of documentary film at the end of the 1970s and early 1980s, and which combined the criticism of societal ills and industrial destruction processes with an occasionally nostalgic search for remedy in the folkloric and the regional[74], [...] is further also an indication of the transformation of a genre that was once considered particularly combative. (ibid., my translation)

As Zimmermann suggests, an interpretation of these films needs to consider changes of a genre and different meanings that are attributed to it. Uses of archive material in terms of de- and re-contextualization are an example of changed attachments of meaning to working-class images. Compared to the "combative" (ibid.) movies from the late 1920s, from which both films borrow sequences, the filmmakers of NAHAUFNAHME and WAS WURDE AUS DEM ROTEN KIEZ have to deal with a completely different reality. The very revolutionary style of early documentary film, and proletarian film in particular, could address workers in a relatively homogeneous living and working environment. They used documentary portraits of the working class and their homes to hold up a mirror to the workers in hope this would trigger resistance to their oppressing conditions. In comparison to that,

74 Chapter 4.2 will show how television's turn to the region in the late 1990s is no longer political.

the filmmakers of NAHAUFNAHME and WAS WURDE AUS DEM ROTEN KIEZ have to deal with the disappearance of working-class culture as postulated by the films for the post-industrial society. These circumstances challenge the militant tradition of worker documentaries. The filmmakers' option is to restore the memory of the 'Red' tradition, but this at times turns into a nostalgic remedy in the folkloric and nationalist idea of Berlin originality. Their aim is to write the Red Wedding into the general history of Berlin to conserve at least in this way its meaning for the next generation.

4.1.3 15 years later: historicization by the show DAMALS WAR'S

The concluding analysis of the remediation of WAS WURDE AUS DEM ROTEN KIEZ by the show DAMALS WAR'S (1994) provides a self-referential perspective on TV production. At first sight, the interest in rebroadcasting a critical documentary from 1979 for a 1990s audience initially speaks against a too narrow understanding of conservative trends on television, which Zimmermann identifies for the period after 1975. By re-presenting the complete film without further cuts and commentaries except for the show's additional introduction and concluding remarks, DAMALS WAR's revalues the critical format and the worker topic presented in it. However, the show does not simply rerun the film. By placing it in a different program context, DAMALS WAR's changes the perspective by which the audience watches the documentary. DAMALS WAR's reinterprets the documentary's relevance in light of current political events in Berlin. One month before this episode of DAMALS WAR'S was aired on August 11, 1994, the Berlin senate had just decided on an extensive administrative reform that contained the merging of districts in order to fight the city's serious financial problems. By broadcasting a documentary about the consequence of separating and newly uniting two working-class neighborhoods, DAMALS WAR'S makes the two neighborhoods exemplary for the destiny of all Berlin in face of an imminent administrative reform. In consequence, the documentary speaks to concerned Berlin citizens in general, and to a historically oriented audience in particular that regularly watches the show at 10:15 pm on

Thursdays. At the border of the primetime program, DAMALS WAR'S is nevertheless able to reach a sufficient number of people.

The following section examines how DAMALS WAR'S picks up on ideas of historical continuity and original Berliness as expressed by WAS WURDE AUS DEM ROTEN KIEZ, and expands these notions to address a broad Berlin audience. The remediation by DAMALS WAR'S bears witness to how films are historicized and receive document status on television, which revalues the topic of working-class tradition to be worthy of preservation.

After 15 years from its first showing, WAS WURDE AUS DEM ROTEN KIEZ officially receives the status of a historical document by featuring the film in Harald Kara's show DAMALS WAR'S. DAMALS WAR'S clearly follows the historicizing narration of the documentary. To a great extent, the dramaturgical logic of the introductory trailer of DAMALS WAR'S resembles the shorthand report at the beginning of WAS WURDE AUS DEM ROTEN KIEZ, placing the story of the Wedding in a timeline of significant historical moments. Similarly, the trailer of DAMALS WAR'S comprises a collage of politicians and historically important situations. The alternating images are cut to the rhythmic background jingle of the show. They present scenes of handshaking politicians, busy reporters in preparation for their news, politicians sitting behind microphones and giving press statements, and a staged media event about a high-rank state visit. All images are images of events deeply rooted in public memory – for the audience, they are recognizable as events at which television was present and 'live' on site. Television is witness to these events, for instance, in terms of visible microphones and journalists. Through the introductory trailer of DAMALS WAR'S television stages itself as a central institution of memorable events in society. In line with this, the show now presents the 'old' documentary as a decisive moment in Berlin's history.

More than emphasizing the historical facts of events, the trailer indicates the temporality of television itself, being an almost self-referential commentary on the medium's own past and journalistic practice. By underscoring the sequence of different events in time and choosing one event out of it to be depicted in the episode, the show visualizes the usually invisible televisual processes of selecting, editing and archiving, and turns these processes into the framework of the show. Statements of Karas in the beginning and at the end of the

show enclose the program in terms of the show's primary motivation to inform the audience and to classify events in social contexts. It is no coincidence that DAMALS WAR'S is moderated by Harald Karas, who, by the time of the show, was a famous anchorman of the *Berliner Abendschau*, Berlin's evening news since 1958. He is standing at a lectern in a studio typical for the reading of the news. The background is kept simple except for two scaffolds, which emphasize the sober and factual commentary of Karas. Once again, the focus is on the spoken word, from which nothing else distracts. The announcement attempts to tune the viewer to the upcoming documentary.

The title "Damals war's," which translates into "it was" or "it used to be," specifies the program's concept to introduce past topics, events and social memories worthy of commemoration by the public. In the episode considered here, the film WAS WURDE AUS DEM ROTEN KIEZ is suggested to be one of those memorable contents now filed for becoming another chapter in German history. In order to enhance the relevance and authenticity of the film's portrait of the Red Wedding, Karas mentions the difficulties the reporters had faced in East Berlin. He names all responsible journalists by full name and tells how their work was apparently confined due to state restriction and censorship, which Karas openly criticizes. However, he is quick to mention that their filmic product is nevertheless "worth seeing" [01:51]. He thereby values the film and the journalists' work while simultaneously using a reflective stance to approve of his own journalistic standards regarding the decision to broadcast the film. In the spirit of valuing continuity on television, Karas assumes continuity of journalistic practices throughout the years: work that was created back then is still good enough to be broadcasted today. Furthermore, the inclusion of the film into the canon of television's archival holding is yet another proof of TV's function to witness important moments and make them accessible to its audience.

The historical significance of the film is explained in Kara's introductory statement. He states that the aim of this show's episode is to portray the two former working-class neighborhoods Wedding and Prenzlauer Berg. While Karas further explains the film's contextual circumstances in 1979, in face of a politically and ideologically divided Germany into "the capitalist West" and "the socialist East" [01:12-01:15], it becomes clear that the show DAMALS WAR'S deals with the consequences of this historical period and its

meaning for a reunited German society. At the end of the show and four years after the reunification, Karas revisits the inquiry of the fate of the two working-class districts with the skeptical question: "Did really grow together, what once belonged together with regard to its social structure?"[75] The focus on the two Berlin neighborhoods seems like a substitute for the question about the general situation of Germany.

After the German reunification, the focus was to find shared aspects and characteristics on which a united narrative of German society could be built upon. In this search for a common social fundament, Karas seems to fall back on similar narratives of originality and Berliness as expressed by WAS WURDE AUS DEM ROTEN KIEZ and NAHAUFNAHME. In his statements, something primarily surrounds the working-class district, which represents "probably the most typical Berlin in the big city."[76] The story of the Red Wedding thereby appears as one of the founding myths of the city Berlin, which is told to be the shared history of the people. The moderator further lists street names and places in Wedding and Prenzlauer Berg; these were "names every Berlin citizen knows" [00:45]. Highlighting some of the districts most well-known places and marking them as a shared referent of Berlin citizens (because they would be common knowledge), Karas addresses a community based on an essentialist idea of belonging. Karas' moderation breaks open the exclusiveness of working-class tradition that is still apparent in WAS WURDE AUS DEM ROTEN KIEZ. Instead of being the fate and character of the Wedding alone, DAMALS WAR'S raises the Red Wedding into the consciousness of all Berlin citizens, as part of their city's history and in the present as an example of the consequences of urban restructuring.

75 German original: "Aber wächst wirklich schon zusammen, was doch nach Sozialstruktur früher einmal tatsächlich eng zusammengehörte?" [44:49-44:55]

76 German original: "[Es geht] heute Abend um zwei Berliner Bezirke, die als Arbeiterbezirke einst wohl die Berlinischsten der großen Stadt waren." [00:26-00:33]

Summary

The TV documentaries NAHAUFNAHME and WAS WURDE AUS DEM ROTEN KIEZ capture a transitional period for the working-class district Wedding and for television's dealing with the topic. Although the films identify and highlight the last remains of the 'Red' tradition in the neighborhood, they are first and foremost an example for the historicization and passing down of working-class tradition in the context of television. The chapters have discussed film techniques of visualizing a disappearing working-class neighborhood and how the characterization of Wedding's 'Red' tradition is used to contrast current modernization tendencies in society with a narrative of tradition and originality. NAHAUFNAHME and WAS WURDE AUS DEM ROTEN KIEZ both rely on popular songs and film material of proletarian movies from the 1920s to reconstruct an authentic atmosphere of proletarian living during the Weimar Republic. Versions of "the Red Wedding" song and choral performances of worker songs are used to bring presence to a disappearing proletarian tradition and, in the impressive ensemble of voices, to suggest a united working-class community. Visual archive footage of that time is predominantly used to provide an everyday picture and dramatize their living circumstances. The black and white images' original function within the proletarian film movement to portray a multifaceted class of troubled yet cordial and moral people steps back in favor of showcasing a political movement that has been formed and fought against the push and pull of historical events. The films thereby narrate the working class into the big narrative of 'German history,' aligning its role with the question of Germany's division and reunification. Thereby, it creates an epochal storytelling about the working-class neighborhood: formerly, as breeding ground for political resistance, and nowadays, as expression of an original Berlin threatened by influences of bourgeois culture. New developments in the neighborhood are not seen as a continuation but as replacement of the old.

The memory of the working-class Wedding is cherished by both films. They fight to maintain the meaning of the 'Red' tradition in a post-industrial society that invents itself anew because of economic developments and in face of Germany's division. For the filmmakers, memorizing the working-class heritage is first and foremost a political

and moral concern. The films criticize an urban planning which operates recklessly with grown social structures, treating its working-class past like an 'illegitimate child.' People would lack political representation as the Wedding has been pushed out into the role of the 'wallflower.' In fact, the films emphasize a moral obligation that society has to the workers who helped make Berlin the city it is today. At times, the films thereby drift into a left nostalgia, which, according to Lorenzen, can also be interpreted as the struggle of the socially critical documentary genre to maintain its combative role to point out social ills on television.

Nevertheless, the critical documentary WAS WURDE AUS DEM ROTEN KIEZ is rebroadcasted by the show DAMALS WAR's in 1994. Moderator Harald Karas reactivates the question about the Red Wedding with reference to a shared Berlin history, which shows that the question of the industrial heritage has not yet been clarified for society in the 1990s.

4.2 The district as a pluralistic story – regionalization and diversification in the late 1990s and early 2000s

While WAS WURDE AUS DEM ROTEN KIEZ, NAHAUFNAHME and DAMALS WAR'S most directly address the relics of industrialization by making the 'Red' tradition the main angle of their documentaries about the Wedding, TV programs in the late 1990s diversify their interest in the neighborhood and the everyday life of its residents. Under the ideal of Berlin as a 'melting-pot of people and milieus,' the working-class tradition of Wedding and Friedrichshain remains an important part of Wedding's portrait. However, the nostalgically oriented perspective is replaced by the inclusion of new voices and stories in the city. The analyzed episodes show a positive attitude towards new developments, and report enthusiastically about Berlin as a modern hub for old and new trends. Society's development into a service economy with new media businesses are presented side by side with traditions in the district. This analysis chapter traces how the notions of working-class culture are carried on in TV episodes in which the German reunification and urban renewal processes so present in the preceding chapter have transformed into everyday reality.

Television broadcasting and program conventions have changed fundamentally in the 1990s. Most significantly, joint regionalization efforts by public broadcasters and the introduction of commercial channels like *RTL* during the 1980s have forced public broadcasting stations like *SFB* to reconsider and expand their TV programs (Hickethier, 1998). Although the expected 'big bang' of the media landscape failed to appear and established TV genres proved themselves relatively stable, there was a gradual differentiation of TV formats. One expression of these changes is the introduction of the portrait series, which presents the city in the form of episodic district portraits. This chapter contains a comparison of relevant episodes of the *SFB* portrait series BERLINER BEZIRKE, that are about the districts Wedding, Mitte and Friedrichshain, and an early episode about Mitte by BILDERBUCH DEUTSCHLAND, which is another portrait series starting in the late 1990s.[77] The analysis demonstrates how the format of the portrait series favors a completely different perspective of the

77 The latest episodes by BILDERBUCH DEUTSCHLAND and BILDERBUCH are discussed in Chapter 4.3.

representation of the working-class neighborhood rather than the critical documentaries about the Red Wedding.

First, the exemplary analysis of the episode BERLINER BEZIRKE WEDDING clarifies the differences to the critical documentaries of the previous chapter by showing that the episodes have a personalized, more optimistic approach to district history and change. The aim of the episodes is not to critically educate the audience, but to address their audience as Berlin citizens. The chapter on regionalization of television describes how this reorientation of the episodes is to be understood in the context of a profound change in the structure and orientation of public television. The region becomes a communicative model for public television, which aims to strengthen its profile and audience loyalty. The series format is suitable for the establishing of regional continuity, while at the same time meeting the demand for regional diversity by introducing new facets to the city in every episode. In this sense, the analysis offers a further distinction between the episodes of Wedding, Mitte and Friedrichshain within the BERLINER BEZIRK format. The middle part of the analysis focuses on the district Mitte because Berlin's administrative reform in 2001 made Wedding a part of Mitte and a comparison is therefore useful to see how the fusion might affect the perspective of the district. The last part of the analysis takes a look at Friedrichshain, which, as a former eastern part of Berlin, offers a different perspective on the importance of the working-class district, which has manifested itself primarily in representative buildings.

4.2.1 New perspectives: The TV portrait series BERLINER BEZIRKE

BERLINER BEZIRKE is a portrait series about city districts in Berlin, which aired between 1998 and 2003. There was an intensified production between 1999 and 2000, and a renewed focus on the restructured districts Mitte and Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg after the administrative reform in 2001. The series is typical for public television's intensified focus on local topics and regional features starting in the mid-1980s. Each episode focuses on a different district

in Berlin and introduces typical sites and stories in short 15-minutes-long filmic portraits.

BERLINER BEZIRKE is an expression of a shift in the voicing and addressing of the topic of working-class tradition on television. The search results (Ch. 3.4) suggest that after WAS WURDE AUS DEM ROTEN KIEZ's rerun by the show DAMAL'S WARS in 1994, there is no other comparable documentary critically dealing with the working-class tradition of Wedding and Friedrichshain. Instead, one can observe a diffusion of the topic in the late 1990s into, firstly, historical documentaries such as BERLIN ZUR KAISERZEIT – GLANZ UND SCHATTEN EINER EPOCHE (1998) and ALLTAG IN BERLIN – DIE 60ER JAHRE (2003), which are interested in the working-class neighborhood as an expression and characteristic of a defined period. Secondly, there is an increase of regional magazines and portrait series in which a reference to the working-class past occurs. STADT, LAND, FLUß – BERLIN, BERLINER LEBEN, and BERLINER BEZIRKE are new TV formats that address places, stories and histories in search of regional identity. While NAHAUFNAHME and WAS WURDE AUS DEM ROTEN KIEZ are still characterized by strong TV personalities such as Joachim Trenkner, Lutz Lehmann, Fritz Pleitgen, and Franz Krink, who are the recognizable voice of the documentaries, portrait series like BERLINER BEZIRKE claim a neutral standpoint – as a voice of Berlin for Berlin – from which the program provides generalized information about the city.

Although the socio-critical documentary and the portrait series are two different TV formats, which limits a comparison, one can see a fundamental reorientation of public television (about what it is wanting to portray and who to address) in the increasing popularity of regional portraits. This altered perspective is, for instance, reflected in the very production of BERLINER BEZIRKE. Instead of having a singular creative 'mastermind' behind production, direction *and* presentation, the portraits are created with a production team, which stays the same, or nearly the same, for the production of BERLINER BEZIRKE episodes.[78] The cameraman, producer, editor, and speaker do not change and together create a recognizable handwriting of the format that the audience subconsciously perceives throughout their consumption of several episodes. What is directly recognizable is the

78 After the administrative reform, some positions change.

off-narrator Viola Sauer, who lends her voice to all of the analyzed episodes before 2001. Next to the introductory jingle, her voice creates familiarity for and proximity to the viewer and audible continuity across episodes that together should picture a diverse but connected portrait of the city Berlin.

BERLINER BEZIRKE guides the viewer but contains its 'voice' to give the impression that what the audience sees is a portrait of *their* neighborhood. The familiar but anonymous voice of Viola Sauer from the off is the general grid of the episodes. Her voice provides transitions between thematic cuts and gives basic information about the depicted sites and buildings. The neighborhood portraits of BERLINER BEZIRKE reduce a visible journalistic voice, for instance, by avoiding scenes in which microphones protrude into the picture, in which a reporter is at the scene or interrupts interviews with critical questions. The distanced, neutral narrator replaces the expression of strong opinion in earlier documentaries such as NAHAUFNAHME and WAS WURDE AUS DEM ROTEN KIEZ, which are very political and can be interpreted as a journalist's critical *comment on* developments in the neighborhood about which he[79] likes to inform his audience. The viewer is in the role of a critical jury, which sees and judges from a distance. Contrary to that, BERLINER BEZIRKE tries to invoke *voices from* the neighborhood to provide their portrait with a personal touch and to foster identificatory processes with the audience. How the individual episodes manage that is going to be the topic of the next chapters. In general, however, BERLINER BEZIRKE thereby draws on a larger repertoire of people and stories in the district than NAHAUFNAHME and WAS WURDE AUS DEM ROTEN KIEZ: each of the analyzed episodes depicts 'old' inhabitants, artists, migrants, chimney sweepers, office workers and other protagonists, who all share life in the portrayed neighborhoods and yet have their very own place and story in it. The range of new voices and perspectives to the neighborhood shall ultimately broaden the possibilities of identification for the audience.

The district functions as an overall bracket for these otherwise unconnected stories. Regional identity is thereby communicated on the level of the district. The focus is no longer on working-class tradition alone, but the series aims to sketch a vibrant picture of the

79 There are only men in the documentaries referenced.

city and to present a diverse, collage-like composition of intriguing stories and histories, as to highlight and promote regional traits to its viewers. The episodic films take the audience on a tour through city areas like hopping on and off a guided tour bus. By branding regional identity, BERLINER BEZIRKE's episodes first and foremost address a Berlin audience. Within *national* public broadcasting, however, the channel *rbb* thereby also strengthens its profile and promotes the region to potential visitors who have become interested in what the neighborhoods have to offer.

BB WEDDING (1999) part I: personalizing the district portrait by interviews and local anecdotes

BERLINER BEZIRKE WEDDING[80] (1999) (hereafter BB WEDDING) is a broadly focused neighborhood portrait with many short excursions into the district's past. It intends to give a considerable overview over Wedding's situation and history, without spending too much time on just one aspect. Its basic storyline very much resembles that of NAHAUFNAHME and WAS WURDE AUS DEM ROTEN KIEZ: the 'real' Berliner is only to be found in the Wedding, preferably in local bars; Wedding has changed its face because of the demolition and reconstruction processes in the 1970s; migrants pose a major threat to the social structure of the historical neighborhood; *Schering* is still the biggest industrial employer in Wedding; and the district is home to the state-of-the-art *Charité* hospital. At first sight, major narrative elements from NAHAUFNAHME and WAS WURDE AUS DEM ROTEN KIEZ seem to be continuing in TV programs from the late 1990s. Wedding is known for the same historical developments and characteristics. However, apart from the shorter 15-minute format, BB WEDDING has a very different angle from which it views the district's changing face. This significantly alters the way the working-class tradition is viewed in it.

The overall montage of scenes in the episode BB WEDDING suggests the story of the old that is irrevocably discontinued and replaced by the new. In an overview-like presentation, BB WEDDING, for instance, juxtaposes archive footage of the inside of the AEG

80 Time codes in the analysis refer to BERLINER BEZIRKE WEDDING (1999) played on QuickTime Player.

factory hall with the area's current nickname 'Silicon Wedding' for newly settled, modern companies. In another example, the episode shows archive footage of an interior room of a former church project once established in support of the poor, only to tell that it now has been relocated and continues its work under a new association with the same name. In all these narratives, the old is being replaced by new developments without bemoaning what has been lost. Instead, the old is never really lost but continues to live on in form of amusing stories that are passed on to the audience.

In this loop of past and present events, the episode repeatedly integrates small stories by using local interviewees and their anecdotes. For example, the community service of the church is brightened up by the insertion of an interview with an elderly lady from 1980 in which she remembers with a smile on her face of how beneficiaries had to pray and sing for their breakfast [06:47]. Where original soundbites are missing, the off-narrator fills in the position of a mediator with local knowledge. For example, the historical background of the health resort, *Gesundbrunnen*, is told in a captivating way by referring to the story of its discovery as an urban "legend" [01:25]. Even the depiction of famous companies and buildings is personalized: a long-distance shot of the Schering factory is superimposed by a portrait picture of the founder Schering [07:29]. Also, the Robert Koch Institute's history is tied to the research of Robert Koch in the episode. These often simplified, pointed anecdotes function as an entertaining and easy to consume format for an audience who either needs to be familiarized with the district within the 15-minutes time limit of the program, or who is familiar with the Wedding and is addressed more personally by the oral history style.

Dramaturgically, BB WEDDING is organized in alternating interview sequences and shots of buildings. This interplay suggests an intimate glimpse into the neighborhood. Usually the pattern of this 'glimpse' is an orientational shot of the building (facade) and a follow-up interview from the inside. The thematic 'zooming-into' a place is sometimes even quite directly suggested by the camera movement. For instance, this is demonstrated when the camera, and the eye of the audience, walks through the door of a corner pub. The use of sound supports this entrance of another space by changing the soundscape from silent but audible street noise to the immersive loud sound of bar music when the camera walks past the door of the pub.

This personalized and intimate view of the district is also evoked for the working-class tradition of the Wedding. An exemplary scene that demonstrates how differently BB WEDDING works in comparison to the Wedding portrait of NAHAUFNAHME is the depiction of the demolition of *Meyers Hof*, a highly symbolic tenement house from industrial Berlin (Sequence 3). BB WEDDING uses similar archive material like NAHAUFNAHME to picture the development of the Wedding with regard to urban renewal processes and their consequences for long-term residents. At first sight, the general arrangement of the archive images into a filmic sequence resembles each other in both versions. First of all, life in the backyards of tenement houses is introduced by black and white images of poor people in cramped living conditions, then a shot from above on the *Meyers Hof* building visualizes the tiny space between each housing block. An interview (presumably from the mid 1980s) follows with former residents of *Meyers Hof* at a reunion party who exchange opinions on life after being relocated. Finally, a panning shot along empty streets and new house facades contrasts the previously lively neighborhood with a dead cityscape.

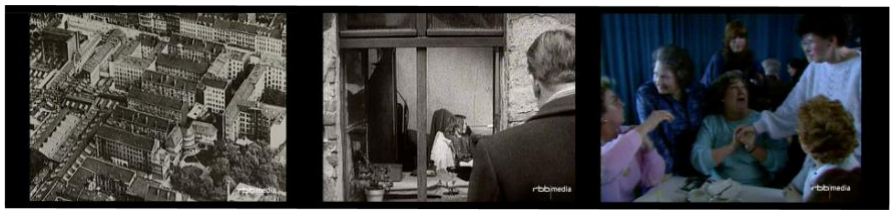

Fig. 7 (Sequence 3 Capture BB WEDDING, Retelling change in Meyers Hof)

Considering the parallel unfolding of their storytelling, BB WEDDING might seem like a condensed version of NAHAUFNAHME. However, BB WEDDING represents a completely different idea of change in the neighborhood, which is mediated by the changes in the editing of the visual and audible material. Firstly, while NAHAUFNAHME presents a distanced and unemotional slideshow of archive images of *MEYERS HOF* with no sound or music that distract from the informative voice of the narrator, BB WEDDING immediately immerses the viewers with the sound of loud footsteps that the episode added new to the originally mute footage. The footsteps also function as a spatial connection to the next scenes by producing a sounding echo as if someone was walking-by the camera. The footsteps eventually diffuse into loud and

cheerful organ music that drowns out the narrator's commentary on the miserable living conditions in the tenement block. Secondly, BB WEDDING adds a short sequence from an old feature film (image in the middle of Sequence 3). The viewer follows a man who takes a look around the backyards suggestively of *Meyers Hof*. In addition to the distracting music, the look over the man's shoulder allows the viewer to distance herself or himself from the rather depressing atmosphere transported. For instance, this is shown in similar archive footage of the narrow houses in NAHAUFNAHME. In this way, the archive footage of a cramped *Meyers Hof* evokes a more vivid and positive impression. This is, thirdly, in line with the modified interview footage of relocated residents by BB WEDDING. The episode shows an excerpt of an interview previously aired (maybe even recorded) by NAHAUFNAHME during which former residents reflect on the positive and negative sides of living in the *Meyers Hof*, and their arrangement with the new housing situation.[81] BB WEDDING however cuts out critical answers (to be seen in NAHAUFNAHME) in support of an overall positive remembrance of *Meyers Hof* by the residents as a place of warmth, family life and mutual help. Thus, while the message essentially stays the same – radical redevelopment did not only bring better housing but also drastically interfered in grown social structures – BB WEDDING nevertheless manifests working-class life in a cheerful story about communality and social solidarity. It thereby emphasizes the anecdote character rather than representing a balanced journalistic investigation of social and economic circumstances as was attempted by the original interview.

This type of storytelling can be considered a part of a more general shift on television from a political perspective in documentaries (as represented by NAHAUFNAHME and WAS WURDE AUS DEM ROTEN KIEZ) to a context in which the material is understood mainly in its meaningfulness for local history. While NAHAUFNAHME and WAS WURDE AUS DEM ROTEN KIEZ attempt to shed light on various aspects of Wedding in order to provide a comprehensive picture of the neighborhood for the TV audience, their account remains information-driven and politically motivated. Accordingly, the films interpret the change of the working-class neighborhood negatively in the form of the story of a once revolutionary district, now being displaced by bald

81 The fact that BB WEDDING evokes the same archive material proves that the producers knew about NAHAUFNAHME and the material's original embedding in the film.

and lifeless housing blocks. The loss of the working class in Wedding is framed first and foremost as a political loss. For BB WEDDING, this part of history is already a closed chapter. Just as NAHAUFNAHME foresaw the closure of society with the working-class tradition in its metaphorical allusion of sealing the working-class into a "yellowed picture" [05:22], BB WEDDING reinvokes that historical picture and vivifies it as an urban history that contributes to the formation of a common identity and therefore gains value for society – not so much in the political sense by relating to current affairs, but in the form of a local history that is shared as a uniting reference to the TV audience.

4.2.2 The 'regionalization' of television: closer to the people or just a depoliticized program?

NAHAUFNAHME (incl. WAS WURDE AUS DEM ROTEN KIEZ) and BERLINER BEZIRKE represent two different conceptualizations of everyday life and working-class tradition in the Wedding. The many years between the programs mark a shift in the program emphasis from a politicized argumentative stance that attempts to educate its audience to apparently depoliticized local anecdotes that summon their audience as Berlin citizens. This shift can be considered symptomatic of a more general transformation in the German public broadcasting system during the mid-1980s, causing what has been discussed among filmmakers, critics and journalists as a "crisis of the documentary film" (Zimmermann 1994, p. 303). A central part of the critique is the aim at changes in conceptions and working processes at the *ARD* about the way television perceives social reality and positions their programs according to it. A buzzword in TV's changing conception is 'regionalization,' which started with the Third Programs gradually reducing their educational and cultural programs in favor of a more regionally accentuated program (bpb, 2017). In order to understand the aim of the new directionality, the following section will firstly clarify the traditional self-conception of television.

One might think of early television as a very local phenomenon. However, the medium had in fact always striven for a national, even international orientation of its program with an educational mandate. It preferably addressed global developments and issues of national

relevance. In turn, everything that could possibly count as "provincial" was disregarded by the self-proclaimed modern "media zeitgeist" (Flamm, 1988, p. 298). The German word "Fern-sehen" for television's ability to "see afar" illustrates that keen intention of television to bring the world to its viewers. Local topics were recognized above all in their significance for the 'bigger picture.' It has to be added that radio and television broadcasting were a product of the allied media policy after the war, which reorganized the broadcasting system according to the topographical fundaments of the Weimar Republic. Hence, it was not based on actual regional structures but rather on pragmatically defined transmission areas and centralized studios (p. 297). Therefore, regions were often summarized under one broadcasting unit independent from actual local circumstances and social structures (Pohl, 1984, p. 59). Also, the establishment of the second major channel, the *ZDF*, took place under the premise of a centrally organized station that understood itself as a *national* channel and did rarely consider regional stories and histories in its program (bpb, 2017; Flamm 1988, p. 304).

With the introduction of additional 'Third programs' to the collaborative program *ARD*, the foundation was laid for an expansion of the regional program. However, it took until the mid-1980s when one could actually consider the program to be regional. This was because 'the region' had still been functioning as a reference point and anchor to support processes of centralization, concentration and worldwide standardization, rather than lifting diverse local regions and their needs to the radar of public debates (Kabel, 1987, p. 47). Especially television's strong orientation toward urban agglomerations had put pressure on rural areas which were neglected or subsumed under the next largest transmission area, resulting in the bracketing-out or disregard of local singularities in the mainstream coverage (p. 46). An institutionalized, i.e., organized and regular regional broadcasting system was at that time non-existent (Pohl, p. 59). Berlin and Bremen as big city broadcasters were exceptions to this – Berlin started with the BERLINER ABENDSCHAU in 1958, one of the oldest regional information programs on TV (Boldt-Schüler, 2013, p. 234) – but their program-political orientation did nonetheless align with general broadcasting policies designed to air a primarily pan-German program.

Thus, unlike radio, which provided the organizational structure for television's establishment after the war and which had a strong affinity to regional material (Flamm, 1988, p. 297), it was not until the mid-1980s that 'the region' and new genre formats were seriously considered as promising fields of future TV programs in the West, and at the beginning of the 1990s also in the East (Boldt-Schüler, 2013). A few factors had led to this realization: on the technical side, there was the innovation of transmitting the first program via satellite technique, which made it no longer possible to air regional programs in the *ARD* and therefore benefited from the extension of regional programs in the Third programs (Andelfinger, 2011, p. 22). Politically, the victory of the conservative party in the elections initiated a conservative turnaround, also with regard to the distribution of seats in the broadcast stations. It put the programs under pressure of conformity, which meant the reduction of critical coverage on governance politics and social topics in favor for coverage on (neutrally considered) regional traits (Zimmermann, 1994, p. 303). And finally, the competition to commercial broadcasters and their entertainment program was keen, and forced public television to reconsider their distinguishing features and program formats with new emphases (ibid.). In sum, the turn of the region had the purpose to further decentralize a centralized media system and to compensate for the so-far neglected proximity to the viewer, meaning to establish a program that was close to the people and the reality they were living. This strategy further implied realizing another goal: the program makers thought that the expansion of their program with new format options was well received by the audience and therefore compatible with commercial programs.

However, this understanding of 'the region,' which saw citizens as potential viewers and with a primary interested in ratings, was considered superficial and contrariwise very detached from the reality in the regions by some media critiques, practitioners, and journalists. A frequent accusation of television was the "disappearance of reality" hidden behind the proliferation of self-created mediated constructs (p. 311). Media images were hence seen to become a ubiquitous part of people's lives while simultaneously having less and less to do with it as they missed their chances to pick up topics that were really of concern for the people (ibid.). The new emphasis on the region would

not counter this detachment and only simulate a real engagement with these topics.

Different measures and assumptions of 'the region' caused an internal clash at the broadcast station. Filmmakers who had produced programs based on a very different understanding of what comprised a region and a topic of interest for local people disagreed with the channel's new line. Critique was mainly expressed by practitioners who had already worked with notions of 'the local' and who used the term's indefiniteness to convey political and socio-critical topics within depictions of everyday life. In their daily practice, the filmmakers had used this niche for a critical counterbalance to a TV program they perceived as not ambitious enough with regard to its willingness and commitment to participate in general politics. With the management's reform of emphasizing regional topics, these filmmakers now feared to be replaced by other, less critical 'regional' formats. Also, for an increasing number of TV journalists, the replacement of fundamental debates on social issues in fact meant a de-rationalized and emotionalized program conception (ibid.). This reflects the many controversies of opinions and work processes within the station as a result of the 'regionalization' strategy.

Despite many protests and critical voices, the decentralization of public broadcasting together with official plans to establish regional studios had eventually led to new formats but also to the termination of former programs that so-far added distinct handwritings and forms of everyday observations to television's program (Zimmermann, 1994, p. 273). The documentary series SCHAUPLATZ (1979-83) of the *WDR* is an example of many other documentary programs (including VOR ORT, GLASHAUS, and 48 STUNDEN) being affected by the restructuring of the broadcasting system (ibid.). Media scholar and practitioner Dietrich Leder distinguishes two apparently incompatible interpretations of 'the region' in the following critical commentary on the sudden termination of the show in 1983:

> Unlike the much celebrated 'regionalization' of the WDR […], Ossenbach [editor of SCHAUPLATZ] has worked together over the years with documentary filmmakers who refused to show the usual mayor interview, expert statement and postcard view of the state of North Rhine-Westphalia. Instead, SCHAUPLATZ's attempt was to show the people of this country and their work – unvarnished and outspoken. (Leder 1983, as cited in Zimmermann, 1994, p. 274, my translation)

In Leder's statement, a superficial, euphemistic coverage of regional topics stands vis-à-vis a thorough investigation of people's daily life and work in terms of a deeper reflection of social and political relations involved. For Leder, the focus on locality and people's reality at work and in everyday life provided an argumentative link to also address far-reaching political issues and mismatches in society. The episodes of SCHAUPLATZ, for instance, accompanied dockers, farmers, guest workers, among others. In another instance, it documented a small mining village in the northern Ruhr area for three years, which resulted in the still unique documentary cycle PROSPER EBEL. CHRONIK EINER ZECHE UND IHRER SIEDLUNG (1979-82) by Christoph Hübner, Gabriele Voss-Hübner, Werner Ruzicka and Theo Jansen (ibid.). These progressive, critical and experimental documentary formats, whatever form, content and quality they were, was what Leder meant to defend against an artificial, rating-oriented program conception, which he saw in the new regional strategy of the *ARD* and the Third programs. He attests:

> [Documentary series] were always on the side of those who otherwise appear in mass media only as statistical size or calculated voters [...] . [But they are now] condemned by those who manage or market reality only as a media size [...]. With the termination of SCHAUPLATZ, a troublemaker has finally disappeared who had only caused annoyance for local politicians who had missed the positive in the films, or for representatives who had confused documentary film with glossy promotional brochures. (ibid., my translation)

What can be taken from Leder's statement and the many inconsistencies arising from TV's regionalization strategy is that 'the region' and 'regionalization' were not just innocent new pillars of TV's programming. Rather, the regionalization of television was a very political process of renegotiating fundaments of television making such as modes of address, the definition of 'the audience,' the scope of coverage, new program formats, and much more. In fact, arguments did not turn around questions of whether or not regional topics should be an integral part of the program structure at all – this was largely agreed upon by all parties involved – but around the politics of 'the region' and its implications for daily television making.

In this process, 'the region' became a new communication model for television that aimed to move spatially and thematically closer to the citizens by promoting the participatory and identificatory involvement of the audience. The decentralized organization of

broadcasting was believed to help foster functioning communication processes. Up-to-date coverage and citizen-centered topics hence became *the* characteristic traits for public regional broadcasting. According to the Federal Constitutional Court judgment in November 1986, public television is committed to provide a program in the service of society, implying the task to promote democracy and to represent cultural life. Within this task, the Third programs' role is to take care of the regions: "They communicate to the people in the regions that their broadcast station takes their worries, needs and joys, living conditions, peculiarities, traditions and historically evolved characteristics seriously" (resolution of a conference decided by chairmen of the *ARD* committee, as cited in Boldt-Schüler, 2013, p. 234, my translation).

In the context of the cultural-policy debate of the 1980s, taking the depiction of the region "seriously" meant reinterpreting culture with regard to the province (Andelfinger, 2011, p. 19). Previous concerns about 'the provincial' (supposedly seen as the opposite of a modern media zeitgeist) were dropped in favor of an emphasis on expressions of everyday culture, like choirs, amateur theater, and clubs (ibid.). In this way, provincial culture could be positively reinterpreted as a cultural life in culturally rich provinces "supported by a self-confident regional awareness of the people living there" (ibid., my translation).

The region as a new space of experiences is also emphasized by another publication resulting from a conference in 1980s in which journalists, politicians, and historians discussed opportunities and threats of *the regionalization of historio-political culture* (book title, my translation) for public broadcasting. The regional turn would embody the desire for their "'own', manageable living space in which it is still possible to know and to find out who 'we' and who 'the others' are […]" (Quandt & Calließ, 1984, p. 1, my translation). In this quote, the region as a space of experience is connected to ideas of identity and community. According to the authors, 'the region' offers room and chances for action, and therefore comprises a space of experience, living, structures, events, and communication, and a space of orientation for the subject (ibid.). As such, 'the region' can be many things to television. It functions as a mediator between general structures and individual lives, and it can be traditional or critical, politically left or right, a concept of orientation or of ideological hyperbolism (p. 2). All these give proof to the complex, undetermined

nature of 'the region' which necessitates to examine how 'the region' is integrated and built into the analyzed episodes.

BB WEDDING (1999) part II: 'the region' as a televisual narrative

The different emphases in the coverage of NAHAUFNAHME and WAS WURDE AUS DEM ROTEN KIEZ in comparison to BB WEDDING can be understood with the background of a newly decentralized television system and the increasing significance of local topics. BB WEDDING and other episodes from the BERLINER BEZIRKE series are part of a TV documentary format that values locality in an effort to address the region and a feeling of shared local identity by claiming proximity to the citizens. The unit of the district (represented by BERLINER BEZIRKE and single episodes of BILDERBUCH DEUTSCHLAND) gains importance as a major reference for *SFB* to address a small, manageable living space in which the audience can encounter the familiar. 'Our Berlin' could be the slogan of these portraits for which the region of Berlin is the main narrative structure, i.e., topic and purpose of their format. In it, working-class history is presented as one of many aspects in the district portrait. However, it is no longer the initiating topic for covering the district as it was the case in NAHAUFNAHME and WAS WURDE AUS DEM ROTEN KIEZ, which both took the 'Red' tradition as an angle and starting point of their documentaries. Instead, the Wedding's history is personalized by interviews in which inhabitants share their personal experiences and stories. The following section exemplary reassesses the interviews of BB WEDDING with regard to how they enhance a feeling of proximity and authenticity for the audience, and thus strengthen the audience's relationship with the channel and the therefore necessary identification with the covered region Berlin.

A television episode of BERLINER BEZIRKE comprises many small units such as interviews with experts, contemporary witnesses, spontaneous opinion polls on the street, talks, songs, and much more. In general, these accounts help television to vary its aesthetic and dramaturgical form. More specifically, next to very common off-commentaries (to be found in all discussed formats: NAHAUFNAHME, WAS WURDE AUS DEM ROTEN KIEZ, BERLINER BEZIRKE, and BILDERBUCH) and the moderation by one reporter, the occasional short

stories of people essentially shape the character of the general narrative through their socializing features. These effects are not to be underestimated and are particularly interesting for television's new emphasis on local communities and feelings of proximity.

Anecdotes and other forms of storytelling by people are considered catching, memorable and personal; hence 'closer to the people' than the bare transmission of information by an off-narrator, which can appear didactical and formal. The local portraits of the BERLINER BEZIRKE series make occasional use of personalized stories and add an aesthetic of immediacy to their episode by using anecdotes of people who live in the neighborhood. Furthermore, the episode uses the anecdotal style to transmit more general information about the district. One interview scene in BB WEDDING functions as a good example: instead of simply introducing "one of the most beautiful outdoor swimming pools of Berlin" [03:49] located in the Wedding – which alone could have functioned as a reason to introduce the pool – BB WEDDING uses the memories of a regular guest as an additional access to the pool story. The off-narrator introduces the woman as legitimate, knowledgeable source: "Ms. Janthur, who has seen the public pool from day one, remembers the appearance of a famous Weddinger."[82] The next scene places her in a medium close-up shot in front of the pool facing the camera. A fade-in of Wedding's emblem, the interviewee's name and job description frame the picture and validate her statements about the year 1951, when she and her parents went to see a performance by child star Cornelia Froboess at the pool. During the interview, a black and white portrait photograph of the girl Cornelia is inserted and illustrates the actual massage behind the interview. What is important is not the woman's first visit to the pool nor her admiration for the performer, but the fact that a Berlin-wide and later even nationwide famous personality had performed in the Wedding.

The primary task of the personalized interview is a strategical one to transmit facts about the district and to arouse audience interest. The interview does not function for the sake of telling Ms. Janthur's personal story alone. Her memories are used, on the one hand, as an authentication of information as the interviewee is a knowledgeable local who grew up in Wedding. On the other hand, Cornelia Froboess

82 German original: "Frau Janthur, eine die das Bad vom ersten Tag an miterlebt hat, erinnert sich an den Auftritt einer berühmten Weddingerin." [03:53-04:01]

– a girl from Wedding – represents a famous face of the district and is a reference of general interest. In BB WEDDING, local stories are considered and processed to be aired for a nationwide television audience, too. The local character, its specific stories, traditions, and dialects are communicated always in consideration of the audience it needs to appeal to. In summary, the episode combines particularities of the location with points of connection for a wider audience.

The episode's appeal for the local audience is given in that citizens can become "little celebrities" on local television, too (Boldt-Schüler, 2013, p. 236). The local viewer not only sees his or her immediate vicinity, schools, parks, the pool, and the workplace, but a reflection of their own and their lives on television. It could happen that they discover friends, relatives, kids, or other people they know. Maybe they recognize the barkeeper from the bar next door. This is of great appeal to the viewer, who finds his or her worries, needs, joys and traditions taken seriously by the media (ibid.). For some it might even replace the chat with the neighbor. Even for non-local viewers witnessing other citizens talk can evoke a feeling of proximity as they imagine their own relatives on television, compare their situation or opinion to the story, or simply take comfort in knowing that citizens are heard by the media and get a chance to speak apparently unmediated to the camera.

Next to the recognition of familiar places, strategies of personalizing the episode in terms of local interviewees and their story entail the opportunity for identification, which media can use to promote a sense of belonging among people. Interviews in BB WEDDING are led on the spot. The interviewees give the places a face and a voice, thereby providing a communicative offer to the viewer that exceeds the simple identification with a familiar place. Media reception research also speaks of a complex social phenomenon known as 'para-social interaction.' It describes a reception situation in which the audience engages in a supposed relationship with a figure on television, film, or another medium. 'Figure' – because interaction does not happen with a physically present person but with a representation of another person and which does not allow *mutual* communication (Keppler, 1996). According to Angela Keppler, although audiences are well aware of the fact that these interactions are not real, there is great potential for identity-constituting processes when watching figures on screen. However, it depends on if one can

identify with these figures (p. 11). This also depends on which "social construct" (Keppler, 1996) the audience is actually interacting with, i.e., how TV configurations and strategies place stories and people in certain ways and ascribe roles to them.

Regional portrait series like BERLINER BEZIRKE make use of this interactive effect in their communication with the audience to foster a shared regional identity. The depicted people in BB WEDDING are all locals and constitute a trustworthy source attesting authenticity and truthfulness to the communicated portrait about Wedding. The anecdotal style of the stories presumes an intimate way of providing information. Similar to the logic of oral history, the episode presents the 'talk of a town' in terms of local anecdotes, advices, the presentation of secret places, and a seemingly exclusive insight into neighborhood life. Local connoisseurship is furthermore assumed by the off-narrator who knows where to find "the typical Wedding resident" [08:04] and proves this point by showing an interview with a pub owner. BERLINER BEZIRKE imitates the storytelling of locals in its aim of communicating the district's history. The episodes demonstrate extracts of these conversations by offering a repertoire of possible participants and topics, and therefore foster identification along a shared regional identity.

Pursuing a common regional identity, BB WEDDING picks up, reproduces and further solidifies those features that the district Wedding is already known for – also and specifically in face of new developments. The aim is to present the audience with an assuring appearance of (local) familiarity. This is reached by highlighting a cohesive homogeneity at the expense of more diversified facets of the neighborhood that could have included a broader view on resident backgrounds or a second focus on future-oriented trends. With regard to the latter, all mentioned institutions that could have potentially thrown a more progressive light on Wedding, like the Schering company, the Charité hospital and the Robert Koch research institute, are however told in a way that personifies their scientific and economic contributions as achievements of famous people from the past.

With regard to the residents, homogeneity is reached by the selection of resembling people. It is striking that the interviewees chosen for the anecdotes could all possibly be classified to the same category of 'ordinary people from next door.' Soundbites include

statements from small shop owners, residents of new apartment blocks, an elderly woman doing groceries, and a corner pub owner. Although BB WEDDING attempts to show different voices of the neighborhood, the portrait is nevertheless very selective with regard to its chosen range of backgrounds. For instance, interviews with new migrant residents are missing completely. All interviewees share a piece of information, a memory, or an anecdote about certain aspects of their neighborhood. But, instead of allowing really surprising, contradicting opinions, the overall purpose of the episode is a uniform, confirmative picture of the district. In summary, the displayed stories and portraits are designed to fit a local reporting style, with local information that is supposed to establish a counterbalance to perceived social changes and transformation processes.

A cohesive picture of the neighborhood, the 'typical' Wedding, is further reinforced by the way the episode addresses the role of (its own) storytelling in the episode. The story of disappearing local features and communality is not only told by its inhabitants but also by television that stages itself as a preserver and communicator of local history. In an attempt to capture the spirit of the district, the introduction and closing of the episode bracket the portrait, providing it with a characterizing branding. In the beginning, it claims to show the "most congested district" [00:28] of Berlin, and in the end, it sums up the portrait with the words: "it's time to say goodbye from the lively Wedding! Once known for its mix of work and living, much has changed in the former working-class district."[83] The latter statement's strong contextualizing wrap-up in terms of a work-life balance and working-class tradition is unexpected because, content-wise, the episode focuses on leisure activities and on local history rather than on aspects of work. But the episode sees the old inhabitants and their local stories as a coherent expression of that special relationship of work and living in Wedding. Especially the last remark, as it classifies the interview scenes of the episode as voices from the 'old' Wedding in transition, represents memories and stories from a district once known for its working-class tradition. BB WEDDING depicts this solid fabric of work and living to be out of balance. 'Work' is told to be

83 German original: "Allmählich wird es Zeit sich vom quirligen Wedding zu verabschieden. Einst bekannt durch die Mischung von Arbeiten und Wohnen hat sich in dem ehemaligen Arbeiterbezirk vieles verändert. Hohe Arbeitslosigkeit und der hohe Ausländeranteil: kein leichtes Gepäck für die Zukunft." [13:31-13:50]

replaced by "high unemployment rates" [13:46], and 'living' is apparently challenged by an increasing "share of foreigners" [13:48] who bring new lifestyles, ethics and ideals. A characterizing unity of work and living only applies, for the episode, to Wedding's old social structure. In this sense, these stories from Wedding are in danger of disappearing as the district faces 'heavy' challenges in the future. Television and its BERLINER BEZIRKE program present themselves as the collector and distributor of these local stories. By interviewing and portraying former residents of the working-class neighborhood, the series integrates the inhabitants' stories into its own narrative of the district, subjecting them to a televisual logic of regional identity. In television, the memorization and storytelling of the 'old', 'typical' Wedding functions like the 'Rock in the Waves.' The episode stages itself as a self-assuring local reference in times of perceived change.

4.2.3 Diversification in a changing city

The emphasis on local culture and stories in regionalization tendencies of public broadcasting stations might be suspected to lead to uniformity in televisual reporting by reducing narrations of the region down to a few prominent traits. This is however not the case as another major tendency during the 1990s occurs: diversification, which is reflected in the episodic structure of new TV formats and in an altered discourse about the city. Both will be the topic of the following sub-chapters. The two episodes, BERLINER BEZIRKE MITTE and BILDERBUCH DEUTSCHLAND MITTE, represent these efforts to understand the city as an agglomeration of pluralistic perspectives. They both approach the topic of diversity in the city differently yet with the same premise of Berlin as a melting pot of people and milieus.

The series format: repetitive structures and regional accentuations

The restructuring process of public broadcasting has changed the conditions of media production and modalities of how to think and construct regional space. This is reflected by the newly divided regional broadcast units as well as their ideas about how television

programs should implement local areas and their culture. A working paper of the *SFB* and *ORB* in which both channels present new ideas for a joint program profile underlines that a synergetic effect for the region is not believed to happen with a centralized program (Quandt & Calließ, 1984, p. 253). Even if Brandenburg and Berlin are considered *one* region in plans of a joint broadcasting station, challenges for program making would evolve because of structural differences between cities and the countryside, and between the experiences people make in these environments. In consequence, instead of simply conjuring up unity, *SFB* and *ORB* suggest emphasizing "regional accentuations" (ibid.). These accentuations do not exclude the emphasized unity of the region: the integration of people in eastern and western, metropolitan and rural regions as defined in Germany's *Interstate Broadcasting Agreement* remains the channels' central mission. This mission is however reached by admitting regional differences and finding a form for their depiction.

One can interpret the increasingly popular format of regional TV series as an expression of this attempt. A number of programs are introduced that attempt to properly cover and document differences and peculiarities of a region by choosing the series format. New serial TV programs that appear in the context of this dissertation's archive search in the late 1990s are BERLINER BEZIRKE, BERLINER LEBEN, HEIMATJOURNAL, BILDERBUCH DEUTSCHLAND, and STADT, LAND, FLUß – BERLIN. All programs have a commonality in that they highlight regional characteristics (defined on different levels such as the district, the city, and the surrounding area) by placing their portraits in a serial logic instead of producing independent documentary films. The viewer is presented with a different regional facet every other episode. The pleasure of watching the series does, however, not arise from the fact that the episodes present something new but rather from a mixture of new information and familiar program concepts that identify a portrait as an episode of a series.

BERLINER BEZIRKE, for example, has repetitive structural characteristics such as an introductory trailer and end credits, resembling episode structures, and Viola Sauer as a narrator voice based on which regular viewers can recognize the program and know what to expect from it. The 20-second-long trailer tunes the viewer in at the beginning of every episode and increases the anticipation for what is going to come when the dynamic, memorable jingle starts to

play. In time with the beat of the music, the trailer, firstly, shows the silhouette of the city border that frames alternating visual impressions of Berlin before, secondly, another silhouette of the featured district appears at the respective location on the map. While the first montage of visual impressions stays the same for every BERLINER BEZIRKE episode and offers general highlights of Berlin, the following silhouette of the district contains a preview of images from the actual episode. This is the varying element of each trailer. Already on the level of the trailer, one can thus observe the logic of little changes within the familiarity of repeated stylistic devices. Even the end credits remind the viewers that they have watched an episode of BERLINER BEZIRKE by presenting again the district's emblem beneath the list of participating people. The end credits mark the closing of an episode and announce the transition to the next program. Furthermore, the trailer and end credits give each episode a clear structure despite the episode's rather loosely assembled stories about the district. The off-narrator Viola Sauer is another constant that gives structure to the episodes' diverse stories. Her voice functions as an assuring anchor throughout a single episode and across the varying contents of many BERLINER BEZIRKE episodes. The narrator often indirectly suggests that there are other episodes, for instance, by repeating phrases like 'the most thrilling district is […]' and '[…] is the district with the highest […].' These phrases place the featured district rhetorically in relation to other districts in Berlin and strengthen the position, by which the portrait offers a unique perspective on the city beyond the own neighborhood portrait.

These repetitive patterns are key tools for BERLINER BEZIRKE by which the program functions as a series and mediates its concept of the region Berlin. Repetitions and the act of repeating can generally be considered a defining feature of the medium of television (Parr, 2004, p. 36). By repeating only that which is similar but not identical, television is able to resolve an innate contradiction between its promise of events and the promise of familiarity (ibid.). For portrait series such as BERLINER BEZIRKE, repetitive structures are important as they provide a reassuring and stabilizing context in which the program can introduce the newest events and developments in the city to its audience. On the one hand, BERLINER BEZIRKE is thereby able to create a continuous narration of the region Berlin across different episodes. This is recognizable in the strong emphasis of iconic features

of Berlin. For example, a blue tinted and blowing Berlin flag is in the background where the trailer projects silhouettes of the city border and district border. In addition to that, the emblem of the featured district is presented. The flag, the emblems, the city maps, and the montage of regional highlights put the trailer and episode under the sign of 'the region.' They remind the audience that what they see is not just any district portrait but a portrait of a Berlin district that offers a particular perspective to the city as part of a broader series. On the other hand, individual episodes can present ideas of radical social change and fleetingness of past traditions within the "comfort of the familiar" in repetitive structures (Klippel & Winkler, 1994, p. 123). By classifying them as *one* possible perspective among many, the episodes take away the rough edges of these topics and resolve contradicting perspectives between episodes. For example, BERLINER BEZIRKE MITTE claims that the city is about rapid change (next sub-chapter). However, repetitive elements help establish a framework for the episode to show change and simultaneously assure the audience that they are still watching their city Berlin. BERLINER BEZIRKE WEDDING's emphasis on traditions provides a counterbalance to this perspective of Berlin as a city of change. BERLINER BEZIRKE can show these differing perspectives between episodes without risking that the region is perceived as inconsistent by their audience.

For public television in the 1990s, which slowly but increasingly considered its audience by the design of formats (Schümchen, 2006, p.131), producing recognizable TV episodes and repeating them were important tools to locate a program in the general program structure. The programming of BERLINER BEZIRKE placed the episodes as regular elements in *SFB*'s daily coverage about Berlin. Instead of being aired on national holidays or weekends, the episodes frequented in the workday rhythm of the city. BERLINER BEZIRKE WEDDING and BERLINER BEZIRKE FRIEDRICHSHAIN's first showing was at 9:01 pm and 9:19 pm, each on a Friday and was placed in the evening program not even an hour before the late version of the *SFB* BERLINER ABENDSCHAU at 10 pm. In this context, it is important to note that BERLINER ABENDSCHAU, the city's official news, was probably the most successful program on *SFB* and can hence be considered a major structuring element of the daily program schedule. BERLINER BEZIRKE MITTE was first aired at 7:01 pm on a Monday, just shortly before the primetime ABENDSCHAU at 7:30 pm. By placing the district portraits

in close proximity to the news, they are likewise perceived by the audience as part of an official coverage of Berlin, thus as a program that may expand the news by a more detailed portrait of what is going on in the districts. After the first showing, BERLINER BEZIRKE episodes then run at high frequency[84] alternately in the morning, at noon and in the evening, and sometimes even twice a day or immediately before the early ABENDSCHAU at 6 pm. The rather short duration of 15 minutes per episode makes it a flexible and informative program that can easily be fitted within the program schedule at different times a day. Considering the fact that there are many more BERLINER BEZIRKE episodes rerunning at a similar frequency, one can consider BERLINER BEZIRKE a very present program in the coverage of Berlin between 1999 and 2001.

From Wedding to Mitte, each episode tells a different story

BERLINER BEZIRKE presents a portrait of Berlin that is translated into little portraits about Berlin's districts and their individual, often historically rooted relationship with the city. In this context, one can understand the episode BB WEDDING and its content as *one* possible perspective to the city. This perspective can be summarized as follows: BB WEDDING attempts to address the region, local identity and the viewer's everyday life, firstly, by using personalization and reassuring repetitions of already known narratives, which, secondly, stems from Wedding's positioning in Berlin as a traditionally rich working-class district. The anecdotes fulfill the role of preserving, reinforcing, and narrating 'the old' and 'the established' vis-à-vis new developments in the district due to "the high unemployment rate" [13:46] and "the high share of foreign nationals" [13:48]. Values like locality, proximity, and community are more pronounced in the face of a transforming Berlin understood to disturb and replace old defining balances of work and living, for which the working-class district Wedding stood. Describing change by means of strictly opposing tendencies (old traditions versus new developments) is therefore Wedding's very unique perspective of Berlin's development.

84 To give an idea about the numbers: BB WEDDING is broadcasted at the end of 1999, and repeated eleven times in 2000. BB FRIEDRICHSHAIN is first broadcasted in July and repeated another five times in 1999, and nine times in 2000.

Within the series format, there is no contradiction that a completely different approach to the city is taken by the BERLINER BEZIRKE episode on Mitte (1999; hereafter BB MITTE[85]). Instead of using the assuring effect of already established stories, Mitte focuses on new developments and tells the story of Berlin as a multi-faceted place. At the time of the episode's production in 1999, the Wedding was not yet part of the administrative district Mitte.[86] It was first and foremost Spandau which had constituted the district's working-class site, however, not as iconic and all-embracing as the 'Red' tradition is a topic for Wedding. This allows the episode to step aside from a too strong historical branding of the neighborhood in only one direction and to explore instead a very reciprocal relationship between the district's various elements (for example, next to the working-class tradition, the episode also discusses new office buildings). In contrast to BB WEDDING, BB MITTE offers new perspectives and addresses several developments in the city prominently in its portrait. In fact, it makes it *the* characterization of the district. Many reasons are stated that suggest Mitte as an object of study to reflect change: Mitte is the district most impacted by the division of Berlin and the route of the wall; it subsequently experienced a reevaluation in the course of Germany's reunification after 1989 and is currently site to many urban renewal projects and important political institutions.

Hence, what BB WEDDING and BB MITTE offer, among many other BERLINER BEZIRKE portraits, is a diversification in the discourse of the city. Many more perspectives and positions become legitimate narrations of the city of Berlin because the flexibility of the serial format allows each episode to emphasize a different aspect in consideration of the district's situation and history. This seems like a necessary opening of the TV format in times when processes of globalization and urbanization pose new challenges and questions to society (Frahm, 2010, p. 308). The central buzzword 'diversification' implies the increased variety of people in and perspectives on the city, of the ways the city gains meaning, and social practices that take place in urban space (although the latter point becomes more important in

85 Time codes in the analysis refer to BERLINER BEZIRKE MITTE (1999) played on QuickTime Player.

86 Wedding became a part of the administrative district Mitte after a reform in 2001. Episodes about Mitte are therefore included in the analysis in order to capture possible parallels and differences in the TV episodes of Mitte after 2001.

newer episodes of BILDERBUCH, see ch. 4.3). This also creates a new spatial representation of the city that is not only established *between* different episodes, but also within an individual episode. The following section focuses on two portraits on Mitte that diversify perspectives of Berlin by focusing on the complexity of urban space: BERLINER BEZIRKE MITTE and BILDERBUCH DEUTSCHLAND MITTE.

BB MITTE (1999): the city as a collage

BB MITTE situates the district Mitte in a transitional period, marked by productive tensions between the old and new Berlin. This is particularly visible in a short sequence at the beginning of the episode, which functions as an introduction to the district and summarizes BB MITTE's point of view. Whereas BB WEDDING starts its portrait by capturing the television tower (a symbol for Berlin's center) from afar and tells its story about the Wedding as a chapter of the city, BB MITTE reverses this view and uses the TV tower at Alexanderplatz as a point of departure. Thereby the episode applies a more global perspective on Berlin, like venturing a diagnosis of our time from the center. Visually, this is translated into a sequence of shots of the TV tower and wide-angle shots of the surrounding area. This dialogue of the city with the TV tower, which symbolically stands for Mitte, is shot from different angles and distances. Sometimes the tower casts its shadow on a row of houses, then the perspective changes and looks up to the tower over the modern glass facade of a train station (Image 13, 01:02). The different layers of the city that unfolds in the succession of shots is reinforced on the audio level by the off-narrator who adds: "Berlin Mitte is more than just a district or a geographical location. Here, you encounter Prussian splendor, fallow history and the Berlin of the future."[87] The background music adds another subtle layer of depth to the scene with stretched high-pitched sounds. Like an anticipating layer waiting to be excavated, the mysterious music continues to accompany other depictions of historical sites in the episode. The visual and auditive elements together depict Berlin Mitte as a complex, multilayered space that allows for many perspectives of the district.

87 German original: "Berlin Mitte ist mehr als nur ein Bezirk oder eine geographische Ortsangabe, hier begegnet man Preußischer Pracht, brachliegender Geschichte und dem Berlin der Zukunft." [02:31-02:43]

The introductory scene reveals the episode's very different approach to urban space in comparison to BB WEDDING's singular understanding of the district as a homogenous space being replaced by new developments.

The spatial perception of Berlin is tied to the idea of a 'melting pot' in BB MITTE. The off-narrator explains that no other district changes so rapidly: "Mitte keeps up with the pace of our era and is once again becoming a melting pot of people and milieus."[88] The episode places the current development in a continuous timeline with the history of modernity and rising metropoles. The commentator claims that in 1920 Mitte once underwent a similar development when "the Alexanderplatz became a synonym of metropolitan bustle" [01:24]. By reflecting a time when the city of Berlin experienced an influx of population from all-over Germany, the episode follows Berlin's legacy of a socially, culturally and politically diverse city. The transformation of society allegedly repeats itself by uniting different layers and sides of the city as Berlin is further growing into an international metropolis. The question for the turn of the millennium would be: different sides and milieus are melted into what pot? The episode is rather unspecific about this and only aims to emphasize forward movement and the lively mingling in the city. Interestingly though, particular experiences like that of the working class are summarized under one uniting experience of living in a modernizing, growing city.

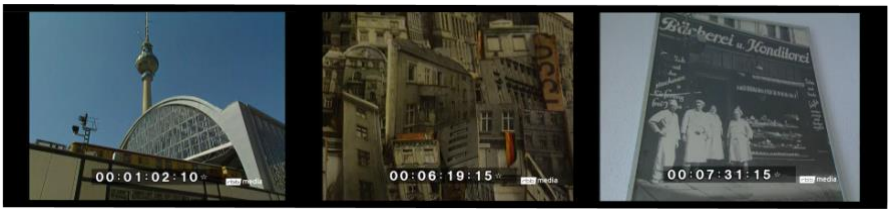

Fig. 8 (Image 13, 14 & 15 Capture BB MITTE, Berlin as a multilayered space)

The introduced idea of the melting pot of people and milieus thus functions to merge different voices and perspectives into a general story of change. An example of the filmic implementation of this integration is a film sequence about work and living in the *Spandauer Vorstadt*, a former working-class suburb of Mitte [04:42-08:13]. The sequence comprises two interviews with an artist and a baker that

88 German original: "Mitte hält mit dem Tempo unserer Epoche mit und wird wieder zum Schmelztiegel von Menschen und Milieus." [02:46-02:53]

dramaturgically enclose the narration of change in the *Spandauer Vorstadt*, which repeats the familiar story of old inhabitants and the crafts that have moved out the neighborhood and are replaced by superficial commercialized relations. A calm, melancholy fiddle playing sets the motion for a nostalgic slideshow of still images of abandoned backyards, old barn doors, and no longer used workbenches[89]. The images are captured in one-shots without camera movement. Their stillness, also expressed in the choice of motifs and their lighting, suggests the flat spatiality of new times for which the *Spandauer Vorstadt* "is often no more than a facade."[90] But this two-dimensionality of new developments is repealed by a preceding interview with a migrated artist who creates new spatial relations in collages of Berlin, in which he processes his personal impressions (Image 14, 06:19). From an international modern perspective, he claims to be an observer of the mix of the new and the old Berlin. Another approach to change in the *Spandauer Vorstadt* is taken by the interview with a long-established bakery owner. Instead of reassembling contemporary relations, the bakery reverses the view and unites all kinds of people and milieus in tradition. The interview spans a timeline in which the bakery is presented as a continuum in the neighborhood. Whether today or yesterday (presented by old pictures; Image 15, 07:31) their famous butter pancakes have stayed the same. The baker says: "[…] It's a tradition, a really good butter pancake. From workers to intellectuals, everyone buys here."[91]

The interviewees are the observers and actors in these developments. They tell about how they deal with a transforming environment and are presented as active participants of this change who contribute to the new "flair" [05:46] of Berlin by reviving waste lands and the old facades of Berlin: the interviewees "hold the fort" [07:22] in a transitioning business (interview with the owner of a traditional bakery) and find creative ways to fill old structures with

89 The analysis of the latest episodes in Chapter 4.3 shows how these manufacture places are revived again by artists and new creative inhabitants.

90 German original: "Leben in Mitte: das war die typische Mischung aus Wohnen und Arbeiten im Hinterhof. Das Handwerk ist inzwischen eine Seltenheit. Mancherorts nur Dekoration. Den einstigen Charme muss man heute suchen. Moderne Dienstleister sind ins Viertel gezogen, in ehemaligen Gewerbehöfen wird Lebensart verkauft. Das alte Berlin ist oft nur noch Fassade." [08:22-09:01]

91 German original: "[…] Das ist eine Tradition, also ein richtig guter Butterpfannkuchen. Vom Arbeiter hoch bis zum Intellektuellen – Sämtliche Leute kaufen hier ein." [07:56-8:05]

"color and fresh life" [04:55] (interview with an artist in an abandoned building). Change is therefore not only narrated as an abstract development overrunning the district and impacting the inhabitants' lives as it is the case in BB WEDDING. Instead, change is reflected in the citizens' behaviors and attitudes toward urban structures. In the mingling of the city, each individual finds its place and makes the city as diverse as the artist's collage. In this sense, 'the collage' actually provides a better model than 'the melting pot' for the representation of Berlin by BB MITTE. This also gives the city a livelier character than in NAHAUFNAHME and WAS WURDE AUS DEM ROTEN KIEZ, which saw the working-class neighborhood as a topic of analysis, rather than as complex transforming space.

The two interviews of BB MITTE are a balance to the abstractness and fast pace of this contemporary epoch, and fulfill a similar function to the interviews in BB WEDDING. These new developments are seen to be rather superficial as they yet lack something of a lively essence, a local character and their own tradition. These missing pieces are however mediated and compensated by the interviews which reflect and represent a *part* of the change. Interestingly, the new neighborhood figures, like the artist and other creative migrants, are emphasized as 'inhabitants' of the district, hence people who found a 'home' in Mitte and significantly contribute to the district's functioning. New residents are therefore equally a part of Mitte, which is, according to the episode, characterized by just this mixture of old and new. Next to established structures and traditions, the new side of Mitte receives a personal, human face – its stories likewise tell about personal histories and local particularities (i.e., the artist, who comments on his choice to move to Berlin, his impressions and feelings about the city). This is completely different from earlier portraits and documentaries that consider the migrant as more of an intruder and outsider – in other words: a clear break with old district structures.

BB MITTE narrates continuity between the old and new Berlin along the lines of personal experiences and local traits by effortlessly moving from old stories about Mitte to new voices in the city. In a similar way to BB WEDDING, the recurrence on local history and (personal) stories functions as a safe harbor in face of developments that are perceived as fast and abstract. The difference is that BB MITTE does not see 'the new' as something qualitatively different. It is just

another *perspective* on things and developments. The wide world and its perspective, which is represented by the international artist, is brought into the local world of the citizens. Locality and change are not mutually exclusive but come together as they represent the old and new Berlin.

BILDERBUCH D MITTE (1997): between the local and the national, the personal and the general

The documentary series BILDERBUCH DEUTSCHLAND is produced around the turn of the century and presents, like BERLINER BEZIRKE, episodic portraits, however with a length of 45 minutes. BILDERBUCH DEUTSCHLAND had been broadcasted between 1996 and 2006 for the *ARD*, and then was continued under the shorter title BILDERBUCH. Ever since the series stopped in 2010, only *rbb* has occasionally produced episodes, which indicates the format's popularity among the channel's audience. The later version BILDERBUCH will be the subject of chapter 4.3. The program can be considered a variety of the upcoming portrait series format in the late 1990s that tells regional unity across episodes with an effort to admit to regional accentuations. Similar to BERLINER BEZIRKE, BILDERBUCH DEUTSCHLAND has a trailer at the beginning of each episode that communicates that the episode is a solitary portrait in a series of other episodes. The biggest difference between the two programs, BILDERBUCH DEUTSCHLAND and BERLINER BEZIRKE, is the scale on which they construct a regional narrative. Although BILDERBUCH DEUTSCHLAND BERLIN-MITTE [92] (1997; hereafter BILDERBUCH D MITTE) features a district, the series' overall aim is to provide impressions of Germany.

The nationwide context is also the framework of the episode BILDERBUCH D MITTE. The episode is a production of the *SFB* for the collaborative program of the *ARD*, which is visibly indicated at the beginning of the trailer through a big "1," the *ARD*'s logo. Then, a smaller *SFB*'s logo is superimposed, which lets the *ARD*'s logo remain the prominent fundament. BILDERBUCH DEUTSCHLAND's cheerful classical music gives the start for a slideshow of visual impressions of Berlin. The succession of images is additionally visualized in the background by the turning pages of a book, which references the

92 Time codes in the analysis refer to BILDERBUCH DEUTSCHLAND MITTE (1997) played on QuickTime Player.

program's title BILDERBUCH ("picture book"). This book concludes the trailer by fading in with the colors of the German flag. Its title is the title of the program, BILDERBUCH DEUTSCHLAND. The following episode about Mitte is hence presented as a chapter of a picture book about Germany. This generalizing perspective impacts the episode's depiction of the district Mitte as a representation of the whole Berlin. For BILDERBUCH D MITTE, Mitte is *the* district in Berlin where events and situations are agglomerating [00:50]. Again, the television tower functions as a point of departure and as a perspective on the city as a whole: the episode claims to explore histories and developments of the capital by following the 'melting pot' Mitte – a multi-layered district with a "rich history" [42:07] and many "faces" [42:16]. The characterization of Mitte resembles BB MITTE's idea of a multifaceted urban space. However, BILDERBUCH D MITTE's perspective on the city does not emanate primarily from local stories and histories. A photographer adds an outside perspective to the exploration, and yet, he is not a foreigner to the city as he has been living in Berlin for many years. He mediates between the (inter)national and local perspective of Berlin and symbolically produces the pictures for the picture book BILDERBUCH DEUTSCHLAND.

The mediator position of the photographer through which the viewer gets to know Mitte is emphasized in the very first scene that shows a steep low-angle-shot of the TV tower and a construction worker who tries to get a lift running which gets him and the photographer up the tower. During the ride upwards, the film camera and the photographer's camera take turns in shooting the situation from very different angles. The film camera occasionally imitates the photographer's gaze, while snap-shot sounds are added. This molding of perspectives in the entrance scene stands exemplary for the episode's collaboration with the renowned photographer Stephan Erfurt, whose work and life is based in Berlin. After having lived in Paris and New York before, Erfurt had moved to Berlin as the narrator informs the viewers. He is supposed to equip the episode with an international and cosmopolitan perspective on the city. The commentator from the off is interested in "how someone who is new

to Berlin sees Mitte" [03:45] and suggests joining him "on a discovery tour"[93] […] for a week through the district.

The reference to 'discoveries' is strongly reminiscent of the sociological expedition rhetoric of earlier films (Ch. 2.2): the own city is declared an unknown space of experience and an object of curiosity and explorative desire. The photographer's perspective likewise represents an exploration from a creative middle-class point of view. What changed, however, is the target of exploration: the expedition is not primarily directed at discovering the city's blind spots, meaning segregated areas and milieus in the city that had been previously unknown to a (for the most part) bourgeois audience. The object of exploration, this time, is the transforming city itself, i.e., the question of what kind of city the society is currently living in. The photographer's gaze is in search for different, unknown perspectives of the city, eventually meeting the people who become the subjects of his portraits. According to this understanding, the district's filmed portrait is thus less of a finished product with established traditions and histories waiting to be presented to the audience as a yet to be explored urban space that is in constant interaction with the local level and people whose lives and stories function as access to this space.

The photographer approaches urban space by shooting portrait photos. Thereby, the act of portraying becomes itself a topic for the TV format of the district portrait. Using the Polaroid camera makes it look like spontaneous encounters in the city. The episode stages the snapshots as unedited, direct approaches to the city's reality. The photographer's movement within the city in search for possible motives is also a roadmap for the TV episode, which follows him around and captures the act of portraying from a second level perspective. Usually, the narrator takes the shooting as an initiation to provide background information on the location, the person, or the city's history, adding further layers of meaning to the scene. Therefore, the portrait's function exceeds the mere introduction of people, but also acts to explore their immediate surrounding and a part of the district's history. The exploration of space is therefore also an integral part of the act of portraying. Approaching space often happens through the staging of spontaneous photoshoots: the photographer finds or

93 German original: "Mit ihm wollen wir eine Woche lang auf eine ungewöhnliche Entdeckungsreise gehen.durch den spannendsten Berliner Bezirk – durch Mitte." [01:13-01:21]

visits his portraits' subjects on-site; on the spur of the moment, he kneels, bends and stretches to find the perfect angle for his pictures (Image 16, 05:07). It can however happen that he is shown in the process of thorough preparation, for instance, when patiently waiting in front of his equipment before deciding to capture a situation. In either case, his on-location polaroid photos and later-on, developed pictures in the photographic laboratory, are collected like the materials for a picture book (Image 17, 05:18). Bit by bit, both the episode and the photographer work their way through urban space, creating a sequence of lively filmic portraits that together compound the narrative of Berlin Mitte.

Fig. 9 (Image 16, 17 & 18 Capture B.D. MITTE, Portraying – an act of urban exploration)

Throughout the episode, this process of image generating and perspective-taking is made visible. It proves again that the episode's focus is on the explorative, apparently spontaneous character of discovering the district, rather than looking for ready-made motives the neighborhood is already known for. Urban space is inextricably linked with the photographer's encounters with people and their stories, which offer a pluralistic perspective of Mitte. These multiple defining elements no longer fit the idea of the district as a large consolidated structure like considerations of the traditional working-class neighborhood. They represent the structuring of the city into smaller units of meaning: the local character is firmly tied to the playful discovering of people and places whose portraits constitute the overlapping layers of the district.

Although the photographer's portraits originally offer a very personal approach to Mitte, the episode BILDERBUCH D MITTE constantly switches between this level of personal exploration and generalizations that fit the portrait about Mitte back into the broader context of the series BILDERBUCH DEUTSCHLAND. This happens, firstly, through the use of music as a counterbalance to the individual visual explorations of the photographer. The episode uses very loud,

imperial classical music as a theme, mostly in scenes that show wide-angle shots of Berlin. The music underlines the monumental character of the depicted buildings and emphasizes their historical importance. The music heightens Berlin and is therefore sometimes in contrast to the photographer Erfurt, an individual who approaches the city from below. Secondly, the narrator refers to Mitte as "the center of Berlin" [42:18] and Berlin as "the capital" [42:11], which both expands the scope of the portrait. And thirdly, the narrator frames the portraits of people according to their *representative* function for different types or figures in the city. The portraits in BILDERBUCH D MITTE are standardized perspectives and relations to the city, which is expressed, amongst others, by the narrator who speaks of "motives" when he talks about "people, situations, and places" [42:01] They would provide the best means by which history and development of the capital can be understood. They are "[p]ictures from a small district with so much history in a confined space, and by which the development of the capital can be read like under a burning glass: in the stories and faces on the photos from the center of Berlin."[94] Because their stories tell so much about the history and development of the city "like under a magnifying glass" [42:12], the portraits are condensed versions of certain aspects of the city that are considered, like in BB MITTE, a better representation of local history than just the visiting of (tourist) sites.

This typification is best visible in the final scene of the episode's journey of finding and generating images for the representation of Mitte. Erfurt, the photographer, projects a slideshow of his pictures on the wall of his atelier (Image 18, 42:52). Like a funnel, the experimental exploration and interaction at each interview location eventually converge into portraits that shape the district's character. The audience is presented to some of the ready-developed portrait pictures that the photographer shot during the episode. This process further gives the impression that the audience has made memories together during the episode, because they have witnessed the locations and people portrayed. In this final recap, the images become shared memories documented in the picture book of Germany. With the

94 German original: "Bilder aus einem kleinen Bezirk, in dem sich auf engstem Raum so viel Geschichte drängt. Und wo sich die Entwicklung der Hauptstadt, wie in einem Brennglas ablesen lässt: in den Geschichten und den Gesichtern auf den Fotos aus der Mitte Berlins." [42:03-42:24]

presentation of the collection of different portraits, the individual stories disappear behind the focus on portraying a diverse Mitte. The focus on diversity generalizes each portrait by highlighting its unique perspective. One can see portraits of the construction workers, two elderly women and the cook of a migrant workers' container housing. The two women, for example, who look out of a graffiti sprayed old brick house window, stand for a generation of old residents that face displacement because of the changing urban environment around them. As representative figures, the interviews of people always combine a personal and a generalized perspective in their story. Although showcasing individual destinies, the portraits thus function to represent Mitte as "[…] for Germany, probably the most interesting melting pot,"[95] as Erfurt concludes in his final words and in the final statement of the episode. This perspective of a generalized interest in depicting Mitte is finally diverted in the sequence of end credits, which circles Mitte by a montage of shots from a subway ride while the imperial theme music dramatizes the final look that the viewer can take on the many dynamic sites of Mitte.

In summary, BILDERBUCH D MITTE understands the city of the late 1990s like BB MITTE as a drastically changing environment in terms of redevelopment plans, a developing service economy, new relationships of work and living, and increasingly diversified experiences by people. As an episode of BILDERBUCH DEUTSCHLAND produced for the *ARD*, BILDERBUCH D MITTE nevertheless attempts to provide a local portrait of national relevance. As such, the episode does not depict Mitte as a local portrait of one district among many but suggests Mitte as a representational center of Berlin, which is in turn repeatedly stated as the capital of Germany and thus has itself a representational function. Furthermore, BILDERBUCH D MITTE's placing in the program schedule of the *ARD* suggests a different perception of the episode than BERLINER BEZIRKE that is placed in the workday rhythm of *SFB*'s coverage of Berlin and complements the news. BILDERBUCH DEUTSCHLAND was the Sunday documentary film of *ARD* at 1:45 pm for a long time. The episodes were perceived and produced as independent films that vary aesthetically depending on the involved channel and production team. For BILDERBUCH D MITTE, Ulli Zelle and Martina Dase led the production, two experienced

95 German original: "Gerade Berlin Mitte ist für mich […] für Deutschland bestimmt der spannendste Schmelztiegel." [43:07-43:12]

journalists that already developed their handwriting. Ulli Zelle is especially considered a TV dinosaur[96] at *rbb* and a self-proclaimed observer of Berlin's "becoming and growing" (Zelle, n.d., my translation). Already the press release of BILDERBUCH D MITTE states that "the film […] offers a very subjective view on the old and new centrum of the capital" (rbb archive, 1997). For the viewers, this is visible when big letters are inserted at the beginning of the episode that state "a film by Martina Dase and Ulli Zelle" [02:05], indicating a unique work of authors. Nevertheless, both directors mediate between their personal view and program guidelines that set the general framework for the film.

4.2.4 The 'melting pot' metaphor: the diversification of working-class experience

The mediation of urban space by a melting pot metaphor has consequences for the depiction of the working-class tradition in Mitte. For a long time, the working-class neighborhood had been considered a homogeneous unity of people and their inhabited space. All discussed episodes – BB WEDDING, BB MITTE and BILDERBUCH D MITTE – characterize the former working-class neighborhood as a balanced relation of work and living.[97] While these relations are not further defined by the episodes, its story is based on the idea that the workers' district had once been a coherent unit characterized by dense living and working conditions, and the social homogeneity of its residents. These aspects of working-class living are understood as an original, naturally grown unit, which had been threatened and altered by new developments in the domain of work and the domain of living. In regard to living, the episodes mention redevelopment areas that force old inhabitants out of their homes; there are the squatters who

96 Zelle is also well-known by the audience as a reporter of the BERLINER ABENDSCHAU. He is further involved in many other TV productions both before and behind the camera.

97 The individual German statements are as follows: BB WEDDING: "Einst bekannt durch die Mischung aus Arbeiten und Wohnen, hat sich in dem ehemaligen Arbeiterbezirk vieles verändert"; BB MITTE: "Leben in Mitte: das war die typische Mischung aus Wohnen und Arbeiten im Hinterhof"; BILDERBUCH D. DEUTSCHLAND: "Da unten die Hackeschen Höfe: verschachtelte Gewerbehöfe, nach der Wende aufwendig restauriert und heute eine *ideale* Mischung aus Leben und Arbeiten"; and: "Leben und Arbeiten liegt in den Hackeschen Höfen eben eng zusammen."

occupy empty houses; and lifestyle has become a purchasable good. With regard to work, a new service economy would replace traditional crafts; new competitions evolve between businesses and between different types of workers (e.g., migrant and German construction workers). Although it is not further specified how exactly each element impacts the relation of work and living, the general assumption has changed from the unity of place and people to diversified urban experiences.

Accordingly, the stories about the neighborhood also become more varied. A new unity is sought in the metaphor of the melting pot, which acknowledges differences and simultaneously places diverse experiences under a common denominator. This allows for several perspectives on the working-class experience in the city, out of which three by BILDERBUCH D MITTE are presented in the following chapters: (1) An interview with former resident Else exemplifies how working-class experience is transferred to the private realm, mainly by personal stories and memories, and is coded anew as expression of Berlin Mitte's diverse character. (2) The construction worker shows up as a new figure in a growing city. (3) And the migrant worker fills the position of marginalized living in the city. Some of them share similarities, but their overall experience in Berlin is very different.

Else – personalized working-class experience

Except for the narrator's side note about the *Spandauer Vorstadt* ("*Spandau* quarter") being a former working-class district, the topic of working-class living is only brought up in form of personalized stories in interviews. An interview sequence in BILDERBUCH D MITTE […] with an elderly woman, Else, deals with her working-class experience. She tells about stigmatizations because of her childhood in a "slum" [06:27] area where the "scum" [06:30] of the city was said to be living. The woman recaptures how people like her teacher and other kids treated her differently because she was living in the infamous *Waisenstraße,* a disdained neighborhood. Remarkable is that her encounters are not specifically labeled a 'working-class experience.' This information does not seem important for the episode. The issues of class affiliation and poverty only indirectly appear through the topic of segmentation. In the woman's story, the old Berlin appears as a city

pervaded by many borders – physical and mental ones. Reactions by her teacher and the kids show the strong mental boundaries determining social interaction within society at that time. The woman's place of residence was not just a bad experience with regard to poor living conditions, but it also affected her personal and social life as a whole, for instance, with regard to her education and ability to build relationships with other people.

The episode makes it clear that these borders were a reality of the *old* Berlin. The interview is preceded by the exploration of the former city wall. An off-voice notes: "Here were the roots of the old Berlin."[98] A camera accompanies Else on her walk along the no longer existent city wall as she is pointing out the former route with her walking stick (Image 19, 05:54). Also, the woman's story is characterized as part of the old Berlin as the narrator remarks before the interview: "Else W. rummages in her black and white photos and in her memories"[99](Image 20, 06:25). Even though Else's experiences of segmentation could be coded as a class experience – (e.g., the fact that the interview takes place in a typical neighborhood pub of the period, *The last resort* ("Zur letzten Instanz"[100]), and that there is a reference to 'rootedness') – her story is instead bound to personal memories (Image 21, 06:42). Old divisions like segmented neighborhoods seem to no longer play a role for the present depiction of Berlin. The episode likes to picture a Berlin that overcame old divisions and instead advertises the parallelization of existences in the melting pot narrative.

Fig. 10 (Image 19, 20 & 21 Capture B.D. MITTE, Else's Waisenstraße)

The woman's story can be considered one expression of new differentiations as expressed by the portrayed people. Instead of

98 German original: "Hier hatte das alte Berlin seine Wurzeln." [05:49-05:51]

99 German original: "Else W. kramt in ihren Schwarz-Weiß-Fotos und in ihren Erinnerungen." [06:17-06:20]

100 According to the restaurant's homepage, many famous personalities sympathizing with the early twentieth century working-class culture were regular customers. For example, Heinrich Zille, Clara Zetkin, and Otto Nagel.

relying on old borders and divisions, the episode emphasizes the harmonious *coexistence* of lives and stories in the current district. Else's personal story relates to and is one among many voices in a developing metropolis framed as a 'melting pot' of cultures and urban experience – a phrase repeatedly pronounced in the city series and sought of as the latest image for Mitte's televisual portrait. Experiences and personal destinies of people are juxtaposed on a narrational level even though their stories fundamentally differ in quality, for instance, if the woman's experience of being marginalized is juxtaposed to an interview sequence about a man who likes to pursue his sailing hobby. In other words, experiences of exclusion find a place next to the characterization of Berlin as a place of realizing even extraordinary hobbies. Independent from their content, the stories are treated on equal terms when it comes to the characterization of Mitte as a colorful neighborhood. The juxtaposition of these stories, the metaphor of the 'melting pot,' forms the new basis for a regional self-definition and identification that allows for differences and simultaneously understands all characters as harmonious cohabitants.

The city series formats are based on the idea of a new social coexistence. It is one of the goals outlined in public television's attempt to strengthen a regional identification and to contribute to its stability (Ch. 4.2.2). Accordingly, the episodes attempt to not only loosely assemble interviews of people into a random collection of Berlin stories. Instead, it is also about finding and describing a new regional character for the city and the district Mitte. The 'melting pot' presents itself as a suitable metaphor in this context because it supposedly claims unity especially in the face of uncertainties and inconsistencies that come along with transformations of urban space and changes in society that are both so strongly emphasized by the episodes. At the melting pot's conceptual core, however, is a homogenizing process (Berray, 2019) in which heterogeneous elements are assimilated together into a harmonious whole with the aim of a common culture. It is a concept that conjures (regional) unity regardless of the heterogeneity of and possible tensions between its elements. All in all, the melting pot narrative thus serves as a new understanding of the city and society that can unite the plurality of very diverse work and living experiences. It allows the city's story to be atomized and to rely on individual yet representative figures to tell

the city's story in place of historically pre-defined and inflexible entities like 'the working-class district' and 'class experience.'

As the range of characters in the city diversifies, also the depiction of the working class becomes more nuanced. Whereas WAS WURDE AUS DEM ROTEN KIEZ and NAHAUFNAHME both frame the working class as a political, homogeneous movement or as well-established inhabitants, the appearance of work multiplies in BILDERBUCH D MITTE (and indicates different relationships): the old inhabitant Else exemplifies the experience of segregated living in what could have been called a typical working-class neighborhood; the construction worker carries out new work in a growing city; and the migrant worker – a construction worker himself [101] – is the new example of marginalized living under poor living conditions. Many forms of the working-class experience can therefore stand next to each other without necessarily being subsumed under one term or category.

The construction worker – an iconic image of urban change

A new figure that evolves in the narration of a transforming city is the construction worker. His [102] portrait appears in the beginning of BILDERBUCH D MITTE, when the photographer takes a picture of four construction workers on top of the TV tower. Migrant construction workers are furthermore thematized in the middle of the episode when their lives are juxtaposed to an investor's business plans. And finally, the photographer picks up the workers portraits again by the end of the episode, presenting them as one among many faces in the 'melting pot' Mitte. Being presented simultaneously as an observer, builder and inhabitant of the city, the construction worker signifies new relations of work and living in urban space. From the top of the TV tower, the worker holds an exclusive view on the city's development in the East and West (interview with construction worker). They take active part in the construction and maintenance of the city's buildings, and the attraction of many foreign laborers demands for critical questions about their accommodation and integration in society. The following will explore these different relations that are offered by a reflection on

101 Only men are mentioned in the episode.

102 This section consciously uses the masculine form for references to 'the construction worker' because this group is only represented by male workers in the episode.

the figure of the construction worker and its more specific type – the migrant worker.

In line with the show's strong emphasis on (urban) change, Mitte's cityscape is represented most dominantly by far-stretching urban redevelopment areas and construction sites (Image 22, 14:13). Throughout the episode, people in interviews are presented in front of skylines with tower cranes and scaffolds, and they are surrounded by small roadworks and digging machines while telling about how they were relocated. Change is an omnipresent topic in the episode – not only in peoples' lives but also in the visible physical structure of the city (above and underground) through ways and basements that expose the city's different layers of construction. According to the commentator, these transforming landscapes would most naturally attract construction workers like a place of pilgrimage: "Berlin Mitte is changing; it is a mecca not only for construction workers but also for photographers from all around the world,"[103] states the narrator already at the very beginning of the episode. The first scene opens accordingly with a maintenance worker at the TV tower, bringing the photographer and the film team up in the air. On top of the tower, the photographer takes portrait pictures of four workers who are posing in front of Berlin's skyline (Image 23, 02:35). Being a symbol of modernism, far-sighted future, and the old and new Berlin, working at the TV tower places the construction worker symbolically at the center of developments and as a central figure on the urban stage.

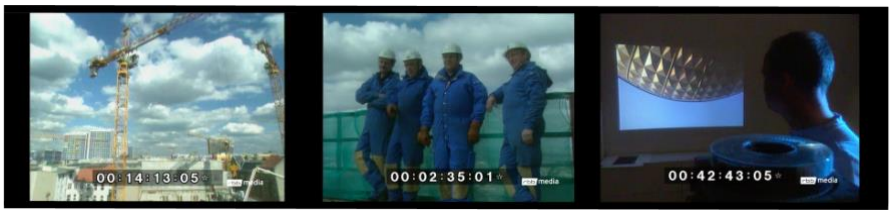

Fig. 11 (Image 22, 23 & 24 Capture B.D. MITTE, Urban change and the texture of the city)

This opening scene evokes resemblances to the iconic image *Lunch atop a Skyscraper* (1932) credited to Charles C. Ebbets, which depicts eleven construction workers eating lunch on a steel beam during the construction of the Rockefeller Center in Manhattan, New York. The actual photographic documentation of the building included more

103 German original: "Berlin Mitte verändert sich, ein Mekka nicht nur für Bauarbeiter, sondern auch für Fotografen aus aller Welt." [00:55-01:01]

pictures displaying impressive motives and astonishing conditions under which those workers labored at dizzy heights. But this danger is overshadowed by the picture's general optimism towards modern construction – the Rockefeller building emphasized the vertical and as such stood for the proudness and self-confidence of a prosperously looking future. The image *Lunch atop a Skyscraper* became iconic not so much because of the sake of the workers' depiction, but it represented the mastering of these heights and a spirit of modern optimism for a whole generation. The workers stood for a general societal development, which celebrated urban change with this picture.

BILDERBUCH D MITTE applies a similarly iconic meaning to the figure of the construction worker. While the photoshoot on top of the TV tower is going on, the narrator indicates that Erfurt's pictures are displayed in the national German newspaper *and* in New York museums alike. His portraits therefore do not just offer depictions of local individuals but furthermore incorporate symbolic value and representative potential to also function as art. Moreover, the construction workers are not depicted during actual work processes. Their representation thus remains on the symbolic level, which lets the construction worker appear as a type and not as a person who is actually doing work.

This is typical for the episode, which constantly goes beyond the mere representation of individual citizens. The portraits of people represent images of the district's different faces. Like a picture book, the episode on Mitte depicts many new characters – not individuals – that appear in a changing Berlin. Each portrait is intended to stand for a new typification in the city. This is suggested, for example, by the fact that, firstly, some people are too congruent with their immediate environment. Almost stereotypically the construction worker is portrayed at the construction site, which reduces his individualism and personal background to his role at work. Secondly, the portrayed persons are defined as motives from which the episodes attempt to representatively read the history and development of the neighborhood "like under a magnifying glass" [42:12]. And thirdly, construction workers are considered an occupation group whose maintenance of the tower is "their purpose in life" [02:49] instead of them being considered individuals with different backgrounds who chose the job for different reasons.

By mentioning both the worker *and* the photographer as people who are most attracted by the changing city, the episode furthermore thematizes the issue of perspective in its portraits. Both figures embody a specific examination of current changes in Berlin Mitte and its translation into an appropriate image for the district. In the very pragmatical question for the filmmakers of how to depict change and something that is considered eluding, the photographer offers a guiding figure to illustrate the ongoing search for motives on the visual level. He pursues an aesthetic exploration of the urban fabric by captivating shapes and forms with his camera. For the work of the photographer, the worker constitutes an important source which allows him to apply a more penetrative perspective. Erfurt explains how information on a building's material texture might have altered his understanding of a situation and consequently the motive of his picture (Image 24, 42:43). In this view, the construction worker, on the other hand, stands for a material perception of urban space. He is addressed as a knowledgeable person whose role is positioned somewhere between *ideas* of urban space and their *realization* into *concrete* form.

The migrant worker – the downside image of urban growth

The episode's emphasis on diversification allows for different working-class experiences. And so, there is another, very different instance in which the construction worker is 'stuck' between urban ideals and living reality: the migrant worker. This radical difference is pictured by the juxtaposition of two sequences about a construction site of a modern multimedia office center and the migrant workers' isolated life in a cramped container city. Both sides are contrasted by the episode: the first sequence uses stylizations, and the second sequence immerses the viewer in the everyday life of migrants.

The first sequence about the construction site unites an on-location interview with the investor and the introduction of an architectural model of the area. The camera moves from a steep angle along scaffolds attached to the outside facade of the new building and stops at a big advertisement board featuring the life-sized figure of the architect, which still reigns in the background during the interview with the investor who talks about his visions. The audience learns that

the building was designed by “start architect Philip Johnson” [14:37] and the scene switches to a close-up depiction of an architectural model, presumably by the same. Like entering the architect’s mind, the camera moves along the artificial walls of the miniature model of the area (Image 25, 14:46). The whole scene is underlined by the imperial theme music running through the episode, in the rhythm of which the lights of the model buildings turn on and off like in a choreographed dance. This dramatization heightens and glorifies the architectural model to an extent that seems ironic in the face of the following sequence.

Fig. 12 (Image 25, 26 & 27 Capture B.D. MITTE, Urban ideals and lived reality)

After this introduction to the construction site that is about advertising billboards, visions, and models, a contrasting cut is made to the container city, where “a need satisfaction of another kind” [16:16] is met, as the narrator leads over to the situation of *migrant* construction workers. This change is accompanied by a change of music styles from classical music to a song from a foreign TV channel running in one of the workers’ containers. In addition to the emotional solo, only undefined noises and the rumblings of men can be heard in the narrow space, then the sizzling meat on the grill. The sight of the image is obstructed by smoke. This scene pictures a radically different world than the superficial and shiny world of the investor. The episode addresses the lodging and catering of 200 Portuguese workers who came to Berlin for assembly work. According to the episode, these are workers who “put their heads on the line for building the new center of Berlin,”[104] however, they seem to have little in common with the modern constructions introduced beforehand. The preceding scene can

104 German original: “Diese Männer halten ihre Knochen hin beim Aufbau der neuen Berliner Mitte – wie ihre Kollegen von England, Irland, oder vom Balkan. Sie verdienen wenig und arbeiten hart, sehr zum Ärger der deutschen Bauarbeiter.” [17:01-17:13]

therefore be interpreted as an ironic elevation of the building project in order to visualize the discrepancies of experiences in the city.

As cheap labor, the migrant workers constitute the human resource for building the new Berlin but they are not understood as a part of that vision[105] like the architect and the investor who actively shape urban projects. This is further exemplified by the fact that workers do not appear in the episode's visual documentation of a changing Berlin Mitte. Although the episode features so many construction sites, the focus remains on the depiction of buildings and scaffolds alone. In summary, the migrant worker is never really depicted at work even though work is allegedly the major purpose of his stay. In this sense, migrant workers are presented differently than German construction workers, who, in the beginning of the episode, are seen during maintenance work in various shots of the TV tower and whose professional knowledge about the development of Berlin is positively noted by the photographer and narrator.

Rather than emphasizing their work, the episode focuses on the *cultural* effect of the migrant worker's existence in a changing urban landscape and for the German society. The episode narrates how workers are housed in bright yellow container houses (Image 26, 16:03) like a foreign element within "Boomtown Berlin" [16:12]: "In the middle of Berlin, these men live as isolated as on an oil rig – without women, without family, without friends. Some already for more than three years."[106] The episode attempts to highlight the parallelism of the workers' world, in which they live "in the monotony of labor and a men's only guesthouse"[107] (Image 27, 17:33). It exposes the contradiction of their existence to the booming urban environment around them, which they – as the episode acknowledges – help to build.

This unusually critical tone for the portrait series is to be understood against the background of a migration debate in Germany in the 1990s, which raised issues of cultural coexistence and social

105 The creative process is only later glorified in the BILDERBUCH series (see chapter 4.3). Creativity is highlighted in the representation of the city, and many people are described to be creative, not just the architect.

106 German original: "Mitten in Berlin leben diese Männer so isoliert, wie auf einer Bohrinsel – ohne Frauen, ohne Familie, ohne Freunde. Manche bereits seit mehr als drei Jahren. ... Ein Stück südländische Fröhlichkeit in den kargen Märkeschen Gefilden." [17:29-17:55]

107 German original: "Nackensteaks für 200 Portugiesen, die auf Montage in Berlin sind. Sie leben hier in der Monotonie zwischen Maloche und Männerpension." [16:21-16:30]

inclusion. It is closely linked to the proliferation of the 'melting pot' metaphor as a new concept for society that got revived during the time and which is heavily used in both Mitte episodes. Politicians and society wrangled with the integration of guest workers, of whom many had migrated to Germany in reaction to the opening of job opportunities. Against general expectations of short stay residences, most migrants had decided to stay in the country, forcing public discussions on rethinking citizenship and diversity (instead of cohesion) as a defining ground for society (Cowell, 1997). The episode picks up on the topic of migration and includes it in the context of its urban melting pot narrative. It emphasizes the migrants' role in the construction of a new Berlin and integrates them into a vision of a growing, international and open city. Again, diversity in the city – i.e., the variety of backgrounds people bring into the local community – is not seen as something that necessarily polarizes society. Despite the migrant workers' hardships, for the episode, their existence is just one side of a generally positively connoted expansion of the city of Berlin.

The episode's attitude toward the migrants' situation therefore feels ambivalent at times. Being critical with regard to the migrants' living condition goes hand in hand with praising urban modernity and the new societal model of living together as a diverse 'pot.' Overall, the migrant worker is presented as a strange wanderer between worlds: he is not a part of the German society by lacking social contacts and integration into society, yet he is told to be an integral part of the cityscape and allegedly indispensable for the building of a new Berlin.

The clash of worlds is also communicated by BB MITTE, which mentions sleep containers of construction workers in close vicinity to the luxury hotel *Adlon*.[108] In comparison to BILDERBUCH D MITTE, construction workers are however not further differentiated into German and migrant workers. BB MITTE focuses on the appearance of differences as they are visible in the quick succession of shots of the hotel, the containers and the construction site. There is no music in the scene, just the neutral and distant informing voice of the narrator, which colors the overall scene in the style of news. Nevertheless, both episodes about Mitte share the ambivalent position of emphasizing strong differences that are however part of the positive branding of the city as 'melting pot.'

108 German original: "Nebenan Schlafcontainer von Bauarbeitern, die am Potzdamer Platz das Berlin der Zukunft bauen." [11:44-11:51]

The ‘melting pot’ idea is presented in both episodes not as a new phenomenon but as a tradition of Berlin. BB MITTE even directly reinvokes the image of the early century’s euphorism (“Aufbruchstimmung”) by stating that Berlin becomes “again” a “melting pot of people and milieus” [00:58-01:02]. Firmly anchoring diversity and movement in the city's history, the episode shows black and white archive footage of bustling streets and passing trams near the *Alexanderplatz*, a square in which traits of “metropolitan bustle” are combined with the attribute “modern” because of having been the “most modern traffic junction in Europe” [01:20, my translation]. Although more than 70 years are between the referred period and the analyzed episodes, the image of a modernizing and sometimes contradicting urban society from the early twentieth century ought to place the current Berlin in a similar light of a bustling, exciting metropole on the move. Also, BILDERBUCH D MITTE understands diversity as a long-standing tradition of Berlin’s history. Diversity is embodied by the presentation of different portrays of people in the city (who themselves configure the narrative of the city). By communicating the message ‘diversity belongs to Berlin,’ the city’s history, tradition and culture is seen as common denominator for a variety of cultures and people. The (continuous) urban narrative becomes an orientation resolving the contradiction and mutual exclusion of the traditional and the new. Diversity and foreign elements are incorporated side by side into the local character. Instead of a successive development understood as replacement, the melting pot metaphor is supposed to tell historical continuity, which implies a mix of (his)stories, backgrounds, traditions and cultures.

Although a comparison of the two differing periods is limited at this point, the following section will shortly point out interesting parallels in the narrative embedding of workers in city portraits between early documentary film and BILDERBUCH D MITTE. The migrant worker of the late 1990s is incorporated into urban tales of a rapidly growing, international Berlin in which the episode’s description “construction worker ghetto” [17:59] for the workers’ container housing evokes associations to the confined isolated living conditions as depicted in early documentaries about urban working-class neighborhoods (Ch. 2.2). Here, films like WIE WOHNEN WIR GESUND UND WIRTSCHAFTLICH also demonstrated an honest interest in the marginalized living situation of workers. However, by framing

proletarian neighborhoods as 'slums' of unworthy living conditions, the films found a way to heighten their own ideals of urban development. In other words, 'slums' were needed to tell a story about progress. In BILDERBUCH D MITTE, too, the container "ghetto" [17:59] strongly contrasts the more glorious and prosperous side of (the telling of) modern urban development, in which the workers are participating with little or no recognition at all. Although the episode approaches the construction workers with explorative enthusiasm[109] through the camera of the portraying photographer, the workers eventually end up as building blocks of the episode's vision of a diverse, modern, and growing metropolis.

That being said, the workers' role did however change from a passive to a more active role in this image of a modernizing city. The worker is no longer told to be a passive victim of urban renewal processes and instead actively engages in the very process as a construction worker. In the programs NAHAUFNAHME and WAS WURDE AUS DEM ROTEN KIEZ, which followed the victimization of the worker by early film for a different story of urban change, the working class and new migrant inhabitants are presented only like tokens on the drawing board of urban planners and massive redevelopment projects. An often-used motive in this context was the demolition ball tearing down house walls. Now, the abstract threat from above as symbolized by the demolition ball has changed. Instead, the construction worker, or at least his manpower, takes part in shaping these processes by the end of the 1990s. Instead of demolition sites, BILDERBUCH D. MITTE uses images of scaffolds and skyscrapers to symbolize the rising city. This might be one of the reasons for the new appreciation of the migrant worker in the district portraits because he is a construction worker helping to build the future Berlin. While earlier programs like NAHAUFNAHME and WAS WURDE AUS DEM ROTEN KIEZ saw 'the mass' of migrants to replace the traditional working-class without any further ties to the neighborhood they were living in, the new district portraits of Mitte are writing the migrant as a distinguishing feature into Berlin's urban culture. The migrant workers' portrait rows up along other characters presented as one of the many faces of Berlin Mitte.

109 Parallels can be drawn to the rhetoric of early filmic expeditions to the working-class neighborhood (Ch. 2.2).

4.2.5 Friedrichshain: eastern working-class history reflected in facades and industrial architecture

The preceding analysis has dealt with the episodes' use of personal anecdotes and the melting-pot narrative as new emphases in an effort to promote regional traits. In addition, a great deal of regional identity is told through the history of buildings, whose role for the representation of working-class tradition is the topic of this chapter. Architecture and house facades are used in BB WEDDING, for instance, to reflect on changes in the neighborhood and as a hook to present different aspects of the district's history. In BERLINER BEZIRKE and BILDERBUCH DEUTSCHLAND's episodes about Mitte, change is visualized by wide construction areas and scaffolds of unfinished buildings in order to symbolize ongoing progress in the city. BB MITTE even speaks of "Prussian splendor and fallow history" [00:46] and thereby rhetorically connects Mitte's history to the description of buildings. Generally speaking, buildings are a major subject in the district portraits beyond the sequences about former working-class traditions. Often it is the special architecture or history of a house that gives rise to an anecdote in the episode. Nevertheless, the architecture of the traditional working-class neighborhood is no longer a topic for the episodes about Wedding and Mitte. The previous chapter has argued that working-class experience has instead been mediated by personal stories of residents and by the figure of the (migrant) construction worker.

Another focus is applied by TV episodes on the eastern district Friedrichshain, in which working-class tradition has been materialized in the district's monumental architecture. The episodes BERLINER BEZIRKE FRIEDRICHSHAIN[110] (1999; hereafter BB FRIEDRICHSHAIN) and BERLINER BEZIRKE KREUZBERG-FRIEDRICHSHAIN [111] (2002; hereafter BB KREUZBERG-FRIEDRICHSHAIN) offer another perspective on construction work and city development. With the division of Germany, Friedrichshain became part of the German Democratic Republic, and as a result went through a completely different development between 1949 and the German reunification in 1990.

110 Time codes in the analysis refer to BERLINER BEZIRKE FRIEDRICHSHAIN (1999) played on OuickTime Player.

111 Time codes in the analysis refer to BERLINER BEZIRKE KREUZBERG-FRIEDRICHSHAIN (2002) played on OuickTime Player.

This is reflected by the episodes, which make the aftermath of systemic change in Friedrichshain a major topic in their district portrait. In BB FRIEDRICHSHAIN, there are only a few interviews with people, and in BB KREUZBERG-FRIEDRICHSHAIN, there is none. The episodes focus on visible changes on the buildings and how they are put to use in recent times. The act of building and architecture has gained a special position in the GDR, in which a socialist model of society was supposed to be visibly manifested in the buildings. A famous example in Berlin is the *Karl-Marx-Allee*, formerly called *Stalinallee*, which runs through the district Friedrichshain from east to west. The boulevard was supposed to demonstrate the engineering qualities of the GDR and to affirm the functioning of its society. For both episodes, the *Karl-Marx-Allee* provides witness to this history and therefore functions as a major site to talk about Friedrichhain's socialist past.

While the portraits about Wedding and Mitte introduce their audience to residents and workers as underlying motors of past and present changes in the district, the episodes about Friedrichshain tell change primarily by means of building facades. In the context of the *Karl-Marx-Allee*, BB FRIEDRICHSHAIN however offers a personalized angle to the building. The sequence about the boulevard starts with a wide view on the boulevard shot from an angle close above the ground. In the foreground, a father bends his knees and lifts his child to his shoulders in the evening sun. Then the narrator takes up this image of the generations: "What is left for the Friedrichshain people is an important heritage from the GDR, the *Karl-Marx-Allee*." [112] The following sequence contains close-up impressions of the boulevard, all filmed from a very low angle, as if to emphasize the peoples' perspective. Only then, the camera changes to wide-angle pans and views from above. In line with the widening angle of the camera, the narrator starts to talk about the historical meaning of the boulevard for the Friedrichshain people. The episode cuts to black and white footage of actual people clearing the ruins in the aftermath of World War II. The narrator explains that these people were part of the *Nationale Aufbauprogramm* (National Redevelopment Program), a program designed by the GDR to clear and reconstruct bombed areas in the city. Two-thirds of Friedrichshain had been destroyed in the war and the

112 German original: "Geblieben ist den Friedrichshainern eine bedeutende Erbschaft der DDR: die *Karl-Marx-Allee.*" [04:00-04:05]

decline in "Berlin's building tradition" [05:05] could most dramatically be witnessed here. The rebuilding process would have a special meaning for the people as this massive task had been realized by an army of volunteering men and mostly women who were ordinary and unskilled people trying to restore life after the war. 'People building for the people' was part of the ideology of the *Nationale Aufbauprogramm*, in which constructions of the *Stalinallee* should symbolize the establishment of a new social order – a visible manifestation to the outside world. This thinking was further materialized by a quotation of Bertolt Brecht placed above the doorway of the first high-rise building situated on the boulevard during the post war years (Image 29, 05:42). The narrator reads Brecht's words: "Peace in our country, peace in our city, that it may house those who built it."[113]

In Friedrichshain's history, the act of constructing is thus not restricted to the construction worker alone. It encompassed society as a whole as the episode makes clear through various citations. It is therefore no wonder that BB FRIEDRICHSHAIN introduces the *Karl-Marx-Allee* as an "important heritage" to "the Friedrichshain people" [04:00-04:07]. The boulevard not only symbolizes a glorification of the working class as an ideology from above. The episode presents the boulevard in tradition of its bottom-up practice that attests to the labor put into the reconstruction of the city and, metaphorically speaking, of society. The construction worker becomes visible as those "heroes of work" [04:44] who had built Friedrichhain's characteristic boulevard. The workers are literally perpetuated on "the neoclassical facades in form of Meissen ceramics,"[114] as the narrator of BB FRIEDRICHSHAIN explains while the camera pans up and down the massive boulevard

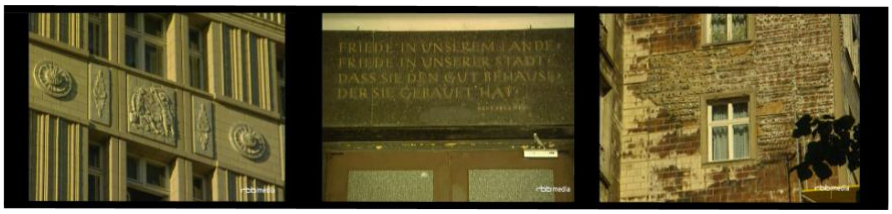

Fig. 13 (Image 28, 29 & 30 Capture BB FRIEDRICHSHAIN, Symbolic rise and fall)

113 German original: "Friede in unserem Lande, Friede in unserer Stadt, dass sie den gut behause, der sie gebauet hat." [05:37-05:45]

114 German original: "Die Helden der Arbeit kleben restauriert als Meissener Keramik an den neoklassizistischen Fassaden." [04:44-04:49]

facade. The ‘heroes of work’ were not only the construction workers but all sorts of laboring people. On ceramics, one can see crafting men and cleaning women (Image 28, 04:53).
Being a symbol of the GDR, the boulevard building is also used in the episode to talk about the fall of the political system and the recalibration of East Berlin’s society. The building’s surface tells the story of Friedrichshain – a district that, according to BB FRIEDRICHSHAIN, has not yet found its position in the reunited Berlin. Just as the boulevard was supposed to be a symbol of progress, it is now a symbol of the fall of that ideology: “The materialized utopia is crumbling. The workers' palaces were supposed to be the symbol of progress in the GDR, with every comfort: hot water, central heating, rubbish disposal.”[115] The accompanying images show a decaying house facade (Image 30, 4.30). Here, change does not present itself in the construction of modern buildings like in Berlin Mitte but in the symbolic crumbling of the historic building of the *Karl-Marx-Allee*. The workers’ palace is a gigantic placeholder for the old, in which the new does not yet have a place, which is pictured by closed shops and a bookstore with half-empty shelves. The building and its original idea seem to diverge.

BB FRIEDRICHSHAIN tells regionality in form of building history, demonstrating the importance of construction processes and buildings for the identity of Friedrichshain people. In this sense, the industrial culture that dominates the cityscape also has a central place in the portrait of the district. Landmark buildings like the *Osram* factory and the *Osthafen* (“east harbor”) have shaped the picture of the district to an industrial center. A lot of locations in BB FRIEDRICHSHAIN are abandoned buildings, houses in need of renovation, closed doors and empty factory halls that especially concern the working-class tradition of Friedrichshain. Pictures of the industrial wasteland tell the story of the collapse of the GDR and the subsequent closure of factories. The episode diagnoses “the ruin of the heroic industrial town at the Spree.”[116] New ideas for Friedrichshain after the reunification seem to be missing as the buildings remain empty. In the episode, the ruins

115 German original: “Die Steingewordene Utopie bröckelt. Die Arbeiterpaläste sollten das Symbol für Fortschritt der DDR sein, mit allem Komfort: Warmwasser, Zentralheizung, Müllschlucker.” [04:31-04:42]

116 German original: “Am Osthafen täuscht ein bisschen Geschäftigkeit über den Ruin der heroischen Industriestadt an der Spree nicht hinweg.” [09:30-09:35]

function as witnesses to a vanishing part of the district's history and identity.

After only three years, *SFB* produces another episode about Berlin after the administrative reform that fused the districts Kreuzberg and Friedrichshain. Both districts are treated as separate units in the episode because, as the narrator claims, "the *Oberbaum* bridge is so far the only connection between the merged districts."[117] The first half of the episode features Friedrichshain. The buildings' facades remain key for discussing change and the contemporary situation in the district. However, BB KREUZBERG-FRIEDRICHSHAIN contrarily shows the same landmark buildings as renovated, modern and fancy. New businesses have settled in and revived the district. This is presented by images of lively streets, cafes and leisure activities that inhabit the newly revitalized landscape. Overall, the episode communicates a very positive development of the district within the three years. To stay with the example of the *Karl-Marx-Allee*: in opposition to the personal introduction of the boulevard in BB FRIEDRICHSHAIN, the boulevard in BB KREUZBERG-FRIEDRICHSHAIN is presented in consecutive snapshots of its facade highlighting beautiful details and ornaments. The images are cut to the rhythm of pulsating background music and the narrator gives neutral information about the architecture style. The former 'workers' palaces' have lost their present meaning for society and have turned into general historical facts recited about the building.

In a similarly modern-affirmative way, BB KREUZBERG-FRIEDRICHSHAIN shows the *Oberbaum City* (the former factory premises of the *Osram* light bulb factory) with a view from below on the glazed facade which reflects the sun and the sky. Also, here, modern businesses and services would have moved into the old factory building. Media companies, information technology and design companies would be the new businesses that inhabit the halls. Within the yards of the polished facades, the episode pictures the new world of work by showing people sitting in a lunch café and people talking on the phone. It is noticeable that most of this world is viewed with an external perspective and with a focus on the impressive architecture of former industrial buildings: "a terrific view of the Spree for the 500

117 German original: "Die Oberbaum-Brücke ist die wichtige und bislang einzige Verbindung zwischen den zusammengelegten Bezirken Friedrichshain und Kreuzberg." [00:30-00:39]

employees on the roof terrace"[118] and "modern office lofts for modern companies with a harbor atmosphere directly on the Spree" are exemplary statements that superficially place new businesses in the setting of the old world of work.

The old world of work inherits primarily its architectural shell but not its working-class culture. BB KREUZBERG-FRIEDRICHSHAIN and BB FRIEDRICHSHAIN are guided by the idea that a new kind of working environment has moved into renovated factory buildings. BB FRIEDRICHSHAIN takes the former *Osram* lamp factory as its only example and declares: "no more assembly line work; the new age of idea production has begun."[119] The progressing into a new age is symbolically translated by a ride up an elevator. Dynamic music by the strings underlines the upward movement: the music slowly builds up to archive footage of hands turning lightbulbs at the old *Osram* factory, then the music gets louder and more dynamic when the camera changes to designer lamps now produced by the International Design Center, one of the building's new tenants. A focus on manual labor, symbolized by the hands, is replaced by a focus on brainwork dedicated to design and forms. The change in production from objects to ideas also manifests itself in the new appearance of the building: "*The Oberbaum City*, a modern service complex, is being built behind the refurbished facades."[120] The episode observes a general change of the image of Friedrichshain: "Manufacturing has become rare in Friedrichshain. Fancy offices or attic floors can be seen more and more frequently in the cityscape."[121]

Next to industrial production sites, the vanishing of working-class living is also reflected through facades. In the beginning of BB FRIEDRICHSHAIN, the narrator summarizes: "There is little left of the gloomy suburb from the Wilhelminian era. Some facades are still

118 German original: "Grandioser Spreeblick für die 500 Mitarbeiter auf der Dachterasse. Moderne Bürolofts für moderne Unternehmen mit Hafenatmosphäre direct an der Spree." [01:48-01:54]

119 German original: "Keine Fließbandarbeit mehr; das neue Zeitalter der Ideenproduktion hat begonnen." [10:15-10:19]

120 German original: "Die *Oberbaum City*, ein moderner Dienstleistungskomplex, entsteht hinter den aufpolierten Fassaden." [10:00-10:03].

121 German original: "Produzierendes Gewerbe ist inzwischen selten in Friedrichshain. Schicke Büro-Etagen oder Dachgeschosse sieht man im Stadtbild immer häufiger." [11:58-12:07]

reminiscent of this era and backyards tell the story of the people."[122] The story of the people in BB FRIEDRICHSHAIN is told, for instance, by an old exfoliating house front on which the letters 'coal' and 'center' are still visible among many other temporal layers that the house shows. Graffiti, a coal center, a balcony with planted pots – all details indicate different traces of life superimposed on the house facade (see chapter 5.1 for more on temporal layering). In another example, the episode crossfades a decaying house facade in the *Stralauer Vorstadt* ("Stralauer Quarter") and archive footage of the famous view through the arches of *Meyers Hof* to produce a flashback of how life was in the working-class neighborhood [07:13]. Although the episode mentions parallels to working-class living in Wedding, it does not disclose its footage's source to be located in Wedding. This signifies a rather stereotypical depiction of the working-class neighborhood as the *Stralauer Vorstadt* misses defining characteristics. Instead, its depiction is based on the most well-known front view of *Meyers Hof*.

Beyond the focus on facades and buildings, places which still exhibit working-class culture are the corner pub, the roofs of suburb houses (BB FRIEDRICHSHAIN) and the marketplace with its "small-town tranquility" [04:56] (BB FRIEDRICHSHAIN & KREUZBERG-FRIEDRICHSHAIN). The formerly "dark suburb" [02:40] is represented by a long angle shot of roofs of small houses with smoking chimneys and a group of chimney sweepers at work. The chimney sweeper is the figure that appears in another scene where he is at the corner pub to eat a "*Molle*" and a "*Bulette*" [11:37] (Berlin slang for traditional food). This food is typical for the working-class milieu as the narrator explains while using Berlin dialect to imitate the language spoken at the corner pub. It is interesting that the chimney sweeper is chosen to portray class tradition in the pub since he not only signifies an old professional group but also old relations to the city and its buildings. His services are used less and less because of an increasing number of households installing electric heating. Contrary to the construction worker, who appears in the episodes about Mitte and stands for the new Berlin, the chimney sweeper maintains old urban structures and therefore contrasts the big city feeling with a small-town atmosphere.

122 German original: "Von der düsteren Vorstadt aus der Kaiserzeit ist nur noch wenig zu spüren. Manche Fassade erinnert noch daran und Hinterhöfe erzählen die Geschichte der Menschen." [02:39-02:49]

In contrast to BB WEDDING and BB MITTE, much of the neighborhood identity in BB FRIEDRICHSHAIN and BB KREUZBERG-FRIEDRICHSHAIN is negotiated by a historical relationship to its buildings. The buildings bear witness to the old Berlin and to the transition of the district into a new era.

Summary

Television making in the 1990s experiences a fundamental makeover that changes the way television is organized and produced. Under the concept of 'regionalization,' the German broadcasting system is restructured, and a new focus is placed on regional coverage, which upgrades local culture and seeks proximity to the TV audience. The series format becomes popular for portraying the sites and people in Berlin, and the surrounding area. BERLINER BEZIRKE and BILDERBUCH DEUTSCHLAND are two exemplary programs that develop in this context. BERLINER BEZIRKE with its short duration and high rate of reruns is a present program at *SFB* in which the viewers find different facets of their city presented in episodes with the same trailer, episode structure, speaker, and end credits. These repetitive patterns, on the one hand, produce familiarity in which the region Berlin is perceivable as a unit across episodes. On the other hand, they form the assuring backdrop on which the episodes can project a vision of a fast-changing urban society.

The city portrait series is a suitable new format to depict and communicate a perception of the city and its rhythm as a fast-paced, multilayered entity consisting of many different people and (hi)stories. Each episode provides an individual approach depending on the relation of the featured district to Berlin. BB WEDDING shows new perspectives through expansive use of personal interviews and local anecdotes from people 'next door,' which can be interpreted as an attempt to recollect and defend long-standing traditions in Wedding. In BB MITTE, new perspectives arise mainly through the depiction of urban complexity in the city. Mitte is not just emphasized as a geographical centrum of Berlin, but the district also defends its pioneering status as a magnifying glass for historical and cultural developments. BB MITTE and BILDERBUCH D MITTE demonstrate similar tendencies to report about Berlin and Mitte but differ in the

scope and implementation of the formats. BILDERBUCH DEUTSCHLAND broadcasts the portrait about Mitte for a predominantly national audience on *ARD*. Mitte thereby becomes a study of the German city, for which the episode mediates between local insights and generalizing statements.

An often-used buzzword in this context is the 'melting pot' of cultures, people and milieus. The episodes centering on Berlin Mitte use this term to advertise the lively and diverse character of Mitte. They also directly and indirectly establish a link to the 1920 metropolis Berlin narrating diversity as a continuation of the city's history. Old and new stand side by side as Berlin's unique character in which the working-class neighborhood and working-class experience become subordinate narratives among other local stories. Urban and social change are accordingly no longer told to be abstract developments overrunning the district. While former TV programs such as NAHAUFNAHME and WAS WURDE AUS DEM ROTEN KIEZ condemn the destructiveness of the urban planners' building frenzy, BERLINER BEZIRKE episodes and BILDERBUCH D MITTE tend to be very positive about modernization measures in the city. Change is understood to be happening on many levels and by several actors. However, an active appropriation of urban space is not apparent yet (compared to the episodes discussed in Chapter 4.3). The emphasis is on opening the city to different perspectives, which also expresses a new interest to explore and capture urban space as a shared reference and identification to offer the audience.

BILDERBUCH D MITTE and the BERLINER BEZIRKE episodes on Wedding, Mitte and Friedrichshain are characterized by their use of anecdotes and citizen interviews, which personalizes the district portraits and opens the city to new perspectives. The often-cited idea of the unity of work and living, which describes the traditional working-class neighborhood according to the episodes, has become undone. Instead, various stories and experiences are now conceivable, however, often typified as representative 'figures' in the city especially in BILDERBUCH D MITTE. The new figures are, among others, the construction worker, the chimney sweeper and the migrant worker, who are investigated for their function in the narration of Berlin. They exemplify a differentiation of the topic of 'work' in depictions of the districts Wedding, Mitte and Friedrichshain. The migrant worker appears as an ambivalent figure in the city that

illuminates the tensions and inconsistencies of the melting pot concept despite the episodes' overall very positive attitude toward modernization and cultural diversity.

Building history is another column for mediating regional identity in the episodes. The BERLINER BEZIRKE episodes on Friedrichshain especially use filmic reflections of buildings for portraying change in the district. The monumental building of the *Karl-Marx-Allee*, also known for the 'workers palaces,' most prominently bears witness to Friedrichshain's socialist past in the German Democratic Republic. The episodes further use industrial architecture and housing facades to discuss Friedrichshain's changing role from witnessing the fall of the GDR to the modernization of the district into a new hotspot for services and ideas. Although not directly mentioned, working-class tradition is therefore a central aspect of Friedrichshain.

4.3 Performance and lifestyle – the individualization of urban living

This final analysis chapter covers the most recent period of TV portraits from 2005 to 2016. The trend from the late 1990s of covering the region by the format of the portrait series is continuing. Documentary TV programs are increasingly produced in formats that to a great extent already determine the content and scope of the episode. This leaves less artistic freedom to the directors in comparison to their possibilities with individual films. In reference to his TV program analysis in 2003, the most recent study by Fritz Wolf from 2019 likewise comes to the conclusion: "The formatting of documentary programs as a principle of filmmaking has increased further" (Wolf[123], 2019, p. 18). The documentary series remains the dominant format on television (ibid.). The search results in the *rbb* archive reflect a similar image: the depiction of former working-class neighborhoods predominantly happens in episodic formats such as BILDERBUCH, HEIMATJOURNAL, and more recently GESCHICHTEN AUS… and DIE RBB REPORTER (for a discussion of the latter see ch. 5.3). This final analysis chapter continues with the format BILDERBUCH DEUTSCHLAND and concludes with the analysis of the most recent BILDERBUCH episodes of the districts Wedding, Mitte and Friedrichshain. In 2010, the *ARD* stops the production of the series. However, *rbb* continues to independently produce and broadcast episodes with a focus on Berlin and the surrounding area. BILDERBUCH can therefore be considered as one of the most established and popular portrait series at *rbb* and offers a long-term perspective on the changing nature of the format and the reference to working-class tradition in it.

While the analyzed episodes in the late 1990s focus on built structures, historical facts and anecdotes, the episodes of BILDERBUCH increasingly turn around everyday life, lifestyle and creative work, which is also reflected in the filmic and dramaturgical strategies applied in the episodes. Instead of only verbally presenting facts and stories, the residents' experiences and practices mediate the different faces of the district. The first section analyzes how BILDERBUCH DEUTSCHLAND MITTE (2005) and BILDERBUCH FRIEDRICHSHAIN

123 The study was commissioned by the *AG DOK* (*German Documentary Association*), which might have impacted the results.

([2001] 2008) offer interior views to places where previous episodes only applied an external perspective. A new topic is 'living' and the merging of borders between workspace and living space. The episodes focus on individual people rather than providing typifications that were typical for the idea of the melting pot in the episodes from the 1990s. An individualization of urban living becomes especially apparent in the newest BILDERBUCH episodes of Wedding (2013), Mitte (2013) and Friedrichshain (2016), which use the portrayal of people to narrate the district as "a sequel story with real Berlin protagonists" (BILDERBUCH WEDDING). Within the focus on everyday routines, there is a return to traditions and provincial life, which fits the small-town image the episodes like to give about Mitte, Friedrichshain, and to some extent Wedding. The focus on the individual and on its practices makes working-class tradition also significant in the depiction of handicraft. Quite fittingly, the construction worker, who represented the structure and materiality of the modern city in previous episodes, is replaced by the chimney sweeper, who stands for a nostalgic view on industrial crafts in a small-town idyll.

4.3.1 The appropriation of space: Interior views, living and lifestyle

BILDERBUCH DEUTSCHLAND: BERLIN MITTE[124] (2005, hereafter BD MITTE) and BILDERBUCH (DEUTSCHLAND) FRIEDRICHSHAIN[125] ([2001] 2008, hereafter BD[126] FRIEDRICHSHAIN) can be considered transitionary in that they continue topics discussed by BERLINER BEZIRKE and BILDERBUCH DEUTSCHLAND MITTE (1997) after the turn of the century and they touch on new subjects and styles of representation as presented in the later BILDERBUCH episodes of 2013 and 2016. In the years between 2000 and 2009, not much seems to

124 Time codes in the analysis refer to BILDERBUCH DEUTSCHLAND MITTE (2005) played on QuickTime Player.

125 Time codes in the analysis refer to BILDERBUCH FRIEDRICHSHAIN (2008) played on QuickTime Player.

126 Although the episode is called BILDERBUCH FRIEDRICHSHAIN (without DEUTSCHLAND in its name), it will be abbreviated to BD FRIEDRICHSHAIN to avoid confusion with the later episode BILDERBUCH FRIEDRICHSHAIN from 2016, and to highlight its belonging to the earlier version BILDERBUCH DEUTSCHLAND.

have changed with regard to the series format. Popular portrait series such as BILDERBUCH DEUTSCHLAND and HEIMATJOURNAL are continued and produce an impressive number of episodes about the region Berlin/Brandenburg. A program analysis in 2003 found that up to 50 episodes of BILDERBUCH DEUTSCHLAND could be seen, for instance, in the single month of October 2002 (Wolf, 2003, p. 17). This high number is caused by reruns, takeovers and multiple broadcasts of diverse episodes of the national series in the third programs of the *ARD* (ibid.). In this program cycle, district portraits are running until episodes need to be adapted to current developments and outdated information needs to be removed. BILDERBUCH DEUTSCHLAND updates its portraits about Mitte and Friedrichshain in 2005 and 2008.

At first sight, the episodes do not provide very new perspectives of the districts. BD MITTE (2005) continues the angle of BD MITTE (1997) to make Mitte interesting for the national audience of BILDERBUCH DEUTSCHLAND by placing Mitte at the center of Germany where trends and tensions culminate. The press release locates Mitte most directly on the German (not Berlin) map: "We are in the center of pleasure and power, in the middle of Germany, in the middle of the capital, in Berlin Mitte."[127] In this tradition, Mitte is depicted as a district of the extremes; it is a trendsetter for the future and a burning-glass for German history. Although the biggest change for a televisual depiction of Mitte between 1997 and 2005 might have been the merging of Mitte, Wedding, and Tiergarten in 2001, the district portrait is surprisingly quiet about these new parts of Mitte. Wedding, for instance, is only a side note in the presentation of an artist's residence.[128] BD FRIEDRICHSHAIN (2008), another example, is a nearly one-to-one copy of BD FRIEDRICHSHAIN (2001). Directed by the same filmmaker, BD FRIEDRICHSHAIN reuses seven-year-old material and replaces only two scenes in which people give statements. Originally situated in 2001, BD FRIEDRICHSHAIN shares many overlapping materials with the episode BERLINER BEZIRKE KREUZBERG-FRIEDRICHSHAIN from 2002: both episodes use the same

127 German original: "Man befindet sich im Zentrum des Vergnügens und der Macht, mitten in Deutschland, mitten in der Hauptstadt, in Berlin Mitte." (rbb archive, 2005)

128 With regard to this, the episode resembles the outsourced episode of BERLINER BEZIRKE MITTE, which provides an externalized perspective of Mitte in 2001 instead of really focusing on what concerns the residents in the inside of Mitte. The episode produced by another production company for BERLINER BEZIRKE significantly differs in its approach to the city from the remaining self-produced episodes.

video footage on the *Oberbaum-City* (former Osram factory; see ch. X), on the *Karl-Marx-Allee*, and on the *Simon-Dach-Straße* (a popular street with many bars and small shops) to picture 'a new world' by men in suits, sunglasses, telephones and people in cafés. There is an overall optimism towards modernization processes, and the idea of fundamental change replacing the old world still prevails. With regard to these aspects, not much has changed in the revised episodes of 2005 and 2008 in comparison to their precursors.

However, the new episodes update the portraits by scenes that add an understanding of the district as a space of living. Within the story of Mitte as a trending center, BD MITTE visits vaudeville shows, a walkable architecture, homes of creative people, a beach bar with sunbathing youngsters, and restaurants. The choice of location predominantly stages Mitte as a place in which "everything flourishes that promises pleasure" [03:10]. The visited locations are characterized as lively with a focus on enjoying and exploring the district. For instance, this is seen through close-up shots on faces in the sun, or the immersive mixing of music and murmurs in a tipi. Again, the press text exaggerates what can be seen and heard in the episode: "Young and old sip cocktails under palm trees and let their feet roast in the hot sand. Ships pass by, colorful fish swim around the corner through salty hotel waters […]." [129] Like a big colorful vaudeville show itself, the portrait of Mitte presents the district as a place in which it is worth living. In an attempt to distinguish Berlin from other allegedly anonymous big cities, Mitte is characterized repeatedly in interviews and the filming of locations as a place of life, of coziness and comfort. Asked about their reason for living in Mitte, one interviewee, for instance, mentions that the city would not eat the people, and another interviewee says that she was surprised by so much life in Berlin. Before, she always thought Berlin consisted of dead housing boxes like any other big city. In the presentation of Mitte (aka Berlin) as a big city that does not overwhelm its people but that lets people live their life to their own pace, the portrait reconciles locality with its otherwise very generalizing perspective of the district as the center of Germany.

129 German original: "Jung und Alt schlürfen Cocktails unter Palmen und lassen dabei die Füße im heißen Sand braten. Schiffe ziehen vorbei, um die Ecke schwimmen bunte Fische durch salzige Hotelgewässer." (rbb archive, 2005)

BD FRIEDRICHSHAIN updated the portrait of Friedrichshain by interior views and a focus on living already in 2001. However, these interior views start to really play a role as a wider concept in *rbb*'s district portraits in the following years. By replacing two statements of people *in front of* buildings with impressions of a redeveloped store house and pump station *from the inside*, the episode from 2008 confirms a trend towards depicting interior spaces and their use in district portraits. In 2001, the episode was produced for the *ARD* and ran on different joint channels as on *ARD*, *3sat*, and *Phoenix*. In 2008, the revised episode only ran on *rbb* under the shorter title BILDERBUCH FRIEDRICHSHAIN. On the one hand, this might already indicate the decreasing interest of the *ARD* in BILDERBUCH DEUTSCHLAND before it finally cancels the program in 2009. On the other hand, the resumption of the program by *rbb* might indicate that the episode's perspective of portraying interior spaces and their use is up-to-date for the 2008 context. *Rbb* will even further develop the focus on living and lifestyle in its latest episodes of BILDERBUCH (next sub-chapter).

In summary, BD MITTE (2005) and BD FRIEDRICHSHAIN (2008) combine old and new characteristics of portraying the district. The juxtaposition of an 'old world' and a 'new world' is still *the* determining framework by which the episodes frame their portrait of a developing district. Although, this time the visual material is supplemented by many scenes from the interior of buildings and delivers insight into usages of space, in particular with regard to lifestyle and living. A very telling example of this is a sequence about the *Karl-Marx-Allee*. BD FRIEDRICHSHAIN uses the same wide-angle shots of the boulevard (Image 31, 13:29) like BERLINER BEZIRKE. However, the image sequence is reassembled differently, moving the focus away from glass facades to allow a look inside. There are two additional scenes in which the episode interviews a former official from the GDR and a young architect both in their apartments. The two interviewees represent the old and new inhabitants of the former 'working-class palaces,' and they represent change as it is practiced in their own apartment. With the exploration of interior rooms, the music also steps to the background. There is no external music that sets the rhythm for filming the boulevard (for instance, in BB KREUZBERG-FRIEDRICHSHAIN, which changes the angle of the camera with every beat of the music). The interior scenes are rather quiet and literally give space to the voice of the interviewee and the sounds of the

apartment, which set the rhythm for filming the situation from the inside of the apartment.

The GDR official sits at home in front of his desk with a window view of a building he previously lived in (Image 32, 14:27). However, this home perspective does not seem very personal: paperwork on the table and an office chair create a serious image that underlines his past career as a politician and representative of the GDR ideology of living. Even when talking about his life in the boulevard, he seems to represent the GDR's official line by claiming how people "from different classes and parts of the population"[130] would have been living together in the *Karl-Marx-Allee* (former *Stalinallee*). He emphasizes: "Here […] lived the average Berlin citizen" [14:45]. His story is followed by black and white propaganda footage underlining his notion of "the average Berlin family" (Image 33, 15:05). It shows a couple who participates in a house viewing while a salesman from the off is praising the amenities of modern apartments (such as warm water, communication techniques, and comfortable furniture). He introduces the apartment as the golden standard: "this is how our working society is supposed to live" [15:09].

Fig. 14 (Image 31, 32 & 33 Capture BD FRIEDRICHSHAIN, Interior spaces of the K-M-A)

As if to underline the discrepancies of this ideology with the reality in the *Karl-Marx-Allee* today, the music starts to play again along with the GDR propaganda video. A glorifying melody gives the house viewing a subtle slapstick humor with regard to its sharp contrast to the next scene: 'average living' in the *Karl-Marx-Allee*, or at least the ideology of it, is no longer holding up in the new times as "the socialist working-class palaces were sold to financially-strong investors" [15:22] after the reunification. According to the narrator, the "shiny

130 German original: "Alles wie wir junge Leute, aus verschiedenen Schichten und Teilen der Bevölkerung. Ob aus Betrieben oder Verwaltungen. Also hier war im Prinzip sozusagen der normale Durchschnitt der Berliner." [14:33-14:45]

facades" are now housing "trendy tenants from the West."[131] The visual transition to these new times is made by a panning shot in a hallway where the former idea(l)s of living are materialized into colorful drawings on the wall. Each tile shows stylized details of domestic scenes and work life. It is a telling picture as these old ideas have really adapted a decorative function for the new tenants and have become an expression of style. The next scene shows an architect who claims he was one of the first to recognize the boulevard building as a "jewel" (Image 34, 16:07). He was fascinated by details like the original built-in cupboards from 1960 in the kitchen, which he kept for his apartment (Image 35, 15:57).[132] His apartment is very different compared to the GDR's original intentions as presented by the propaganda material of housing average working-class families. Showing distinct taste, the architect's apartment mixes old crafts with modern art on the wall in a single's household.

Fig. 15 (Image 34, 35 & 36 Capture BD FRIEDRICHSHAIN, Living as an urban practice)

These two exemplary scenes demonstrate that whereas in the BERLINER BEZIRKE episodes housing facades are the most important mean to reflect the district's stories, BILDERBUCH DEUTSCHLAND uses interior views of buildings to add additional layers to the interviews. Firstly, they further characterize a person and allow for intimate perspectives of living in the district. The visual inspection through the architect's apartment underlines him as a lover and connoisseur of artistic objects, reinforcing his judgement of the boulevard as a distinct "jewel" [16:07]. Getting to know the flat while listening to his story of moving into the *Karl-Marx-Allee* in the early days moreover

131 German original: "Bald nach der Wende wurden die sozialistischen Arbeiterpaläste an finanzstarke Investoren verkauft. Nur die hatten das Kapital, die arg heruntergekommene Pracht wiederherzustellen. Seit die Fassaden im Zuckerbäckerstil wieder glänzen, kommen plötzlich trendbewusste Mieter aus dem Westen." [15:21-15:38]

132 German original: "Ihm haben es Details wie die Originaleinbauschränke von 1960 in der Küche angetan." [15:56-16:02]

connects his personal life with the history of the boulevard.[133] Architecture thereby gains an intimate perspective, which is also reflected by the camera language: through the architect's apartment window, the camera captures a view of the Berlin TV tower, beyond the typical postcard snapshot (Image 36, 16:02). In another scene, the camera looks from the balcony railing down to a busy street. This is different from just filming outside on the street-level, because it simulates a feeling for the TV viewer as if he or she were also in the apartment. By creating a first-hand perspective, the episode makes space tangible for the viewer.

A connected and more fundamental difference is, secondly, that the filmed private space exceeds being just a mere supplement to the oral dimension as it was the case in the anecdotal interviews made for BERLINER BEZIRKE in the late 1990s. Interior rooms are not just the object of narration but provide a space in and through which district history is unfolding, perceivable and therefore understandable. Whereas a building's function and architectural style are often the only dimensions being recalled in a story (e.g., the gingerbread style of the *Karl-Marx-Allee*), in the episode at hand, the building gains individual meaning by practices and views of its inhabitants who actively shape their living space. For example, the same boulevard is evaluated and used very differently. On the one hand, it is used by the former GDR official for whom living in the apartment block had been part of the realization of his political ideas, and on the other hand, by the architect who furnishes his apartment to express a creative and individual lifestyle. In comparison to BERLINER BEZIRKE, BD FRIEDRICHSHAIN uses the novel subject of 'living' to represent district development. It presents 'living' as a practice through which space is individually appropriated.

Practices of living are also present in BD MITTE, which shows the example of a woman who, on her own initiative, reconstructed her narrow apartment space in an Eastern high-rise building. She is introduced by the caption 'Lebenskünstlerin,' i.e., a master of the art of living. Within the context of the episode's framework of addressing a national audience by claiming Mitte as the fascinating center of

133 In another scene from the episode, a man describes his relationship to the city as follows: "In my case, it often happens that city history and family history are intertwined" [35:00-35:03]. This is also accurate for other instances in which the episode mixes private stories with reflections on the district's development.

Germany, 'living' has a show character in BD MITTE. The episode is not so interested in depicting regular residents in Mitte, but rather, the woman and her apartment are supposed to present one of the many odd, unique and creative sides in Berlin Mitte. Nevertheless, 'Lebenskünstlerin' is a fitting designation for what is observable in both BD MITTE and BD FRIEDRICHSHAIN: the meaning of living goes beyond the satisfaction of the bare necessities of life. The emphasis is rather on a way of living, a lifestyle, which involves the being as a whole. A similar approach of living can be seen in the example of the *Karl-Marx-Allee*, too. In the old days, the *Stalinallee* apartments would function to modernize and *align* standards of living for the working population. Now they are revalued as something distinctive. Characterized by attributes like "extraordinary" [16:23] in the architect's interview, the apartments are attracting creative people who are recently inhabiting the neighborhood.[134] Living in the 'worker palaces' is no longer a necessity for good living.[135] Instead, it has become a lifestyle choice.

The term 'Lebenskünstler' furthermore points to the fact that living and lifestyle do not stop at the doorstep of one's apartment. It is rather an attitude, or a way of living that people embody and carry with them all the time. Therefore, even places for leisure activities and businesses on the *Simon-Dach-Straße* and around the *Boxhagener Platz* are intimately portrayed as the "extended living room of the Friedrichshain people" [BD FRIEDRICHSHAIN, 06:06]. New concepts of lifestyle are showcased on the street. The conveyed feeling is that of a small town: everything is open and familiar, like a large living room where people hang out and meet. And reversely, places like a hip café become part of the expression of a certain way of living. Old inhabitants are pictured in peaceful co-existence with the new inhabitants, the students. Cross cuts of images of an old man on the balcony and people in a café suggest an idea of living beyond the four walls of one's home (Sequence 4).

134 German original: "Jetzt wird es viel mehr Leuten, die hier mit Bussen durchfahren, auch klar, dass es eine außerordentliche Wohnanlage ist, eine außergewöhnliche Straße auch. Das hat glaube ich auch viele Leute angezogen, die aus ähnlichen Motiven dann hergezogen sind. Also viele Designer, Kameraleute, an Kunst interessierte, die hier in der Nachbarschaft wohnen." [16:17-16:53]

135 The episode claims that many people in the GDR wanted to move into the new 'worker palaces' because it was the best choice to live in reasonable standards. Other accommodations would have often neglected and lacked basic maintenance.

Fig. 16 (Sequence 4 Capture BD FRIEDRICHSHAIN, The expansion of the living room)

Parallel to the expansion of what 'living' implies, the side of what counts as 'work' collapses into the new generation's emphasis on lifestyle. The same cross-cut montage technique is applied for the depiction of new office spaces in the *Oberbaum City* in BD FRIEDRICHSHAIN: images of office interiors are parallelized with images of suits on the street and employees at a lunch café, suggesting work beyond the four walls of one's office. Pictures beyond apartments and offices stage a 'new world' that is expanding to the surrounding district. BD MITTE claims: "Suits on the phone have conquered the street, just like the coffee mug to go. Caffeine at countless coffee shops accelerates the pace."[136] The representation of work is connected with the lifestyle feeling of having a coffee to go.

In summary, BD MITTE and BD FRIEDRICHSHAIN continue the affirmative narration of fundamental change and the city as a fascinating hotspot of change as it was depicted by episodes in the late 1990s and early 2000s. However, there are new tendencies: the episodes move away from a strictly functional separation of spaces of working and living to a focus on the subject, its lifestyle and the appropriation of space. What becomes increasingly important is what people do with a location and what is happening there. Uses and perceptions of space mediate the experience of people in the district. Nevertheless, these aspects do not apply to all sequences in the portraits and portraits still very much function like those of the late 1990s with an overall episode structure that is divided into clearly separated local units. The relatively rigid camera work alternates between extreme long shots and many long and full shots that jump between places and people with a safe distance. The overall episode seems to line up sequences instead of capturing a coherent experience

136 German original: "Der telefonierende Schlipsträger hat die Straße erobert, genau wie der Kaffeebecher in der Hand. Koffein an unzähligen Coffeeshops beschleunigt das Tempo." [05:43-05:53]

of the district. A connected district experience will only be created by the newest BILDERBUCH episodes.

4.3.2 *Rbb*'s BILDERBUCH episodes

After BILDERBUCH DEUTSCHLAND's official termination by the *ARD*, *rbb* continues with the production of episodes about Berlin and Brandenburg on its own in 2010. The new episodes are organized under one editorial and production team but alternating film teams (director, speaker, camera, etc.) produce independent films that are broadcasted as BILDERBUCH episodes in the early evening program of national holidays, usually around 6 to 6:30 pm. Additionally, the first reruns of all three episodes have a prominent position as the primetime film on weekdays at 8:15 pm. It seems that even after the program's official termination on a national level, *rbb* puts a lot of trust and effort in the format to be a prominent local portrait of Berlin. The individual episodes no longer have a BILDERBUCH DEUTSCHLAND trailer. Instead, flashy music and a short summary of what characterizes the featured district loosely function as an introduction to the district. The music and summary alternate between the episodes and signify the local angle of the portraits: in BILDERBUCH FRIEDRICHSHAIN, the introductory song is sung by a singer who lives in Friedrichshain; BILDERBUCH BERLINS MITTE begins with a song about the Spree river by a Berlin indie band; and BILDERBUCH WEDDING lets a group of youngsters from the neighborhood rap their rhymes, which intentionally refers to the district's image as a 'social hot spot.' Only the inserted caption 'Bilderbuch' (always in different font and color) indicates the belonging to a series, which allows the episodes to appear as individual films. This individual placing also grants each district a more prominent standing, not just as one district among many in Berlin but as stories of their own.

Rbb's new BILDERBUCH series relies on different strategies than BERLINER BEZIRKE and BILDERBUCH DEUTSCHLAND to create seriality. Most significantly, BERLINER BEZIRKE had the same introductory trailer and a high frequency of reruns, which allowed the program to depict fundamental change in the city within a program context that simultaneously conveyed a feeling of familiarity and consistency

needed for reinforcing the regional character (Ch. 4.2.3). Since the new episodes are produced and consumed mostly as individual films, effects of familiarity and consistency are implemented on episode level. These effects are discussed in more detail for each episode. Here, it should give an overview of how BILDERBUCH functions as a series. First of all, the main storyline is always the same: the story revolves around a district of contrasts that is in transition. Different worlds would come together (tradition and modernity, foreign cultures, town and country elements, etc.) and cause the fascination of each district. Other episodes like BILDERBUCH NEUKÖLLN and BILDERBUCH KREUZBERG use the same angle for their portraits, though always with a different spin that acknowledges a district's history. One could almost say that BILDERBUCH's seriality functions like an always repeating film about Berlin's districts, which thereby produces a coherent narration of Berlin as a dynamic and changing city. Secondly, the structure of the episodes is based on the daily routine of the depicted inhabitants. BILDERBUCH WEDDING, MITTE, and FRIEDRICHSHAIN's narrated time spans a whole day, and in the latter case, even a season. The portraits chronologically start in the morning hours when people like the chimney sweeper and the bus driver begin their work, and end in the evening or night. The effort is to portray a typical day in the district that suggests normality between expressions of curiosities and extremes. The reduction of complexity in a routine day also corresponds with the small-town character the portraits like to exhibit. Thirdly, people like the chimney sweeper and bus driver return several times in the course of an episode and are an anchoring element for the portraits. The viewer is introduced to their motives, feelings, and daily routine. The emotional closeness to the featured people is simulated by the camera in many close-up shots, over shoulder shots, and the filming of seemingly unimportant details. Furthermore, a reduction of external music and a focus on the soundscape and voices of the district increases the perceived presence in which the viewer participates while watching the portraits.

The episodes communicate that everyday life writes the best stories and present the inhabitants as protagonists in them. BILDERBUCH WEDDING fittingly features a theatre play that was developed in reference to the popular German drama series GUTE ZEITEN, SCHLECHTE ZEITEN ("good times, bad times"). The theatre play named "Good Wedding, Bad Wedding" would be "a sequel story with real

Berlin protagonists,"[137] according to the narrator. The same could be said about how episodes of *rbb*'s BILDERBUCH series like to be perceived.

The following chapter focusses on the impact of person-centered episodes for the depiction of working-class history in the district. *Rbb*'s version of BILDERBUCH continues the view inside of buildings and the emphasis on lifestyle as in BD MITTE (2005) and BD FRIEDRICHSHAIN (2008). However, the episodes develop the focus on perception and lifestyle further, in a way that emphasizes the district as a coherent space of experience and living, giving a stage to former working-class places beyond the factory and corner pub. The second chapter explores how romanticized reflections of the past are projected onto crafting practices of young creative workers. The depiction of people, experiences and crafting is embedded into a general picture of Friedrichshain and Mitte as small towns with a down-paced temporality.

Contemporary urban experiences of working-class culture

Although the episodes BD MITTE and BD FRIEDRICHSHAIN dedicate a considerable amount of time to the subject of living, they never show actual working-class people who were supposed to move into the boulevard apartments. Traditional working-class living in the *Karl-Marx-Allee* is only presented through GDR propaganda material in BD FRIEDRICHSHAIN. What matters is not how working-class families actually appropriated a space for themselves, but rather how they were imagined to do so by GDR officials. The 'how' of the past is represented by the propaganda film, which reflects the political party's idea about the daily life of a working-class family: the women are interested in the kitchen while the men take care of technique; a baby bed is placed next to the parents' bed and suggests a family with many children; and a table is set with porcelain and implies social company of friends and family. The stated aim of the campaign was modern and comfortable living for a reasonable price. And today, after investors have bought the apartments, other ideas have moved into the boulevard that define the ends of what is considered modern and

137 German original: "Gutes Wedding, Schlechtes Wedding – Eine Fortsetzungsgeschichte mit echten Berliner Urgestalten." [14:31-15:00]

appropriate living. The trendsetters, as the narrator mentions, are representatives of new ideas in which working-class living is making a comeback as a lifestyle décor. The working class decorates the boulevard's hallway walls and facades as stylized pictures (Image 37, 15:28), and their furniture serves as a decorative highlight in an architect's apartment. But, they no longer provide a perspective through which district space can be experienced by the viewer. In other words, there are no active practices of living in the depiction of the districts. Instead, images and ideas of the working class are circulating in the episodes.

Even the last refuge of the workers turns into a stylish setting for new residents. BD FRIEDRICHSHAIN films a corner pub called *die Glühlampe* (Image 38, 32:15), where two former workers of a light bulb factory bemoan times of a lively and crowded pub when 5000 workers still had their job in the nearby factory. This would be over. While according to the narrator the pub had been "a refugium for the alumni," "trendsetters have now turned *die Glühlampe* into a hip dance hall with Eastern retro flair" [32:40]. This is surprising information for the audience as it designates the interview with the workers as a past document. The two workers are like ghosts from a bygone era that recall a time in which the pub was still full of life. Working-class life and experiences are fading away, so says the message of the scene. While the narrator explains how the bar's "retro flair" [32:49] is being used by the new tenants, the camera dwells on the deserted place with an old German pop song in the background, leaving it like a sarcastic comment on the workers' inability to adapt to the new times (Image 39, 32:38).

Fig. 17 (Image 37, 38 & 39 Capture BD FRIEDRICHSHAIN, The old backdrop of the city)

The role of perceiving and experiencing urban space in BD MITTE and BD FRIEDRICHSHAIN, and even more so in the recent BILDERBUCH episodes, is taken over by new residents for whom working-class culture constitutes an important part of their authentic lifestyle in the

district. Whereas changes in the district seem to result in an either/or question for workers (of being present in or to disappear from the representation of district life), the new residents are represented as flexible, and re-appropriate traditional sides in Berlin according to their ideas and needs. In BILDERBUCH MITTE (2013), BILDERBUCH WEDDING (2013), and BILDERBUCH FRIEDRICHSHAIN (2016), the new residents even become the protagonists and predominantly mediate district experiences in the portraits. A personalized experience of space is, for instance, applied in the episode BILDERBUCH FRIEDRICHSHAIN [138] (2016; hereafter B FRIEDRICHSHAIN), which introduces a blogger and her family living in the *Karl-Marx-Allee*. The depiction of her apartment resembles a museum tour, during which the voice-over admirably claims, "where else can one find these sliding doors."[139] The episode attests that the boulevard got away from its reputation as "a relic of the Stalin era" and has become "iconic."[140] The perception of the woman confirms the particular charm of living in the *Karl-Marx-Allee*: when she opens the window, her face is seen in detail from the side (Image 40, 27:15). One can nearly feel the breeze around her ear. The noise from the street below is loud but for her it sounds "like the roar of the surf."[141] For others, the apartment may be situated at a noisy intersection, but the woman experiences the characteristics of her living situation in a nearly poetic way. It is a strong contrast based on subjective perception. Viewing the *Karl-Marx-Allee* with the eyes of its residents makes the boulevard appear in a very different light compared to filming it from a distanced standpoint.

Presenting the district as a coherent experience is reflected in the overall structure of the episodes. The introduced people are additionally depicted outside of their homes and shops while riding a bike or bus, walking in the streets, and browsing through a market. Scenes in which people do not mediate the experience, the camera nevertheless retains a subjective perspective on street level as if it is looking around the neighborhood. In B FRIEDRICHSHAIN, historical

138 Time codes in the analysis refer to BILDERBUCH FRIEDRICHSHAIN (2016) played on QuickTime Player.

139 German original: "Wo gibt es schon solche Schiebetüren?" [26:50-26:53]

140 German original: "Die Allee, früher als Stalinzeit-Relikt verteufelt, hat inzwischen Kultstatus. Das Cafe Sybille mit dem original 50er Jahre Ambiente ist Reiseführertauglich." [27:50-28:01]

141 German original: "Es ist ein bisschen wie Meeresrauschen, nur anders." [27:04-27:09]

sequences like archive footage are moreover always bridged by the same classical music theme that indicates a step back from the presence and simultaneously guarantees a coming back through its repeated use. Also, BILDERBUCH MITTE smoothens the shift of depicted eras by soft classical music. BILDERBUCH WEDDING meaningfully connects the different stations of its portrait by inserting scenes of the driving bus. All these aspects connect the filmed units and create a flow experience through the portraits other than in BD MITTE and BD FRIEDRICHSHAIN, which predominantly jump between locations by means of discontinuous cuts on the audiovisual level.

The person and perception-based episodes have consequences for the appearance of working-class tradition. Although workers do not provide a recent perspective in the episodes, the new emphasis on the subject allows to convey working-class tradition in other ways than just by historical facts. Usually, episodes about the working-class past of the district have mainly been concerned about industrial living conditions and factory buildings. Working-class *culture* beyond this representation was made visible in corner pubs – if at all. BD MITTE and BD FRIEDRICHSHAIN start to portray interior spaces, too. However, working-class living still prevails as a decorative backdrop to the new residents. In B FRIEDRICHSHAIN, BILDERBUCH MITTE and BILDERBUCH WEDDING, the episodes depict places in which working-class culture took place beyond the factory: the episodes portray a proletarian dance bar, a bathhouse and a brothel besides the classic corner pub – all of which are named as relics of the former working-class neighborhood. Thereby, working-class tradition becomes diversified and still plays an active role in the inhabitants' present experience of the district.

Fig. 18 (Image 40, 41 & 42 Capture B FR. (l) & B MITTE (m, r), Experiences)

One example of experiencing historical sites is a film sequence about the landmarked public bathhouse Mitte ("*Stadtbad Mitte*"). The

sequence in BILDERBUCH MITTE[142] (2013, hereafter B MITTE) is about a group of retirees who have been visiting the bathhouse for decades. The camera is just above water level, and the sound of splashing water and laughing children echoes in the historical building, simulating a feeling of presence for the audience (Image 41, 27:28). This immersive experience is connected to the historical use of the bathhouse that two pensioners recollect as they talk about their childhood. Drawing a direct parallel between past and present, one man in trunks holds a book in his hands and points to black and white images of old bathing facilities which were used by the neighbors who had not had their own bathroom. A piece of working-class history is brought to life by this vivid depiction of bathing experiences. In contrast to the massive building facade of the Federal Intelligence Service that is placed shortly before the sequence and which is criticized for being closed off to the citizens, these scenes of bathing culture are heightened as an authentic foundation of social experiences.

This scene can be paralleled with another sequence from B MITTE in which new people and milieus dance in a former proletarian night club. This time it is a publicist who introduces 'her' neighborhood. Right at the beginning of the episode, the publicist goes clubbing at *Clärchen's Ballhaus* – a long-established dance hall that she describes as "loud," "proletarian" and "simple."[143] The feeling of the place would convey the "Berlin milieu" [00:40], in which visitors immerse themselves when they go to *Clärchen's Ballhaus*, according to the narrator. The publicist romanticizes: "All generations and classes meet here. And that has always been the case. You belong immediately" [see footnote 143]. The camera tries to capture this lively atmosphere: through close-up shots of dancing people, it blends into the action. Because it is loud and crowded, the publicist has to call out to the camera to answer the interview questions.[144] An image of a dancing couple by Zille is decorating the wall and offers an appropriate setting

142 Time codes in the analysis refer to the version BILDERBUCH MITTE (2013) played on YouTube, uploaded on February 23, 2018.

143 German original: "Hier treffen sich alle Generationen und alle Schichten. Und das war schon immer so. Man gehört dazu, sofort. Du kannst gleich mitmachen. Aber ich kenne auch ein paar Leute, denen wäre das zu laut, zu voll... ein bisschen zu...proletarisch vielleicht? Zu einfach, zu einfach, es ist nicht fein." [01:15-01:37]

144 German original: "Das [fein] war es nie. Zille saß nicht umsonst als Stammgast an der Theke und zeichnete. Alles scheint unverändert, oder?" [01:38-01:45]

reminding of a time when the dance hall was still a predominantly proletarian establishment (Image 42, 01:40). Whether the 'old' milieu really mixes with the new one is debatable. However, people like to buy into the narrative of 'wild' nights that promise an authentic experience. Proletarian culture is positively described as wild, yet pure and authentic. It is an attribution that visitors of *Clärchen's Ballhaus* value and adorn themselves with when they want to go "on a bizarre time travel." [145]

All in all, the episodes' new focus on lifestyle and uses of space by residents diversifies the context in which working-class tradition is depicted in the districts. Contemporary urban experiences are linked to former places of working-class culture. The latter constitutes the authentic backdrop, assuming the 'original' Berlin, that can still be experienced today. As such, working-class culture experiences a renewed appreciation. Places of former working-class culture convey an aura of the old, assumingly 'original' Berlin. For some residents, they are associated with personal memories (e.g., pensioners in the bathhouse). For the majority of people, however, they certify authenticity, which is sought for different reasons. People like the architect and blogger (*Karl-Marx-Allee*) admire living in a historical place with a unique setting. Others like the publicist (dance bar) are underscoring their own rootedness in the neighborhood. And for the new tenants of *Glühlampe*, the bar provides a distinctive flair for their club. What is understood to be authentic about working-class culture remains unclear. Working-class culture and tradition hovers like a vague idea in the episodes as a memory of the past, or an attribution people give to a certain place. More important than exploring this question seems to be that, with recent changes in the neighborhood, the depicted people seek and value tradition as a self-affirmative practice of their own standing in these developments. This is especially important for the presentation of young creative workers whose handicraft is positioned in the working-class tradition of the neighborhood in an attempt to distinguish them from other new developments in the district. Tradition and authenticity are marketing values, not just for the shop owners, but also for the district portraits that seek grounding in their depiction of fast change.

145 German original: "Freitag kurz vor Mitternacht. Wer ins Berliner Milieu abtauchen will, landet irgendwann in Clärchens Ballhaus in der Auguststraße. Hier beginnt eine skurrile Zeitreise." [00:38-00:47]

A romanticized view: rootedness, small-town idyll and crafting

The episodes continually negotiate between new and old, change and steadiness in their portrait of the district as a place of contrasts. BILDERBUCH MITTE, BILDERBUCH WEDDING and BILDERBUCH FRIEDRICHSHAIN reinforce tradition, continuity and the everyday in spite of celebrations of diversity and peculiarity. While previous district portraits of BERLINER BEZIRKE and BILDERBUCH DEUTSCHLAND generally understand the city as a composition of different perspectives in which some represent tradition *next to* visions of progress, the relationship between old and new has a more cyclical character in the latest episodes of BILDERBUCH. In addition to the episodes structural emphasis to depict a typical day in the district, the focus on the subject, experiences and lifestyle negotiates the relationship between old and new individually in the activities of residents. For example, the journalist dances through wild nights in *Clärchens Ballhaus,* like 100 years ago, and young creative people continue the crafting tradition in the district, but enriched with new ideas (e.g., textile products instead of meat in the creative butcher shop). The past comes back as an even livelier present and is used as a demarcation to developments that are otherwise perceived as generalizing and uprooting. The old authentic Berlin lies at the bottom to these representations, like a recurring source of life and character. This chapter demonstrates how BILDERBUCH MITTE and BILDERBUCH FRIEDRICHSHAIN summon an authentic originality of the district and depict the working-class past with a romanticized view on the life and labor of this time.

The search for authenticity is especially strong in the episode BILDERBUCH MITTE (2013), which is also the most critical episode regarding modernization processes in the district. Its distrust toward new developments in Mitte resembles the early documentaries of NAHAUFNAHME and WAS WURDE AUS DEM ROTEN KIEZ. Here, it is a photographer who captures the district's development. His black and white images from the 1970s conserve an old Mitte based on his first impressions when he arrived at Berlin. He describes a setting where he felt "like in a post-war movie: morbid beauty everywhere, beyond

a socialist construction enthusiasm."[146] "Morbid beauty" is reflected in his photographs by a portrait of an old man looking out of his window (Image 43, 05:07) and a dealer in coal lifting a heavy object (Image 44, 06:06). The episode accompanies the photographer to the original scenes of his photography.

Fig. 19 (Image 43, 44 & 45 Capture B MITTE, Morbid beauty and small-town idyll)

References to the past are repeatedly made through superimposing the photographer's pictures onto the current locations. Sometimes the present sound of cars in the street can still be heard when a photo is inserted and melts the past and present together. Sometimes the photos contain a separate world when relaxing joyful Saxophone sounds cover up all other noises. In general, the photos are staged as a more proper depiction of what characterizes Mitte; they capture everyday life in the neighborhood, in contrast to empty streets and closed shop facades visible at the current locations. These pictures are used as witnesses of a vanished, supposedly original Berlin whose invocation is meant to expose the superficiality of the new Mitte. In an interview, the photographer explains: "So, when I look through the camera and see these whitewashed houses in soap and ice-cream colors, this place is no longer as distinctive as it was before. It could be anywhere in the world."[147] The black and white Berlin of the photos is opposed to a life that might be colorful, but actually is superficial and interchangeable. Also, in B WEDDING one could see this opposition of "old and new, real and false shine," [13:50] with the tendency to characterize the original Wedding people as "honest and direct" [16:40]. In the opposition of old and new, the photographer's black and white pictures are granted an aura of vigor and strength. They

146 German original: "Der junge Fotografiestudent fühlte sich wie in einem Nachkriegsfilm: überall morbide Schönheit, jenseits sozialistischen Aufbauhektik." [04:56-05:04]

147 German original: "Also wenn ich durch die Kamera schaue und diese übertünchten Häuser in Seifen und Speiseeisfarben sehe, ist dieser Ort nicht mehr so unverwechselbar, wie vorher. Er könnte irgendwo auf der Welt eben sein." [06:20-06:37]

represent life, whereas new developments are viewed and judged solely in the context of dead surfaces, like the renovated house facades visible in the scene after the interview. The toughness of the old life, for instance the hard labor as seen in the picture with the coal dealer, is glorified as 'real' life and positively connoted as something trustworthy and honest.

With the creation of an authentic Berlin, an emphasis is put on rootedness and locality. In his statement, the photographer connects the 'real life' he would have captured on camera with the distinct location of Berlin. In his photography, he would have portrayed the people who give the district a face and character; whereas 'the new' as embodied by renovated facades and shops would produce a place that could be anywhere in the world. Changes in the district are treated like they were directed from above, putting long-grown district structures "under pressure to modernize" [06:48]. By narrating an anonymized non-localizable threat, rootedness and tradition are reinforced. There are examples of positively considered developments, for instance, a fashion designer's boutique. Quite contrary to the narration of a fast-paced modernization, which might represent most of the fashion industry, she is introduced as a "down-to-earth sewer" [07:38] who pursues "everyday life within the tourist district."[148] Interestingly, she is first pictured at work in a sewing room before the actual interview takes place in her show room. An emphasis is put on the production of "good German handmade"[149] clothing, which legitimates the episode's choice to portrait her. Her appearance is the counterbalance to the modern, fleeting world as depicted in the rest of the episode. By her own account, she feels "very much connected and rooted – in these yards and in this district."[150] This is also expressed by the good relationship she would have with longtime customers. According to the fashion designer, she has developed together with the district and her customers; they all would have grown together. Being

148 German original: "Wer […] die herausgeputzten Heckmann-Höfe entdeckt, dem begegnet plötzlich der Alltag im Touristenviertel... mit einer bodenständigen Modedesignerin wie Barbara Gebhardt und ihrem Modeladen Nix." [07:30-07:45]

149 German original: "Das ist gute Deutsche Handarbeit, die Barbara G. und ihr Team liefern, mit eigenen Entwürfen. Hier steht kein Computer, der die fertigen Schnitte ausspuckt." [08:04-08:14]

150 German original: "Ich fühle mich gut verbunden und gut verortet – in diesem Hof und auch in diesem Viertel." [09:19-09:22]

"rooted" and having "grown" are expressions emphasizing her long-time standing in the district.

Facing assumed challenges of modernization processes, B MITTE projects a very nostalgic idea of community life and village idyll onto the city (compared to the very euphoric, modernization-affirmative TV portraits of the late 1990s and succeeding years). In the photographer's description of the 1970s, people had lived together "side-by-side like in a small town."[151] Strong neighborhood relations are compared to the fast-changing 'world of media,' in which people would reinvent themselves on a daily basis, as the photographer claims. In opposition to this, the episode places small-town idylls and daily routines that offer steadiness and slow down temporality. The photographer's pictures of the 'town' Mitte do not just indicate a different time but also a different temporality. For instance, this is shown in a photo of a boy who is resting by the street, like it is no longer common in a busy city (Image 45, 05:55). Also, the sewer embodies a different temporality by focusing on her careful crafting of clothes that take time to be produced, and by a strong customer tie lasting for several years. The act of crafting is therefore a part of conveying a small-town temporality.

The village idea is present throughout the episode and connected to the working-class past of the neighborhood. The episode starts with a scene in the nightlife which ends with a romantically shot sunrise above the rooftops of the *Spandauer Vorstadt*. A voice-over says: "[…] When the sun rises above the roof of *Clärchen's Ballhaus*, not far from the synagogue, the *Spandauer Vorstadt* becomes a small-town idyll in the middle of Berlin."[152] Church bells are ringing in the background and birds are chirping. One could hardly think of a more idyllic introduction to the district Mitte. A milieu night at *Clärchens Ballhaus* would transport the dancers into another realm – a time travel that ends with the awakening of the city, letting working-class culture appear in an enchanting light (Sequence 5). The nostalgic feeling of the opening is a contrasting scene to one of the ending scenes of the

151 German original: "Damals hat sich hier ein Lebensgefühl konserviert, was sich nicht so schnell wandelte, sich jeden Tag immer wieder aufs neue erfand. Es war nicht eine Welt der Medien, sondern man lebte noch so dörflich nebeneinander." [05:39-05:55]

152 German original: "Ein Spiel ist es immer geblieben, das sich manchmal bis in die Morgenstunden zieht... wenn über dem Dach von Clärchens Ballhaus, unweit der Synagoge, die Sonne aufgeht, wird die Spandauer Vorstadt zu einem Kleinstadtidyll mitten in Berlin." [04:14-04:41]

episode, whose dramaturgy progresses from the past to the present and future. The scene once more references proletarian living, directly juxtaposed to new high-rise buildings of an investor who is convinced that "proletarians" [40:40] would be lifted by economic developments initialized by his projects. This time, the camera view above the rooftops, however, features construction sites and obstructed sights to old Berlin buildings, which visually undermines the investor's optimistic comments.

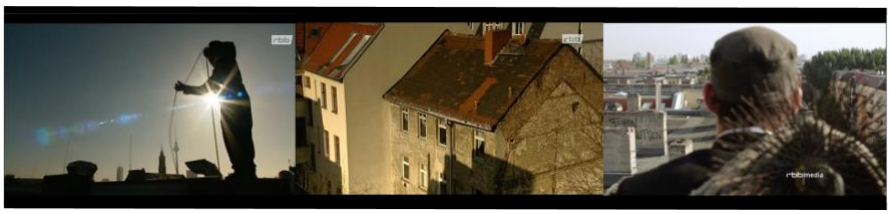

Fig. 20 (Sequence 5 Capture B MITTE (l, m) & B FR. (r), Small-town idyll)

The staging of the original Mitte and Friedrichshain as small towns is connected to a romanticized depiction of work as one can see in the photographer's stylized portrait of the coal dealer, the focus on the craft of the fashion designer, and especially in the representation of the chimney sweeper who makes an appearance both in B MITTE and B FRIEDRICHSHAIN. Previous episodes like BD FRIEDRICHSHAIN have already used the chimney sweeper as a traditional local figure to contrast the modern, restless side of Berlin embodied by construction sites. His 'dirty' work symbolizes a grounding practice compared to the vertical construction of new office towers with shiny facades. In the opening scene of B MITTE, the chimney sweeper serves to slow down the pace of the storyline when the viewer can observe him from different angles sweeping a chimney at the break of dawn. Another romanticized impression is constructed in B FRIEDRICHSHAIN, which uses the sleepy atmosphere of the morning hours as an introduction to the district. Here, a slowed down temporality is reached by emphasizing the cyclical character of the morning, symbolizing a repeating new start: alternating cuts between folded chairs at a street café and a street cleaner at work indicate the awakening of the district. In this picturesque setting, the chimney sweeper starts his workday.

The episode builds several cycles into its structure. In addition to the suggested workday of the chimney sweeper (the episode begins in the morning and ends at night), the film team accompanies him one

time in summer (sequence placed at the beginning of the episode) and another time in winter (sequence placed in the second half of the episode). Based on the man's experience at work in these two seasons, general change in the district is made exemplary and re-embedded into a normalizing district routine. Also, other people reappear in the course of the episode and adapt to the changing season (also to be understood metaphorically for the creative workers' adaptation to changing social and economic conditions). Although the TV portrait is a fragment of district life, its indicated timeframe reaches beyond the scope of the episode by emphasizing a cyclical nature. The portrait suggests depicting a typical day, and even a typical year in Friedrichshain that could have been repeated any other day. The focus is however not on the potential new beginnings, but turned backwards on a nostalgic affirmation that what used to be tradition and history is continually coming back. Accordingly, the singer of the main song that opens and closes the episode at the beginning and end sings in the refrain about starting over. The German chorus "Alles auf Anfang" (Gleis 8, 2016) literally means to go back to the beginning.

The seasonal cycle indicated by the scenes with the chimney sweeper are meant to give the portrait a graceful and humble touch. His reflections of the district high up on the roofs are almost poetic. Time seems to stand still when he balances from chimney to chimney in the sunlight, and when the roofs are covered with snow in winter. The quiet interview sections with the chimney sweeper, in which only the wind rustles and snow blows, seem meditative. They make his work appear as a moment of pause and reflection instead of showing a possibly hard and dangerous job. The romanticized depiction of work is thus connected to the overall idea of recurring tradition in the episode.

Contemplative moments, which put a special emphasis on work, are also produced by the very haptic depiction of work processes. When the chimney sweeper lowers his brush and rod into the chimney, dust is sanded off the stones of the chimney and produces a scratching sound further emphasized by the lack of music (Image 46, 03:28). The scene is shot in many close-ups and from different angles, capturing the sweeper's pulling hands and careful steps, too. In another quiet scene at a shipyard, a dock worker runs his hand over the rough surface of wood, which makes a grinding noise that was recorded up close so it could be heard. These examples go beyond filming detailed work

processes and furthermore show an interest in the materials processed. Materiality is a new quality the camera tries to capture. It is part of the episode's idealization of work centered on manual labor with hands. In line with valuing rootedness, emphasizing materiality is a reaction to the perceived fleetingness of everything modern. Unlike technology, working hands on material are visible, tangible and embody a long-standing tradition and knowledge rooted in the district.

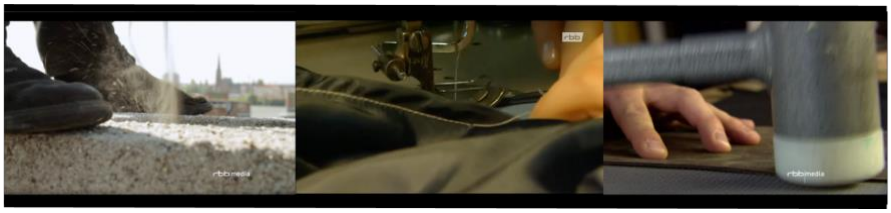

Fig. 21 (Image 46, 47 & 48, Capture B FR. (l, r) & B MITTE (m), Haptic perceptions)

Apart from traditional jobs like the chimney sweeper and dock worker, new inhabitants are also depicted to pursue a crafting career. In various shots, the sewer in B MITTE, for instance, smoothens and samples the fabrics with her hand while the narrator praises her skills (Image 47, 08:02). In B FRIEDRICHSHAIN, there are many production scenes focusing on handicraft in the context of shop owners who are portrayed as the new faces of Friedrichshain. What they all have in common is that they sell self-made products. Although the owners are young people who "live from being creative" [07:43], their crafting is put in the tradition of a previously industrial past in Friedrichshain. The imagery is the same as that of the old professions; the work processes are depicted in many close-up shots. With an eye for detail, hands hammer, cut, sew and measure (Image 48, 05:56). The new shop owners are also placed quite literally in line with a production tradition in the district: the episode juxtaposes a sequence with black and white archive footage of workers who commute to the plants in Friedrichshain with a sequence of a new shop called *Aufschnitt*. The voice-over states: "From the Ostkreuz the workers poured into the nearby factories every morning. Since the 1990s, Friedrichshain has been almost exclusively a service location."[153] Now, the camera cuts to the entrance of a shop selling pillows and objects made of textile

153 German original: "Vom Ostkreuz aus strömten die Arbeiter jeden Morgen in die nahen Betriebe. Seit den 90er Jahren ist Friedrichshain fast nur noch Dienstleistungsstandort. Doch, hier wird produziert! *Aufschnitt*, besonders feine Wurstwaren." [09:15-09:31]

meat: “Well, they still produce! *Aufschnitt*, special meat products” [09:29]. Although the modern products differ from those produced by the industrial workers, the fact that they are manually labored makes them comparable for the episode.

Both eras are parallelized without problematizing the differences in the meaning of work that arise during 100 years. The cyclical nature that the episode communicates is not much spiraling forward in this context. In fact, quite new is that crafting for the shop owners is above all a realization of their dreams. The bag manufacturer, for example, explains that he moved to Berlin for his studies, but eventually decided to pursue his passion for sewing bags. For him, being a craftsman is a self-realization rather than just a job. Although earning enough money is mentioned as a topic for most of the shop owners, they first and foremost find fulfillment in what they are doing. Here, work and the private realm fall together as they pursue their passion, which affects other parts of their life, too. B FRIEDRICHSHAIN uses the same lifestyle aesthetics as presented in B MITTE. Individuality is, for instance, produced by the strong contrast between the images: the black and white footage of the commuting masses are in contrast to the designer's unusual products that showcase a bizarre peculiarity. In another example, the bag manufacturer is firstly introduced drinking coffee outside in a café before the camera depicts him in his shop. Thus, in a similar way to the idea of ‘living,’ independent work is pictured to be an expression of lifestyle and does not end at the doorsteps of their store. Creative work is uncritically treated as a calling. Like a character trait, it is inextricably linked with the individual and cannot be discarded.

All in all, B FRIEDRICHSHAIN and B MITTE glorify craftsmanship and do not differentiate between old and new meanings of work in their narration of a cyclical returning of tradition. The episodes put new creative labor in line with the old crafts despite different relationships of workers to their work during the beginning of the twentieth century. For instance, this would be seen if one were to compare factory workers in big companies and craftsmen in small businesses. The episodes lump everything together into a blurred romanticized view of manual labor: being skilled in the crafts affirms the creative workers’ standing in the district. The episodes further work with reappearing persons that lend the episodes a serial logic in which the viewer becomes engaged in the protagonists’ daily life.

Repeated appearances give the district a familiar face and re-invoke a closed community feeling that fits the small-town character that the portraits like to communicate about Friedrichshain and Mitte. Moreover, the TV portraits bring narrative elements of two different genres together in the depiction of people for whom work is a major part of their existence. The topics of profession and everyday life have traditionally been an area of the documentary film, and the topics of emotions and fortunes an area for the drama series (Hickethier, 1998, p. 465). By telling the stories of young people's hopes and dreams at the workplace, the portraits are able to dramatize their documentary format. B FRIEDRICHSHAIN and B MITTE create a very intimate and personalized portrait of their districts, which are primarily defined by the practices of their inhabitants.[154]

Finally, BILDERBUCH WEDDING, which was not discussed in this chapter, applies similar strategies to tell of the district as a village within the city: firstly, in addition to the explicit mention of village life, the episode uses repeated appearances of a bus driver to give the episode structure and to create familiarity. Secondly, it suggests a series logic of district life with a reference to a local drama series (*Good Wedding, Bad Wedding*). And thirdly, it depicts blurred boundaries of work and living, and work and passion in close-up shots of crafting people. A recourse to working-class tradition with regard to crafting and a small-town idyll is however more significant in B FRIEDRICHSHAIN and B MITTE, which is surprising given the famous image of the Red Wedding, which BILDERBUCH WEDDING could have picked up. An explanation might be that the small-town image in BILDERBUCH WEDDING is rather created in reaction to Wedding's negative image as a social hotspot, which the introductory scene thematizes at the beginning of the episode. This is different from Friedrichshain and Mitte's position, which are seen as trendsetting districts that seek for a distinguishing tradition. For BILDERBUCH WEDDING, working-class history is especially present in the context of industrial buildings and new artistic uses, which is the topic of the next chapter.

154 The tendency of centering the district portrait around a person and to recreate a 'show' character is even more pointedly expressed by *rbb*'s expansion of the format BILDERBUCH by episodes in which celebrities introduce "their place of birth, their favorite region, or their district" (rbb annual report, 2017).

4.3.3 The cultural DNA of Berlin and the artist as mediator

Working-class tradition often contains references to greater history in the district portraits. The historical sites are considered the columns of the old Berlin. For the district portraits, it is not so important to recreate history as accurately as possible. Nor is it about the individual stories of former workers living in the district. Rather, working-class tradition is mentioned in the context of bigger historical developments: it is about industrialization, urban growth, living conditions, and other more general topics. The episodes refer to a time they consider formative years for Berlin's character, when the city underwent major changes. The industry and many small backyard businesses that had settled in Friedrichshain and Wedding were particularly shaping the character of this era. Accordingly, the fascination with industrial culture is great in the episodes. A major dimension that runs through all episodes (BD MITTE (2005) and BD FRIEDRICHSHAIN (2008); BILDERBUCH MITTE (2013), BILDERBUCH WEDDING (2013) and BILDERBUCH FRIEDRICHSHAIN (2016)) is the new usage of industrial buildings by creative people. Artists, dancers, musicians, journalists and architects all bring back life into abandoned buildings. In line with the working-class settings as discussed in the previous chapter, artists seek the authentic, rough and raw in these places and claim to function as mediators between the relics of history and contemporary society. This chapter is going to argue that art is considered central in transferring abandoned industrial areas into an integral part of Berlin's cultural life. Thereby, artistic projects integrate working-class culture into considerations of what is distinct Berlin culture, and transform the particularity of industrial places into publicly accessible spaces.

In BILDERBUCH WEDDING[155] (2013; hereafter B WEDDING), there are many artists moving into industrial buildings and associated spaces: a gallery and a theater are using an old repair shop of the public transportation company; after the bankruptcy of *Rotaprint*, "artists are moving in[to the area] like in many other locations in the Wedding"[156]; and finally, an artist equips a brothel with art in the surrounding area of a factory. In the latter example, the commentator introduces the artist's work with the following words:

155 Time codes in the analysis refer to BILDERBUCH WEDDING (2013) played on Vimeo.

156 German original: "Nach der Insolvenz von Rotaprint ziehen wie inzwischen an vielen Orten im Wedding zunächst Künstler ein." [26:50-27:00]

> In some corners you can still find the narrow backyards with the one-room apartments, and in them, what had already been there for over 100 years ago: gambling and prostitution. And again, it is art that is looking for those places that are rough and direct.[157]

B WEDDING dramaturgically places the sequence about the artist in-between a historical report about Wedding's growth as an industrial center and a report about the radical reconstruction of the district starting in the 1960s. Both sequences are underlined with archive footage: the early twentieth century factories and working-class housings are depicted in black and white images, and the destructive rebuilding of the district is symbolized by footage of a wrecking ball. Within these turbulent times for the district, the artist is placed in the mediator position as a person who recognizes and preserves the special atmosphere of these places either before the memory vanishes or before it is destroyed.

Art as a mediator between the past and the present is also apparent in BD FRIEDRICHSHAIN's depiction of the *Radialsystem 5*, a former pump station that has been turned into a place for the arts. The architecture of the building visibly merges old and new structures by combining the red brick facade of the pump station with a modern superstructure made of glass. In the intersection of old and new, a new space for the arts is born, according to the commentator. One director makes the observation that "for a long time, Friedrichshain was a district that was not recognized, but it has undergone extremely interesting changes in recent years."[158] Art, again, is presented as a detector of qualities and developments in the district, similar to the role of the photographer in other episodes.

Artists who work at the interface of old and new developments do more than just observe developments. The narrator mentions that by presenting new combinations of music and dance, the *Radialsystem* would be involved in the changes it witnesses.[159] The ongoing projects give the pump station an altered function, and change its meaning for

157 German original: "An einigen Ecken findet man noch die engen Hinterhöfe mit den Einzimmerwohnungen und in ihnen auch das, was es schon vor über 100 Jahren in Hülle und Fülle gab: Glücksspiel und Prostitution. Und wieder ist es die Kunst, die sich gerade diese Orte sucht, die rau und direkt sind." [22:28-22:50]

158 German original: "Friedrichshain war lange Zeit ein Bezirk, der nicht so stark wahrgenommen wurde, aber in den letzten Jahren einen extrem interessanten Wandel unterliegt." [28:47-28:59]

159 German original: "Zu diesem Wandel trägt auch das Radialsystem bei – mit klassischer und moderner Musik, mit Theater und Performance. 365 Tage im Jahr." [29:00-29:09]

the district. And reciprocally, the building significantly influences the framework in which the performances take place particularly by means of the soundscape. The directors even go so far as to compare the *Radialsystem* with a "big musical instrument" [30:00] and its hall with a special resonating "body" [30:05]. To demonstrate this resonating body, the directors produce echoing sounds in the hall. The hall's use in many flexible ways gives the building agency in the projects it houses. Art thus enters into a reciprocal relationship with the industrial location.

Another example of a reciprocal relationship of industrial culture and the arts with a focus on sound quality is a sequence in B MITTE about the *E-Werk*. This is the oldest powerhouse in Germany, which is now used for various cultural events. A famous DJ remembers having played some of his most important concerts in the hall, where "half the world was dancing […] when DJs like *WestBam* were playing."[160] The commentator underlines the uniqueness of Berlin's location with the statement that Berlin Mitte would have its own sound, to which the location and sound of the *E-Werk* contributed substantially. The DJ walks thoughtfully through the hall whose complex architecture is supported by a shrill, persistent tone that simultaneously signifies the big disruptions in the development of the building. Flashbacks of past concerts intersperse the scene and illustrate his memory. The DJ differentiates suburban techno culture such as the techno scene from commercial events that recently take place in the hall. Thereby, he essentializes the "holy place,"[161] as he calls the *E-Werk*, as the "original, […] bizarre, […] anarchic Berlin" from the 1990s, which he opposes to "conventions" and "champagne-drinking" [see footnote 160] events for which the hall would be used today. These "smooth Wall Street-esque guys" [see footnote 160], who used to be in New York, had now come to Berlin. In the DJ's view, there is a genuine Berlin, and there are other influences that have

160 German original: "Die halbe Welt tanzte im E-Werk, wenn DJs wie WestBam aufflegten. Berlin Mitte hatte einen eigenen Sound." [34:42-34:48]

161 German original: "An einem heiligen Ort wie hier, werden heute große Firmen wunderbarste Messeveranstaltungen machen, mit ganz leckeren kleinen Happen, Champagnertrinken und so. Was ich aber auch ok finde. Das sind Aspekte, die es in Berlin so früher nicht gab, die gibt es halt jetzt auch noch. Also Menschen, die es früher nur in New York gab, glatte Wallstreet-artige Typen, die gibt es plötzlich hier auch. Aber dieses original, bisschen bizarre, obskure, seltsame, anarchistische Berlin das gibt's ja auch noch. Das hat sich dann nur wieder an anderen Orten verzogen." [36:09-36:47]

entered the city. It is a reminder of the strive for authenticity in early TV episodes, which saw the essence of a typical Berlin character in working-class culture (Ch. 4.1).

Industrial tradition and the arts meet at eye level when it comes to being distinguished from other developments of modernizing industries and the bourgeoisie who are gradually moving into the district. With regard to the latter, the episodes even talk about a "population exchange" (B MITTE, 2013, 27:12). When it comes to the art scene, on the contrary, there is no mention of replacement at all. Even in the more critical views towards the arts' mediating position, it is not the artist who is foreign to the district but intellectual citizens and new businessmen who would gentrify the area. In an interview with a theater director (B WEDDING, 2013), this position in-between developments is reflected. Her fascination with an untouched and rough atmosphere of Wedding in which one could find a lot of tensions goes hand in hand with the pragmatic reasons for moving there. The director states that she values the bad reputation of the district because it would keep the rent low. However, she admits to the fact that institutions like her theater contribute to the appreciation of the neighborhood and its gentrification. However, this critical perspective of the arts' role in negative neighborhood developments is left out by the narrator's description of the creative area. The narrator instead generalizes and holds the anonymous mass of an educated middle-class accountable that moves to the Wedding.

This critical self-reflection of the director is a unique position in the episodes. What is emphasized instead is the explorative, trend-setting and preservative character of art, and accordingly, the (self)perception of the artists as conservers, mediators and rightful successors of those places with an industrial past. The episodes usually present artists and their projects as rightful successors of industrial tradition and treat other new businesses in the district separately and more skeptically. This has to do with the episodes' idea(lization) of the labor of crafting, and the merging of the industry and art to become an anchor of Berlin's culture. Places like the *E-Werk* are defined as an integral part of authentic Berlin culture. And conversely, the locations provide the projects with an authentic touch. It is a mutually profiting relationship legitimizing both the industrial heritage and the art projects as culturally important for Berlin.

The episodes consider industrial plants as more than just stages for contemporary events. Cultural practitioners would transfer old industrial landscapes to the public by marking them as cultural assets. The communized character of these places is emphasized when used for charitable objectives initiated by artists. In B WEDDING (2013), for instance, artists have found a limited liability corporation on the ground of an abandoned factory plant. Now they rent the space out to artists, craftsmen and social services without profit. The factory site is presented as a service to the public. The industrial areas are revitalized for ordinary citizens and their advantages are promoted to the community by the episodes.

Summary

The analyzed episodes of BILDERBUCH DEUTSCHLAND and *rbb*'s BILDERBUCH develop into increasingly independent films that present the featured district based on the life and work of strong personalities. The latest episodes have different audiovisual interpretations of the trailer sequence and indicate their belonging to the BILDERBUCH series only by inserting the caption 'Bilderbuch.' In their individuality, however, the episodes show a repetition of the same story about a hip district full of contrasts that is in transition. Even the most recent episodes share BERLINER BEZIRKE's understanding of the district as a space of clashes, especially of tradition and modernity. However, they differ by providing a mediator for these experiences. People are the center of the BILDERBUCH series. Some of them appear several times throughout an episode and are used to move the camera around the city. Interviews are no longer just a freeze image but show people walking in the street, riding a bike, moving in their apartment, or at work. Whereas topics, locations, and interviews of people are organized side-by-side in previous episodes of the 1990s, district portraits starting from 2005 increasingly see the city as a coherent space intertwined with the practices and experiences of its citizens.

This leads the episodes to present old and new in the district in a cyclical relation rather than just juxtaposing them. For example, B MITTE and B FRIEDRICHSHAIN stage young people's crafting practices as a kind of reenactment of industrial tradition formerly located in the

districts. Crafting is presented as a grounding practice for young creatives that thereby affirm their standing in the district. Based on a romanticized view of the past and of working-class living, crafting creatives are distinguished from other developments such as new service industries settling in the neighborhood. This differentiation also applies to other inhabitants portrayed by the episodes who follow their daily routines, and experience former proletarian places. All these practices are embedded in the temporality and spatiality of a small-town idyll, by which the episode seeks a normalizing balance between old and new developments. Chimney sweepers, marketplace visits and community values belong to a desired district image of Mitte and Friedrichshain. Working-class tradition is directly connected to the small-town image and glorified as the authentic, original Berlin that opposes new developments in a way that creates a sense of identity and belonging.

The episodes' emphasis on lifestyle and uses of space also brings other working-class places into focus, such as a swimming pool and dance hall, that did not appear in previous episodes. However, the traditionally pictured workers no longer provide a recent perspective for these places. Instead, they are subjected to changes around them. Most of the perceiving and experiencing of (urban) space is taken over by the new inhabitants of the districts. A dimension that runs through all newer episodes is the appropriation of space and the extension of its purpose as a way to think about district development. In line with this, the episodes provide interior views to buildings and to the living space of the residents. The 'new world' that is supposedly entering the neighborhood is primarily described as a lifestyle in which living and working collapses: personal style is also expressed outside of one's apartment, and creative work is treated as a calling and fulfillment. The new protagonists are creative people – artists, directors, musicians, journalists and architects – who also continue the old culture surrounding empty factory buildings. For the new tenants, authenticity is a major feature of these places. Working-class tradition, often generalized in the episodes, is used to emphasize the uniqueness of the places presented. The artist is portrayed as a detector and preserver of this tradition, displaying a cultural asset status to a place. A central function that art takes on is to transfer the legacy of industrialization to the public and thus into the cultural DNA of Berlin. The arts play a

significant role in transferring industrial culture into the city's history and the workers' tradition into a narration of a common history.

Ch. 5 Reconstructing the working-class neighborhood for television

5.1 The typical working-class neighborhood on *rbb*

The analysis has demonstrated that the working-class neighborhood and elements of working-class history were subjected to different contexts and intentions. The three chapters 4.1, 4.2 and 4.3, each dealing with a different time period, its characteristics and interpretation, focus on the manifold references made to Wedding, Mitte and Friedrichshain's working-class tradition over the years. Although one cannot draw a uniform picture of *the* working-class district as represented by *rbb*, there are motifs and images that regularly appear in TV's depiction of former working-class neighborhoods.

This section outlines typical motifs and narratives of working-class history for the districts Wedding, Mitte and Friedrichshain that are similar despite different uses by the programs between the years 1979 and 2016. The chapter thus treats 'the working-class neighborhood' in more general terms in an attempt to summarize and delineate the core of working-class representation on *rbb* by drawing connections between the analyzed episodes. Similarly, drawing connections between the programs highlights the nuances and differences in their meaning and changing representation in the many ways by which working-class history is referred to. The central outcome is that the analyzed programs incorporate working-class history for their narration of a common urban identity: working-class tradition becomes the core of Berlin identity and a fundament in the story of rapid change. The discussion chapter concludes by elaborating on the new meaning of 'work' and 'the urban working class' in *rbb*'s related formats against the background of major critique addressing the workers' exclusion in the production of urban space (Harvey) and the mediated public sphere (Negt and Kluge). By adding additional programs that contain a reference to working-class history in the district and that were not included in the main analysis, this section illuminates functions of the district portrait format, and television's potential and limits of initiating "moments of urban construction" (Harvey, 1997).

5.1.1 It's urban history: temporal layering and the evocation of space

The mention of the working-class neighborhood in rbb's episodes about Wedding and Friedrichshain is typically a reference to the city's industrial past and to a time when the city of Berlin underwent fundamental changes in its urban and demographic structure. Being portrayed as closed historical chapter, the classical working-class district is no longer a relevant concept for the city's present, but it certainly gains meaning as historical reference for the narration of urban development. The working-class district is narratively embedded in the analyzed TV episodes by classifying sentences that proclaim very generally and in a slightly grievously manner the definitiveness of the disappearance of working-class living in the districts: "The old Berlin lies at the bottom of the past, like a new Veneza. […] The windows, doors and gates [...], everything closed, as if it just breathes history" (WAS WURDE AUS DEM ROTEN KIEZ 1979); "Wedding, once the epitome of a working-class district and tenement town [...]" (NAHAUFNAHME 1987); "[…] there is no longer a sense of the gloomy suburb from the Kaiserzeit" (BB FRIEDRICHSHAIN 1999); "the old Berlin is often just a facade" (BB MITTE 1999); "nothing remains of the idyll on the Panke from the time of the colonists" (BILDERBUCH WEDDING 2013). These expressions dramatize history, at the same time they emphasize the importance of this history for the districts and legitimize its memorization by television. It is noticeable that expressions like "the old Berlin", "suburb of the Kaiserzeit" and "like a new Veneza" place the working-class neighborhood in the big narrative of German history. Moreover, in the original German quotes, verbs like "feeling" and "breathing" promote the assumption of a special aura of the workers' district, which can no longer 'be felt' when visiting the districts nowadays.

The idea of another time, another clock that is ticking for the working-class district is represented by the window motif, which is used in nearly every analyzed program to picture 'old living' in the present district. The motif usually depicts a man or woman who is looking out of the window or balcony. It describes a passive observer position old inhabitants have with regard to developments in their neighborhood, according to the films. In earlier films like WAS WURDE AUS DEM ROTEN KIEZ and NAHAUFNAHME, the window motif even

appears more than one time with a reference by the narrator that what the audience sees is a rare sight of the 'typical' and 'essential' Berlin. Also in episodes from the 1990s and most recent ones, these pictures function as representation of an assumed 'original' lifestyle and are directly opposed to renovated houses and new inhabitants to emphasize change in the neighborhood. Even one picture frame can give the idea of two separate temporalities living side by side in the district (Image 49, 06:36). In the two episodes about Friedrichshain, the same footage of a man on the balcony is used as an image of tranquility of old district life in the immediate vicinity of busy cafés representing a new lifestyle (e.g., Sequence 4). Here, the emphasis is on harmonious coexistence, not least because the cafés are presented as the new living rooms in which inhabitants meet up and spend their time. In this example, the window motif is used to narrate a continuous tradition of community life in the former working-class district. In all other occasions, however, people standing alone at their window portray a temporality that is taken away from the contemporary times pictured by the portraits.

Fig. 22 (Image 49, 50 & 51, Capture BB MITTE (l) & BB FR. (m, r), Temporal layers)

Although the inhabitants are visible, their pictures signify absence. Their gaze wanders into the distance and their thoughts seem far removed from the room they are in. The view out of the window is in this case an introspection that eludes our knowledge. We, the audience, would like to know about their thoughts and about what lies behind the window. The window, however, marks the border to a world the viewer cannot know about or that maybe is, metaphorically speaking, no longer there. If this world remains empty, the focus stays with the ailing facade.

In the analyzed programs, facades are both the physical remains of working-class history and an anchor for imaginations about former life in cramped tenement houses of the Wilhelminian era. They function as illustration of rich historical layers in the districts Wedding and

Friedrichshain and are used to expose this history engraved in the city's material structure. There is a pragmatic reason for filmmakers to film facades, especially in the context of TV productions often pressured by time: facades are accessible from the street, no permission or costs are required to film the site. Furthermore, they represent neutral, very graphic 'witnesses' that function as supporting images for the story. In BB FRIEDRICHSHAIN (1999), for instance, two urban layers are quite figuratively depicted in one shot: above the old chimney-studded rooftops of the former "suburb of the Kaiserzeit" new housing blocks rise in the background (Image 50, 02:40). These opposing shots are common in other episodes, too, which pan over newly renovated house facades next to crumbling ruins. In that way, streets become miniature reflections of modern urban development and allow for generalizing statements about the city's development.

The materiality of decay is also a fundament of storytelling in the programs. In BB FRIEDRICHSHAIN, the narrator claims that "there is little left of the gloomy suburb from the imperial era. Some facades are still reminiscent of this and backyards tell the stories of the people" [02:40-02:49]. The camera continues with a pan over a house facade and stops at faded yet visible letters on the building that read 'coal' and 'headquarters.' The buildings, in this example, are not only symbols for the era in which they were erected, they are also 'storytellers,' i.e., initiators of the stories told by the programs. Departing from the visible traces of their history, a voice-over continues with the stories that surround the building, for example the building's former function for its inhabitants. In the image at hand, a planted balcony, graffiti on the wall, old characters that spell 'coal' and reflections in the shop window all point to different times and stories this house could tell (Image 51, 02:49). The image is a palimpsest of possible micro (hi)stories in the district, one of which, the working-class past, is addressed by BB FRIEDRICHSHAIN.

The layering of urban experience is complemented by personal memories of people who had inhabited the Wedding and Friedrichshain for many years and witnessed the transition of eras in the district. On the auditive level, the interviewed people share stories and anecdotes about certain aspects of living in the district. They offer personal perspectives that add to the generalized narrative of district development (for the personalization of district history see ch. 4.2.1). On the visual level, the personal layering of urban space often happens

through portrait photography and photos published from the family album of former residents. They give the place an intimate, human character.

Fig. 23 (Sequence 6 Capture BB FRIEDRICHSHAIN, Montage of archive footage)

The multi-layered nature of the district is also created by the use of archive recordings, which often rely on features of the facade to create layered urban memories. To stay with the example of BB FRIEDRICHSHAIN, facades are used to reactivate old images of district life during the Wilhelminian years. An exemplary sequence starts with two people on the balcony in the present (Sequence 6). The next shot shows an entrance door on which the black and white image of a backyard passage is projected that gradually fills the whole screen until it arrives in the past in front of the window of two inhabitants looking at us. This montage of contemporary and archive images beams us into the past like a time traveler. It is a visualization of the process of remembering: watching a house front suddenly brings back images of a former time in our memory. BB FRIEDRICHSHAIN uses this actually very personalized way of remembering to create an intimate collective memory of working-class living, which moves us as our own.

5.1.2 The spatiality of the working-class district

This technique of embedding archive material creates a sense of time, as well as extends the present sense of space. The audience can now fill the place with memories about the neighborhood giving flat facades some meaningful content. The memories are animated by images of people walking down the archway they inhabited years before. Furthermore, the flat image of a closed door gains depth by directing the view through a long tunnel of archways (Sequence 6).

Perspectives of old and new images cross and give depths by creating different directionalities of seeing.

Furthermore, other examples recall the particular spatiality of the working-class district based on the built structure of remaining facades and backyards. The material structure of the city as it is visible in these ruins functions as a kind of blueprint for the visualization of proletarian housing. This happens in several ways. Moving around the neighborhood is a predominantly static and selective 'look-around' by the camera, and an advance into the backyard labyrinths. The programs explore the district by means of panning shots, low-angle-shots and one-frame views, which evoke a spot-lighted, deep sense of urban space. Quite fittingly, these camera techniques are used to picture the typical narrow backyards for which working-class districts are famous. A typical motif in this depiction is a steep low-angle-shot from the bottom of a backyard (Image 52, 24:02). It is a popular way for contemporary programs to recreate the feeling of a dark and confined space, especially when contemporary images of working-class neighborhoods are few. That is why these long-angle-shots are also to be found in other TV programs. It also describes the viewpoint of the lower class, which was literally at the bottom in the social and urban hierarchy.

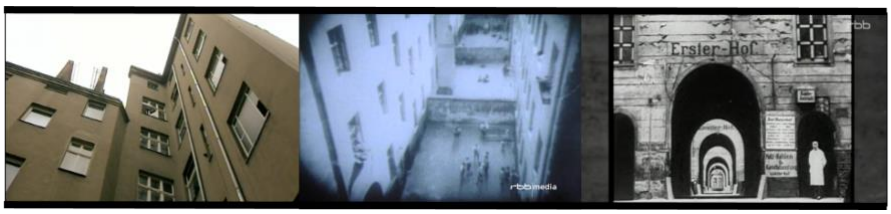

Fig. 24 (Image 52, 53 & 54, Capture B WEDD (l, r) & WAS WURDE (m), Confined spaces)

A horizontal perspective of the working-class neighborhood is offered by archive footage from the 1920s-1930s, when backyards were still plenty and one could peak into the world behind facades. Peaking *into* or advancing *towards* was a project typically pursued by early films from which the archive material is taken. The filmmakers explored proletarian living as separate entity in a city perceived as a clash of various experiences (Ch. 2.2). Consequently, they understood their film projects as journeys into an unknown part of their city like unravelling blind spots on the map. Images of narrow streets and backyards (Image 53, 03:37) demonstrate curious gazes *at* people, no

encounters with perspectives *from* their lives. Similar to the window motif, more than connecting the viewer to the people depicted, these film images mark a division between the viewer and the viewed. No image has symbolized this border (and consequently the transgression to another world, and today into another time, by film) better than the *Meyers Hof* archways, an image that has become iconic in TV programs to visualize Berlin working-class living (Image 54, 19:39). *Meyers Hof*, firstly, was an extreme case of Berlin's backyard structure. It therefore functions as prime example to report on the disastrous conditions of proletarian living at the turn of the century. Secondly, it is an effective image that portraits working-class living as clearly defined historical entity – a dominant narrative on TV that embeds the chapter of working-class living into a coherent timeline of German history (see next sub-chapter). Like the entrance gate of a theme park, the image contains a reference to all that lies behind the archway. No other images are needed to evoke the idea of workers' living in the audience. Even if TV programs are relatively short and only contain one or two archive images, it usually discloses a picture of *Meyers Hof*.

In all these old images, it is striking that the selected archive material by the programs pictures the working-class neighborhood as narrow and confined space. The picture frame is usually limited by walls or crowded by a close-up shot of people. This should clearly proof the films' point about the desperate housing condition of thousands of workers in a rapidly industrializing Berlin. However, comparing these interpretations to those films from which the footage is taken, one can see that they do contain additional open-frame pictures of wide streets and open squares on which workers rest, gather and mooch around. They prove that a workers' existence was not only limited to the narrowness and darkness of the working-class neighborhood. Workers were part of the broader cityscape, too. This difference in depicting working-class experience in Berlin between old and new films can be explained by different aims in storytelling and, in association to that, different perspectives on the relation between district and city: for the old films, it was about anchoring the existence of workers as a *current* phenomenon in the city. Hence, this view is shaped by the *simultaneity* of events and developments, connecting the proletarian neighborhood with other expressions of their lifestyle in the city. Whereas, in the case of the new programs, it

is important to clearly outline the working-class district *in retrospective* as a historical subject. The working-class neighborhood gains vertical meaning as historical fundament of those places revisited by the programs (see next sub-chapter).

The latter point is supported by the films' orientation toward spatial consistency. The district's built structure – facades and crumbling ruins – is used to revive images of former working-class living: usually, what the audience sees is an image of a historical building, then a flashback or lap dissolve into black and white footage of how that place used to look like years ago. The same goes for the example of a plant closure: first, the film shoots the gate of a shut-down factory. Only then, it inserts old footage of how workers are entering that gate when the factory was still open. These sequences fulfill before/after comparisons that picture the district like a lift-the-flap book. Normally, archive material from one place is not mixed up with material from another place, for instance, to draw topical connections to other storylines. This happens, if at all, as transition to the next location or story.

In conclusion, the districts Wedding and Friedrichshain are depicted as multi-layered historical space by means of different filmic strategies. The district's material grid - spatial structure and facades – often functions as orientation and anchor for the use of archive material. Black and white images taken from early films from the 1930s complement the ruins and revive them with old life. In this way, the former spatial image of the working-class neighborhood is projected very precisely onto the current location. It portrays the working-class neighborhood as spatialized urban memory, not only by its topic – the working-class *neighborhood* – but also by the way it is remembered within contemporary urban space.

5.2 Appropriation of history: the storytelling of a shared urban identity

One image that illustrates the mode of storytelling in the analyzed TV programs particularly well is that of the arriving/departing train. Horizontal movement through the city is a contemporary means to depict district space in the programs, not least because archive material from the 1920s-1930s with horizontal camera movement is rare because film technology was not yet sophisticated enough to produce complex camera movement.[162] An exception of linear movement in archive material is Sequence 7 presented by BILDERBUCH FRIEDRICHSHAIN (2016): the camera captures images of a street from inside a driving car. A street scenery of shops, houses, and men- and horse-drawn carriages unfolds while the narrator describes the area surrounding the *Ostbahnhof* in the 1920s as a "poor man's neighborhood," in which Zille had lived [23:41-23:53, my translation]. Then, a sharp cut into the program's present depicts a train station and a woman walking her bike into the train. Her movement picks up on the footage from the archive, mirroring the camera movement from right to left making it a neat transition from the past into the present. The next scene shows the train departing out of the left corner of the frame.

Fig. 25 (Sequence 7 Capture B FRIEDRICHSHAIN, The linear progression of history)

This example is in many ways telling for the narrative embedding of working-class history in the TV city portraits at hand: (1) it is a story about progress. Movement is the connecting element in all three scenes. The filmmaker uses a match cut to create movement that translates into other motifs (from a driving car to a walking woman to a departing train). The same direction and pace of movement and the same framing in long-shots connects the old footage with the present.

162 There are a few exceptions that show people on a motorcycle or in a car. Yet, this footage was not chosen by the analyzed programs to visualize working-class living.

Together, the visual material forms a movement from past to present that functions as an allegory of progress, with (technical) progress literally arriving by train. Throughout the TV portraits, working-class history is constantly narrated into a story of progress and development with change as the dominant narrative. (2) Montage techniques of old and new images paint the present as inevitable expression of the past – here, suggested by linear movement. The layering of temporalities (see also sub-chapter before) stresses continuity, i.e. history as succession of events, which (3) fosters the narration of originality and authenticity in depictions about the working-class district. All three points are further discussed in this section. It is argued that they cater to a narrative of a shared urban identity as presented on television by the city portrait series.

5.2.1 The narrative of change

The previous chapter has delineated how urban complexity in the district is depicted by film techniques that evoke temporal and spatial layering. This chapter explores how these audiovisual reconstructions of 'the working-class neighborhood' serve television's storytelling of change and urban identity. Change, in one form or another, is *the* leading narrative in all analyzed episodes and remains constant over the years. The relationship between old and new in the district is constantly questioned with regard to big storylines about social transformation and urban development. The contexts and interpretations vary, of course, but all analyzed episodes are based on the same perspective: they portray a district that has been subject to major changes. That a district changes over the course of 50 or 100 years seems natural and an unavoidable fact, but 'change' is the approach and legitimization for the episodes to portray the districts. Exaggerating phrases like 'no other district has changed so much' and 'in no other district we can see the tension between old and new' are popular ways to arouse the audience's interest at the beginning of an episode.

Change in Wedding and Friedrichshain becomes a fundamental principle of the programs' filmic perception of district space. Its portraits function as a snapshot of the present with awareness of a

before and after. As the previous chapter has argued, the layering of urban space happens in close consideration to the built environment – a past that gives the present its form. Archive images are often quite literally montaged into the cityscape as if history lies buried beneath the city and waits to be 'digged out' by the programs. One can see that pictorially in BB Friedrichshain (1999): when a voice-over lists the characteristics of Friedrichshain at the beginning of the episode, we see a cityscape of "old" [01:16] living quarters located at the bottom end of "modern living areas" [01:18], suggesting that the old part of the city comprises the fundament on which the new Friedrichshain is built (Image 55, 01:17). The next sequence then indeed proceeds to ruins in a park: "millions of cubic meters of the old Friedrichshain are buried here."[163] The audience could see "traces of history - glamor and glory, and kitchen tiles of the petite bourgeoisie"[164] (Image 56, 01:56).

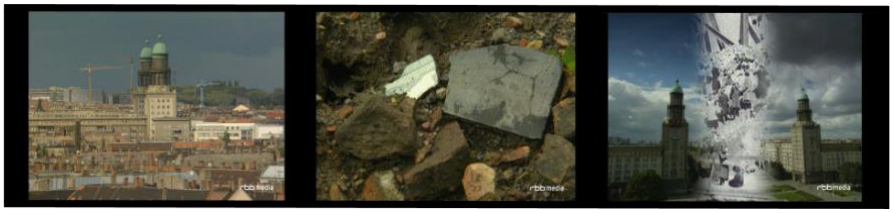

Fig. 26 (Image 55, 56 & 57, Capture BB FRIEDRICHSHAIN, Archeological perspective)

The programs' hunt for the past has an archeological character that brings history into play as perspective. The past becomes above all an examination of the present: the portrait series deal with overarching questions such as 'what is our tradition?' 'how did it shape our present?' 'who does that make us and who do we want to be in the future?'. These questions are fundamental for the conception of the city portrait series seeking for identificatory regional features. Again, an example of BB FRIEDRICHSHAIN serves to illustrate this point: a panning shot across the dome towers of the Frankfurter Tor reveals an impressive view over what the narrator calls "Berlin's building culture" (Image 57, 05:04). Imposed on this view, black and white archive material rolls up from the middle of the scenery presenting ruins and people cleaning-up the area in the context of the national

163 German original: "Millionen Kubikmeter altes Friedrichshain liegen hier begraben." [01:45-01:47]

164 German original: "Spuren der Geschichte – Glanz und Gloria, und kleinbürgerliche Küchenkacheln." [01:55-01:57]

developmental program – the Eastern effort to rebuild Berlin after the war. In this example, the past literally serves as a building block for the present appearance of the city. Even more so, built from the people for the people, the current *Karl-Marx-Allee* is presented as identificatory heritage gaining form and meaning from the past endeavors of Berlin citizens.

The continuity of district space and history

These examples showcase a unity of place and time as it is assumed by city series formats in portraying a pre-defined region, landscape or district allowing their audience to seamlessly flow through the depicted sites and stories. In the portrait series BERLINER BEZIRKE and BILDERBUCH, the continuity of what is shown is not mainly brought about by "structuring space through the perspective of individual protagonists in camera work, montage and narration," as it is the case for feature film (Fahlenbrach, 2010, p. 162, my translation). A superordinate spatial narrative of 'the region' predominantly structures the analyzed episodes. In the case of *rbb*'s BILDERBUCH, for example, the series attempts to provide "regional portraits from the area Berlin-Brandenburg" (Bilderbuch, n.d.). Unlike other local documentary formats of the *rbb*, such as THE RBB REPORTER, which centers on stories, BILDERBUCH starts with the premise of a region whose aspects are covered by individual episodes. The region's space-time structure is told as continuous. Being a *serial* television format, continuity is a principle that is not just to be found within one episode but told *across* episodes that each illuminate one spot on the map, thereby contributing to the overall narrative of the region.

Places like Berlin, Wedding and Friedrichshain are embedded as fixed units (district boundaries are never questioned in the episodes). Likewise, district history is presented as linear chronology, as if the present would be a direct expression of the past. Given the brief amount of time in which aspects of district history need to be covered within a 15-to-45-minute episode, the past is not questioned to have challenging alternative perspectives, stories and images. District history seems to be a smooth succession of events leading up to the present. The programs do not demonstrate history as a construct in their storytelling that makes it appear to be objective facts and

developments in the first place.[165] To be fair, providing alternative histories is not the aim of district portraits, they rather try to detect foundations based on which they can communicate a regional identity that most of the audience relate to. In the overall context of TV program planning, individual stories and alternative histories find their place in other formats. Nevertheless, it is precisely this perspective on (city) history that contributes to a narrative of urban identity in the portrait series that reinforces originality and authenticity, which will be discussed in greater detail later in the context of the working-class district.

Moreover, the representation of the working-class neighborhood is embedded in an understanding of a succession of events leading up and contributing to our present. This becomes particularly clear in the case of WAS WURDE AUS DEM ROTEN KIEZ, which positions the story about the Red Wedding in a "political stenography" [04:06] of pivotal historical events: this story begins in the *Gründerzeit*, in which Berlin became the capital and center for the industries. Growing factories demanded for an increasing number of workers, which lead to the urgent need of housing for the city's increasing workforce – the birth of the 'Red' district. Furthermore, World War I, inflation, starvation, unemployment, and finally the rise of the fascists had eroded what was considered typical working-class living in Berlin, according to the film. This historical summary is the most extensive recapitulation of historical events in the analyzed episodes. Usually, district portraits spread these pivotal events evenly over a whole episode. However, elements of it appear in one way or another also in the following TV episodes of BERLINER BEZIRKE and BILDERBUCH, even by the remediation of the show DAMALS WAR'S, which aired the film WAS WURDE AUS DEM ROTEN KIEZ again in the 1990s and thereby added the contemporary Wedding as the last stop in the chronology of events.

History presented as succession of events receives the character of a simple causality ('first this, then that'). A similar historical summary to WAS WURDE AUS DEM ROTEN KIEZ is suggested by B WEDDING:

> In 1861, Wedding became part of Berlin. With the euphoria of the *Gründerzeit*, the district skyrocketed. Huge factories emerged, such as *Schering* and *AEG*.

165 The 1990s episodes, with their idea of the city as a pluralistic perspective, soften this master narrative (Ch. 4.2). However, this happens on a rather superficial level. The fundamental pillars of narrating the district and district history remain that of continuity.

> Knights of fortune and job seekers are jostling for new jobs. Tenements are built for the workers, like the iconic *Meyers Hof*.[166]

This statement presents the emerging of Wedding like it was caused by some natural force. Each sentence contains the next step of development as if this step was an inevitable consequence of the previous one. These simplified and reductive causalities are also apparent in shorter references to historical events. For example, a common way to introduce the issue of the working-class neighborhood is to say that industrialization had led to typical working-class housing and disastrous living conditions, without further explanation of what 'industrialization' actually implies in this context (e.g., BB WEDDING 1999; BB MITTE 1999). These causalities present a very condensed understanding of history which relies on the audience's basic knowledge about these events. This reference to general knowledge applying a 'you know what we are talking about' rhetoric is another way of supporting a master narrative of district history, told as one linear strand of developments.

By selecting stories and images, and repeating them in and across different formats, the *rbb* creates its own mediated history. As a result, certain events and narrative strands crystallize over time, which manifest themselves as the history of the Berlin working-class neighborhood. In summary, significant events for the Wedding and Friedrichshain are told to be: industrialization, World War II, radical restructuring plans in the 70s (Wedding) and urban redevelopment in general, the German reunification[167] and plant closures. They are the pillars in the storytelling of change in the former working-class neighborhood.

166 German original: "Ab 1861 zählt der Wedding zu Berlin. Mit der Euphorie der Gründerzeit schießt der Bezirk rasant in die Höhe. Riesige Fabriken entstehen, wie die *Schering* oder *AEG*. Glücksritter und Arbeitssuchende drängeln sich, um die neuen Arbeitsplätze. Für die Arbeiter baut man Mietskasernen, wie dem berüchtigten *Meyers Hof*." [20:46-22:27]

167 The reunification is a key event, especially for episodes about Friedrichshain (For example: „Mit der Wiedervereinigung wurde Friedrichshain aus seinem Dornröschenschlaf geweckt [the reunification woke up the Sleeping Beauty Freidrichshain]", BD FRIEDRICHSHAIN 2008).

From intimate perspectives of a worker's living to a historical workforce

Embedding the working-class district in a chronology of historical events neglects the fact that working-class living had its very own expressions and lifestyles that were not only related to external factors of the time such as the housing crisis, unemployment and political struggle. For example, in comparison to WAS WURDE AUS DEM ROTEN KIEZ and NAHAUFNAHME, the city portraits from the 1990s onwards do not use visual footage of proletarian feature films from the 1920s-1930s any longer. But these early city films about Berlin proletarian living tend to show intimate insights into the life of the urban proletariat. Unemployment and alcohol consumption were as much a topic as cheerful gatherings and humorous sequences of everyday situations (Ch. 2.2). The films' approach was to give a general picture of proletarian living by gathering many small sequences from a worker's life. These sequences provided typical situations and meant to introduce types of workers (e.g., the virtuous, the drunkard, etc.). Although they did not really depict individuals and their personal destiny, this general picture was nevertheless realized through the staging of intimacy and empathy.

In newer city series formats, this wholistic approach to proletarian living steps back behind the talk about general structures, developments and conditions. On the one hand, this happens by leaving out archive images depicting everyday sequences of people interacting with each other. Instead, the programs use material with mostly empty streets and backyards to reconstruct the typical structure of Berlin tenement houses. What is shown to the audience are images of the symbolic *Meyers Hof*, a bird's eye perspective on the architectural structure of a tenement house complex and wide-angle shots on streets and backyards. What is missing are insights into areas of working-class living that understand the workers as more than products of their time. On the other hand, if the episode actually shows people, they are staged as 'the mass': images of marching workers, lines of waiting people (Image 58, 19:31) and commuting people (Image 59, 09:17) serve to illustrate political protest by the labor movement and mass unemployment in the interwar years. In these examples, the workers are told as historical figures. More than

individual suffering, the images shall portray the dynamics and characteristics of their period.

Fig. 27 (Image 58, 59 & 60, Capture B WEDDING (l, r) & B FR. (m), Historicization)

In this way, depicting a working-class past in the districts Wedding and Friedrichshain is commonly connected to the story of the historical period of the *Gründerjahre* (lasting up until 1914), when Germany experienced a great economic upswing and urban proletarian neighborhoods were evolving, and to the years after World War I, when crises struck society and especially the working-class community, which suffered from hunger, poverty and disease. In other words, telling about the 'Red' Wedding, for instance, does not just happen for the sake of reconstructing working-class history alone. It is used to talk about a historically relevant period for the city of Berlin whose conditions and woes (like unemployment, starvation and housing crisis) indeed hit the urban poor the hardest. In fact, industrialization and urbanization also left a significant mark on the city's social and spatial structure, and how society kept developing from there. Accordingly, the repertoire of images to depict this period additionally contains spinning wheels of machines and an interior perspective of the legendary AEG assembly hall (BB WEDDING). These images translate an atmosphere of change and modern optimism into the movement of machines and workers. Once again, representations of the world of work around the turn of the century function as metaphors for general change and historical development instead of portraying individual destinies and specificities.

Factories turn out to be significant pillars in TV's storytelling of progress: they are presented as motor and major place of development. The filmic focus of factory images is on machines and the arrangement of assembly lines into a great composition. The 'work' of the traditional working-class neighborhood thus receives a rather symbolic meaning related to technology and progress. Single work processes are not depicted in the TV portraits (except for some insights

into the historical *Osram* bulb factory by episodes about Friedrichshain). Interestingly, they only return in the context of crafting conducted by new inhabitants, whose manual labor is related to the industrial past of the district (Ch. 4.3.2). 'Work' receives a nostalgically colored revival in the contemporary practices of inhabitants, but in contrast to that, selected archive footage of factories communicates a rather static, monumental image of the place of work. As the largest placeholders, they ask to be filled with new meanings and functions. They are the narrative (and visual) nodes that mark a major developmental step in the district, another plant closure symbolizing the next step away from the industrial past and into a service-based economy.

The monumental character of factories is informed, firstly, by their role as one of the main employers of the district and their importance for economy and society. And secondly, by their impressive architecture, which after renovations still functions as a home to fancy lofts and offices. In both cases, the factory is presented as the angle point of change (see Ch. 4.3). In episodes about the Wedding, the AEG and Schering are treated as the fall and future hope for the district. A perspective from outside the factory shows, for instance, workers gathering at the factory gate to protest against the plant closure of the AEG in 1982. NAHAUFNAHME reports in detail about the issue, demonstrating the importance and extent of the closure for the further development of the Wedding: "100 years of industrial history" would end with the decommissioning of the AEG [27:37]. An accompanying image shows the AEG gate reflected in the glass facade of the new owner: a tech company. While in NAHAUFNAHME the AEG site functions to show a critical moment of upheaval in Wedding's history with an era coming to an end and a glimpse of hope in new technology, in later episodes the factory site serves as the place where transitions were successfully made to the "new Silicon Wedding" (BB WEDDING). BILDERBUCH WEDDING additionally reports on the decommissioning of the printing firm Erotaprint, about which even GDR television had reported in order to claim the failure of the West (Image 60, 25:01). All these examples show how important factories and their closure were in the TV history of both systems. The story of change is solidified in always repetitive narratives about the fate of factories as the old and new place of work.

In the episodes about Friedrichshain, it is the former Osram bulb factory and factories alongside the eastern harbor that tell of the district's transition into a "brave new world" (BILDERBUCH D FRIEDRICHSHAIN). Images of assembly-line work in Osram's production of light bulbs are relatively well documented and testify to the pride the GDR took in the company. Today, they represent an outdated world of work in a building now transitioned into a "service center" representing "a new era of ideas," in which "light bulbs" became "designer lamps" [10:04-10:18] (BB FRIEDRICHSHAIN). Society had successfully changed "from the old manufacturing industry to the modern service sector" (BILDERBUCH D FRIEDRICHSHAIN). One could see that literally in the polished outlook of the factory building, whose elevator, for example, moves the camera through a glass shaft to the next level – or one could say, to the next step of evolution. Like the arriving/departing train, the elevator ride (which is also associated with urban development and the building of the 'new' Berlin in other episodes, ch. 4.2.3) symbolizes the progression of society to another era in which traditional work and workers are being replaced by a new world.

Marching workers, *Meyers Hof*, spinning wheels of machines – these images stick in the collective memory of television. Especially, the well-documented history of the Red Wedding is characterized by repetitive use of archive material across different episodes. But, also episodes about Friedrichshain repeat material about transitions in the district (e.g., new employees in a cafe on a renovated factory site, ch. 4.2.4). By repeating these stories in and across different episodes and choosing the same or similar images and narratives, the *rbb* creates its own mediated history. As a result, certain events and narrative strands manifest themselves as the history of the Berlin working-class neighborhood. These are industrialization, World War I and II, radical restructuring plans in the 1970s (Wedding) and urban redevelopment in general, plant closures and the German reunification. They are the pillars in the storytelling of change in the former working-class neighborhood and give witness to the story of society's transformation to another era, staging Berlin as a place of transformation.

5.2.2 Folkloric figures: proletarian culture as urban tradition

The flow of history in form of images and narratives describes Berlin as a place of change and future possibilities. For the introduced episodes, Berlin is always on the move, has frictions, is a place where history condenses in many layers and can be recognized as if "under a magnifying glass" (BD MITTE). It has been argued that change is *the* spatial perception in the TV portraits – a change that leaves the classical worker behind (understood in the narrow sense of an industrial workforce). A question by filmmaker Harun Farocki pinpoints the problematic. He claims that industrial order had synchronized the lives of many individuals (Farocki, 1995/2007, p. 21). Especially the worker had been "made concomitant by work rules" and compressed into "a work force" (ibid., my translation). He further poses the question of what would happen to the worker if s/he leaves those places of work in which s/he becomes visible *as* worker: "does the image of their working-class existence fall apart" (ibid.)? In other words, what is the worker outside the factory? What place does he or she find in the portraits?

In the district portraits, the image of the worker is fading with the fall of the industrial era. Single phenomena of the turn of the century such as emerging factories, workers housing and political struggle are narratively connected to one old world of work that is transitioning or after transition to the new age of ideas and services. Both are understood as separate entities, one era succeeding the other within an 'either-or' story. Arriving at a new age, there is little perspective left for the individual worker. Workers are narrated to be the ones who are left behind and who disappear together with renovated houses, closed factories and corner bars. They are pictured as unemployed people and relics of an ancient time, the corner bar being presented as the last resort of the worker. There is no single *positive* story, for instance, of successful vocational retraining of unemployed factory workers, reconsidered life plans after a factory closure or a reinterpretation of working-class tradition in the district in light of immigrated guest workers. All these options would provide alternative stories that consider the worker as participating figure in the narrative of contemporary change. Instead, they are presented as displaced from the neighborhood and replaced by new employees in suits and creative residents who are the new 'hip' faces of the district.

With the historical perspective on proletarian movies and documentary films about urban living from the early twentieth century (Ch. 2.1 & 2.2), one can conclude that the working class and the story of social change thus go back a long way. Although early films demonstrate a fair interest in proletarian living, workers are part of a modernization story. The films created imaginations of working-class living based on the assumption of the backwardness of their life and the need for action in providing modern housing. Ever since, the depiction of a traditional working-class and their neighborhood has been related to social change, too. Even 100 years later in *rbb*'s portraits, workers are told as the losers of modernization, they are shown unemployed after factory closures and are the victims of urban redevelopment – in their importance for society, the workers' existence mainly shows itself in a state of transition, during big societal upheaval and mainly in the deficit. The workers' story is rarely connected to positive stories.

An explanation for the persistence of the idea of a working class lies in the function this idea fulfills in the respective narrative. With regard to the analyzed city portrait series, working-class tradition has a stabilizing and reassuring function for the telling of urban and regional identity. Most fundamentally, in order to be able to narrate change, the episodes need an 'other': the old part of Berlin. This is the role of the working-class district whose residents had inhabited the Wedding and Friedrichshain for a long time. Interestingly, ancient churches or buildings dating back even before the era of industrialization are not as much considered fundaments of district character as the formation of working-class neighborhoods. The latter epitomizes the 'old' Berlin like no other period. 'Old' is not meant in a negative way like in early films that only saw the deficits of proletarian living. Although the portraits admit to unhealthy and confined living conditions, the proletarian neighborhood is also associated with good qualities like originality, authenticity, cordiality and honesty of its people.

In the episodes, the turn of the century is presented as a period that especially impacted the perception of Berlin identity, and that of Wedding and Friedrichshain in particular. One reason for this lies in the history of the popularization of milieu culture in Berlin even before the launch of television. Television directly picks up on this history with mentions of Heinrich Zille, or indirectly with Cornelia Froboess,

who draws from folkloric tradition of that time. Although a historical excursion must remain limited in this context, the following will thus shortly outline the implied traditions on television, firstly, to give an idea where these references come from, and secondly, to show that the popularization of milieu culture preceded the medium of television.

Since the second half of the nineteenth century until the rise of the Nazi regime, Berlin sees the formation of great folkloric figures that have had a lasting impact on what has been considered Berlin culture and identity: "Berliner Schnauze" (Berlin dialect), "Berliner Göre" (brat), "Berliner Humor" (Berlin humor) and "the Milljöh" demonstrate a popularization of the proletarian milieu in the entertainment culture of the middle classes (Wendland, 2006). But how did these figures become connected to the urban proletariat? With the beginning of the nineteenth century the social question became the decisive one (Rosenberg, 1986, p. 91). In addition to cultural activities, the question of social positioning was increasingly determined in terms of language usage. Berlin dialect, for instance, was originally a collection of different dialects of immigrated people who had moved into the city from all over the country (ibid.). With the influx of workers into the city and the attempt of the upper classes to set themselves apart through high culture and the use of High German, segregations were further manifested. Little by little, the milieu of the backyards became "home of the [Berlin] dialect" (p. 92). This association of Berlin dialect with proletarian culture persists, although it received backlashes under the rule of the Nazis, which had their own ideas about which dialects were sublime. After World War II, East and West Berlin had different uses and valuations of the dialect, but in both cases Berlin dialect symbolized the language of the proletariat (Kemna, 2019). The analyzed district portraits at *rbb* draw from this association of Berlin dialect with the working class. They present Berlin dialect in interviews and songs as a charismatic feature of the proletarian milieu, thereby further manifesting this characterization of the working class as part of the 'original' Berlin.

Despite the separation of classes through taste, attitude and behavior in the course of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, social groups kept occasionally crossing these boundaries by appropriating each other's culture. Especially the proletarian milieu was a source of entertainment and curiosity for the bourgeoisie (Ch. 2.2). Singer and cabaret artists like Claire Waldoff used the coarseness

and humor of the proletariat and modernized the figure of the milieu on stage (Jelavich, 1993, p. 100ff.). Being famous within a wide audience except for the working class itself, Waldoff nevertheless reinforces her proletarian roots in song lines dedicated to her friend Heinrich Zille: "And I stand here as your Milljöh/ As you describe it, I am an image of your pictures/ Always straightforward, with the heart in the right place/ From head to toe, I'm your Milljöh."[168] (Waldoff, 1930, my translation)

The popularization and appropriation of former milieu culture can be seen above all in the figure of Heinrich Zille. The graphic artist is most well-known for mediating 'Milljöh' culture beyond the narrow streets and backyards of the working-class district he grew up in (Image 61, 01:40). His images still exert influence on what is thought to be original Berlin identity: "[His works] were widely published in books and magazines and are still considered a core part of Berlin's identity," writes the Zille museum, for instance, in a recent brochure. And further: "the environment Zille came from and always remained faithful to has become as famous as his subtle humour reaching far outside Berlin" (Zille museum, 2019). Berlin's working-class milieu became known through various mediations of their culture in the entertainment business of the upper classes, and by "advertising strategists" (ibis.) who knew how to make Zille a trademark for the so-called Berlin 'Milljöh.' It is questionable whether people ever went into the neighborhoods themselves. Instead, the image of the 'Milljöh' became independent from the living reality of its residents. Previously located traditions and cultural practices were thereby transferred to a more general conception of urban tradition.

Television, too, refers to folkloric figures of proletarian character. It includes them into its portraits as a veteran of Berlin culture, thereby contributing in its own medium-specific way to the popularization of milieu culture and the story of 'original Berlin identity.' For example, Waldoff's song is picked up by *rbb* for the documentary on Heinrich Zille (DET WAR ZILLE SEIN MILLJÖH) in 1981. Zille is further a regular reference in the analyzed episodes and related TV programs (e.g., in ERLEBNIS GESCHICHTE). Zille is moreover often used to personalize

168 Original excerpt from "Das Lied vom Vater Zille" [The song of father Zille] by Claire Waldoff: "Und ich selber steh, Hier als dein Milljöh/ Wie du selbst es tatest schildern, bin ein Bild aus Deinen Bildern/ Schnauze vorneweg, Doch das Herz am Fleck/ Von der Tolle bis zur Zeh, Bin ich sein Milljöh."

reports about working-class living if there are no other witnesses to interview. In another example, the episode BB WEDDING shows an interview with a woman who remembers seeing child star Cornelia Froboess singing at the opening event of a local swimming pool (Image 62, 04:18). The reference to Cornelia Froboess, whose acoustics of her schlager song "Pack die Badehose ein" ("pack your swimsuit") can be heard in the background of the pool interview, is an example – similar to Claire Waldoff – of the populated image of the 'Berliner Göre.' Especially in her young days, Froboess sang her way into the collective memory of the Federal Republic as the bold, spontaneous Berlin girl (Stang, 1997).

Fig. 28 (Image 61, 62 & 63, Capture B MITTE (l), BB WEDDING (m, r), Urban tradition)

The latter interview sequence serves as a good example to show how these folkloric figures are used as advertising 'brands,' similar to the way Zille has been marketed as 'father of the milieu.' In fact, the aim of TV's district portraits is not only to conserve regional history by a depiction of district life, these formats also *advertise* a region to *rbb*'s audience. District portraits have several target groups and functions: they are supposed to proudly demonstrate the cultural and scenic richness of a region to its residents,[169] and they are supposed to advertise the highlights of a region, in the sense of travel guides, to interested outsiders. A closer look at the interview in BB WEDDING reveals the advertising character of the sequence: in "one of Berlin's most beautiful pools," Cornelia Froboess, "a famous Wedding resident" [03:46], gave a concert. These statements by the narrator should clearly position the Wedding as a central place of Berlin culture, next to its suggested placement at the center of historical events. It is used to argue for Wedding's, or in other cases Friedrichshain's, unique position in the region, legitimizing the episode's choice to cover location and story. Wedding and Friedrichshain thereby become as

169 For example, "Germany is unique, its landscapes diverse. […] There is a lot to discover," says the general advertising text about BILDERBUCH DEUTSCHLAND.

much a 'brand' for the channel *rbb* as the folkloric figures they use to advertise their places. With the regional portraits, *rbb* can differentiate itself in the dual broadcasting system of Germany and further outline the identity of public broadcasting (Keilbach, 2008, p. 12). Economically and program-strategically, regional portraits and historiography can be considered an attention generating "event-status programming" (Caldwell, 1995, p. 106) for public broadcasters, similar to expensively produced TV movies for private broadcasters (ibid.).

In their advertising character, images of the 'Milljöh' are reflections of external desires and concepts that were brought up to the working class. In this context, Eric Hobsbawm's concept of "the invention of tradition" (1930) can be helpful to shift the perspective to the intentions behind depictions of the working class as urban tradition. By "the invention of tradition" Hobsbawm and co-editor Terence Ranger refer to recent processes and practices that make an actually relatively young phenomenon appear in the light of an ancient original tradition (ibid.). Invented traditions would function to foster and create collective identity, legitimize social and institutional hierarchies, and classify people into specific social groups (ibid.), which would make "the invention of tradition" a particular "phenomenology of the bourgeois mind" (Stone, 1983). Hobsbawm and Ranger, too, suggest that invented traditions are a specific phenomenon to the times of rapid change, hence they have particularly been proliferating since the beginning of modernity.[170] Unlike the term 'invention' suggests, the reference to this concept here shall not reduce Berlin working-class milieu to an invention of another one's storytelling. Rather, the concept of invented tradition is shifting the perspective on the topic of working-class tradition in the districts: instead of starting in the past by asking about a proletarian tradition and its gradual dissolving into the present, proletarian tradition is investigated with regard to its actual effect in the present by being a retrospect to one's history. In other words, the question is about the *uses* of the working-class past for a present society as mediated by television.

170 The concept of invented tradition can explain the enormous popularity of the 'Milljöh' in Berlin in the early twentieth century. An urban middle class would then need a self-assuring, stabilizing urban tradition as a counterbalance to perceived times of rapid political and economic change.

In the portraits' narration of Berlin as place of big social transitions, the image of the 'Milljöh' is idealized as authentic origin. In times of upheaval, references to the working-class tradition function as a stabilizing and assuring pillar in imaginations of the city Berlin. By referring to the old Berlin, representations of the 'Milljöh' ground an otherwise consistent commitment to change and progress apparent in the programs. Episodes about the Wedding, for instance, usually introduce the district as a place where the 'real' Berliner could still be found. In contrast to 'interchangeable' 'lifeless' streets produced by new urban planning, proletarian urban structures would represent the vitality and site-specificity of Berlin. In episodes about Friedrichshain, the portraits often oppose shiny renovated surfaces of new office buildings to old images of district life and work around the harbor. Especially newer episodes interpret the still existing places of working-class culture as an authentic backdrop for new residents: corner bars, a dance club, a pool hall and the *Karl-Marx-Allee* are assumingly places where authentic Berlin culture could still be experienced today (Ch. 4.3.2).

'Originality' and 'authenticity' are semantically fixed in the named locations. There is a shift in the source of authenticity: authenticity, originally assumed in the way residents lived in proletarian neighborhoods (how they loved, fought, celebrated, talked, etc.) is now abstracted from the cultural practices of the residents and assigned to the physical location as an inherent attribute. The place is turned into a singular carrier of particular experience (Mörtenböck, 2003, p. 70ff.). The redefinition and reproduction of values such as authenticity, originality and singularity functions to advertise location like a product of consumption which can be appropriated by new residents and visitors for different purposes (ibid.).

How powerful these appropriations of proletarian culture are can be seen in the way they are manifested as typical Berlin identity up until today. Television has picked up on and solidified the mystification of the milieu in new contexts but shifted the modes of address of whom urban identity serves. Whereas for the old bourgeoisie it was about assuring their own status, and excursions into the world of the 'Milljöh' were considered to be entertaining transgressions of boundaries, television claims to produce media content for all groups of society. With its medium-specific strategies television has thereby contributed in its own way to the creation of

urban myth and identity, however including a broad range of voices. And former members of the working class now take part in the storytelling of that urban identity when their stories are visible, for instance, in interviews.

Television takes over functions of oral history with the difference that what had been local, even specific to the milieu, is made public and accessible to the TV audience. Television stages itself as institution and preserver of urban traditions.[171] In the spirit of "a history from below" (Roth, 1982, p. 132), TV portraits include many interviews with residents providing 'ordinary' people with a stage and a means of communication. The portrait series like to draw an exciting and diverse picture of the districts. Simultaneously, they are concerned to present it as an offer for identification for the whole Berlin-Brandenburg region, implying a subtext of 'our region.' This narrative is supported by the idea of history as one strand of successive events, which is never seen to really have opposed tendencies. As the popular metaphor 'melting pot' suggests, by which portraits had described the city Berlin in the 1990s (Ch. 4.2.4), the presentation of diversity actually implies the effort to 'melt' heterogenous elements into one entity. Personal experience of residents told by the interviews are used to portray a diverse but harmonious neighborhood (hi)story. In the case of the pool interview, this becomes clear as the woman's memory of the pool's opening in fact serves the purpose of mentioning Cornelia Froboess and of presenting the Wedding as birthplace of famous personalities.

Television also collects working-class experience for its portraits. In the interviews, residents talk about their experiences of exclusion or recollect the good old times in a corner bar. Making these stories available to the public by showing them in district portraits, personal experiences enter common social knowledge and are treated like collective memories of the city Berlin. This collectivization of memories is, for instance, evident in the way resident memories are treated as public archive material. Episodes occasionally reuse old interviews of residents. Presented with the district logo, these sequences now seem to officially belong to the city archive (Image 63, 06:50). The residents' stories are documented, made reproducible and accessible to a broad television audience consisting itself of an

171 This happens when episodes show knowledge about local dialect and use popular wisdoms.

undefinable mix of individuals and groups. A story's purpose is no longer about reaching out to the own milieu. Rather, the target group is the TV audience. In this way, formerly considered monopolies of social groups (e.g., songs, music, anecdotes, leisure activities, and also negative experiences and hardships) are turned into topics of conversation, constitute exemplifications, and become a means of self-enumeration for the recomposed community that is the TV audience.

5.2.3 The ongoing criticism of television, or who owns the narrative?

The previous chapters have described a shift in the meaning of the working-class neighborhood from the level of practices (as a concrete urban phenomenon and world of experience) to the level of narration in which the formation of a mediated urban identity occurs through discourse about authentic traditions, ruptures (e.g., social upheaval) and 'the new' (e.g., new era of ideas, new world of work, etc.). These formations produce understandings about the past, and thus have an impact on the depiction of the working-class neighborhood in portraits of Wedding and Friedrichshain. The following chapter will further discuss the altered representation of the working class and how to evaluate these changes in face of ongoing criticism of television to be a ruling instrument over the working class.

At the level of narration, the working-class district no longer defines boundaries in television's depiction of contemporary Berlin. The working-class neighborhood used to signify a fixed territoriality within the early twentieth-century city. Within TV portraits from the 1990s onwards, the working-class district is instead delineated as a *historical* entity and the place for negotiating borders has shifted away from the neighborhood to individuals. 'The milieu' of the working class is no longer considered a recent social actor. Instead, it is private people who share personal memories of working-class experiences and creative workers who continue the proletarian tradition by crafting (art) objects. It is the interviewee's private decision to label their experience as a 'working-class experience.' Interestingly, in most interviews, most choose not to do so, although experiences could have been classified that way. This is in line with the finding that attributes

of working-classness have been transferred from the cultural practices to the physical location. This is perhaps proof of the portraits' attempt to smoothen personal stories to create a diverse yet coherent portrait of district life. The episodes are not interested in classifying experiences according to social affiliation because the portraits are about life in the district, not about life in the milieu.

Another reason for not classifying peoples' experiences as working-class experiences can be the altered conception of 'work' and 'the working class.' The very personal level conveyed in the episodes brings up more nuanced depictions of what 'work' and 'working-class experience' mean in the city. For instance, in comparison to traditional representations of a rather inflexible notion of 'the Red working-class district' (such as in NAHAUFNAHME and WAS WURDE AUS DEM ROTEN KIEZ), succeeding episodes by BERLINER BEZIRKE and BILDERBUCH (DEUTSCHLAND) additionally feature construction workers, migrant workers, chimney sweepers, creative workers and many more, and take them seriously for the formation of district identity. There is a significant shift in the relationship between locality and identity in the representation of the worker. Chapter 2.2 elaborated on the strong connection of locality and identity in early films depicting proletarian slums. The residents' behavior and nature were conceived as a mirror image of their urban housing situation, tying their existence to the confined space of the proletarian neighborhood. This changes with television's redefinition of locality in the context of regionalization efforts and the creation of a broad regional identity with which the TV audience can identify. This identity is staged as an offer to the audience allegedly irrespective of social affiliation and positioning. And besides being an offer, district portraits also invite people to share their perspective on the neighborhood to help shape a picture of it.

Chapter 4.2.4 argues that the depiction of the workers' role in social transformation processes shifted from passive victimization to active participation in shaping contemporary processes of imagining Berlin. This depends, of course, on what the general framework of the episode is and how much 'participation' it allows. While episodes of BERLINER BEZIRKE in the 1990s focused on constructing a coherent city image (many wide-angle shots of Berlin's cityscape and construction sites, 'melting pot' narrative, etc.), later episodes of BILDERBUCH (DEUTSCHLAND) blurred the boundaries of work and living in the individual biographies of district residents. Here, Berlin and its

districts are a more scattered image of the appropriation and use of spatial units. Nevertheless, in both perspectives, the depicted workers significantly contribute to the image of the city.

The contribution of working-class experiences and new types of workers to the mediation of Berlin identity is a significant finding given the substantial amount of research and critique that interpret the subject of the worker as victim of developments in the twentieth century, with the continuation and partial exacerbation of these tendencies in the twenty-first century. First, Williams and Hoggarts feared the appropriation of working-class culture by the proliferation of mass culture in the 1950s (Ch. 2.4). They considered the working class as an essentialist subject: that what a worker's existence defined (family, neighborhood, community) would be undermined by external, hostile, and levelling media logics. In 1972, in a more general attempt of formulating a multilayered criticism of society with a focus on the representation of working-class experience, Alexander Kluge and Oskar Negt join the skepticism of media representation's ability to penetrate the lived reality of ordinary people. Both critiques understand the mediated sphere, such as that of public television, as an institution of bourgeois influence, which would fundamentally differ from the interests and existence of the working class. Finally, with regard to urban space, Marxist geographer David Harvey, has expressed his concerns for the exclusion and oppression of the working class in contemporary urban processes. Henri Lefebvre and Manuel Castells's work on urban space and the underlying class struggle in social transformations expresses a similar critique (Parker, 2011, p. 84). These critiques claim that workers are either excluded from the production of a mediated public sphere or from the production of urban space. Against this background, is it possible to think of television's mediated urban identity (which includes both public sphere and urban space) in a positive light, i.e., as a chance for workers to participate and being considered in social processes? The following section will shortly introduce some of the critiques and place their arguments in dialogue with the analyzed district portraits of *rbb*.

Negt and Kluge's first book *Öffentlichkeit und Erfahrung* (1972/1978) elaborately lays out the authors' critical view of the common idea of the 'public sphere' and the role of media in it. Negt

and Kluge see an exclusive bourgeois[172] public sphere confronting an oppressed proletarian public sphere grounded in the lived experiences of the working class. Negt and Kluge question the legitimacy of the ruling bourgeois sphere following from its inability to represent the whole spectrum of experiences and interests within society, and from its claim to transform a narrow perspective into a generalized orientation for the public (p. 9). *Produktionsöffentlichkeit* (a term established by Negt and Kluge, literally "production public") as produced and distributed by mass media such as television lies diagonal to these spheres. According to Negt and Kluge, mass media reaches out to the private realm of the working class when it actually expands the sphere of bourgeois interest.

In a subsequent publication, Negt and Kluge admit to the "idiosyncratic" human need "to locate oneself within nature, history and society in order to determine the context of one's life" (Negt & Kluge, 1981/2001, p. 482, my translation). Television would cater to this need; however, it fails to reach people's immediate interests. It can only ever integrate people's needs and interests into a "generalized catalogue of norms" in which the public is only formally (i.e., abstractly) subsumed (Negt & Kluge, 1972/1978, p. 176ff.). *Produktionsöffentlichkeit* would only simulate the public sphere and public interest, as it adheres to the laws of bourgeois and capitalist production through its foundation in production laws and program-oriented guidelines. One could argue that television's regionalization project in the 1990s (Ch. 4.2), approximately 15 years after the publication of *Öffentlichkeit und Erfahrung*, was a reaction to this criticism. The accusation that television would subsume 'the public' under a "generalized catalogue of norms" (ibid.) can be read parallel to the broadcasters' realization that television should be brought closer to the people by better addressing regional differences, lifestyles and needs. Therefore, one thing to consider is that German television has become more complex and diverse ever since Negt and Kluge had formulated their critique.

A more fundamental concern is the accusation that media practices would be operated by capitalist principles, which can certainly be assumed in the area of program planning, in media reach and

172 Negt and Kluge are aware of the difficulties of the terms "bourgeois" and "proletarian," but nevertheless go with this division to emphasize the antagonistic positioning of both (1972/1978, p. 9).

efficiency thinking. This is reflected, for instance, in studies that identify an increasingly formatted program design on television throughout the years (Wolf, 2019), which can be interpreted as proof of television's increasing unwillingness to take risks in programming. In Negt and Kluge's view, the reorganization of television on a regional level would not change capitalist principles. In fact, Kluge has been working as a media practitioner since 1988 with a mission "to develop different formats that experiment with the communicative capabilities of television if it is allowed to be more than anxious quota-TV," as he states on his official website (Kluge, n.d., my translation). Thus, Kluge remains a skeptic with regard to television's ability to be "open for what happens outside of television" (ibid.).

David Harvey's view of television is also essentially a critique of capitalist production, but with a focus on spatial processes. Capitalism is a deeply penetrative and adaptive structure for David Harvey, who is generally concerned with "the subordination of the city to capitalist development and its incessant need for production of surplus capital" (Santos, 2014, p. 147). Harvey uses urban space as the central analytical category of his approach: as an organizing and mediating principle of social behavior, dimensions of materiality and strategies of representation (Bachmann-Medick, 2016, p. 226). Producing and using the built environment as a resource system to produce value and surplus value, capitalism is understood to subordinate "the urban" under the capitalist mode of production (Harvey, 1981/2018). A major effect would be "the annihilation of place by time" because space would be in the way of capitalism's fast expansion (Harvey, 1990, p. 418). Technological change, rapid economic growth and development, new transportation and telecommunications technologies would have speed up the pace of life and caused "powerful revolutions in the social conceptions of space and time," which could also be traced in the fields of culture and politics (ibid.). In Harvey's view, media and culture are concomitant to capitalist developments. For example, he sums up television in the following statement from his book *Postmodernity*: "the whole world's cuisine is now assembled in one place in almost exactly the same way that the world's geographical complexity is nightly reduced to a series of images on a static television screen" (Harvey, 1989, p. 300). Here, television becomes just another tool of capitalism to annihilate space to ensure its own reproduction. Thus, when media such as television represent

urban space, they would simply reproduce and fuel capitalist relationships in the city.

This is a rather simplistic summary of television without any further analysis of the mechanisms at work in television's production of symbolic space. It misses a consideration of how channels relate to their area of coverage (see, for instance, ch. 4.2.2 about public broadcaster's conflicting relation to the region), and how the location of TV networks has real life impacts on related areas and cities (e.g., Hay, 1993). Although studies such as Harvey's have contributed to the recognition of "the significance of media and culture as the site where social conceptions of space are produced," generalizations of postmodern theory can at times be "ill-equipped to discuss the complexity of these media and cultural processes" (Hay, 1993, p. 606). The following section makes a point about the complexity of television based on the analyzed TV episodes. Considering television through Harvey's thoughts on the production of urban space and people's participation in "contested cities" (1997), this final section draws attention to the potential of television to complicate relationships instead of simply dismissing the medium as capitalist reproduction machine.

All of the introduced critiques address the relationship between media and people's living environment, which is often interpreted as manipulative, one-sided (top-down), capitalist-oriented and/or non-existent. Indeed, media businesses often urge TV productions to quickly come up with new programs within a tight budget frame. There is certainly not always room for in-depth investigations, reflections, and interrogations of the filmed topic. Another currency for television is the audience's expectation. TV productions often work with recognizable, symbolically loaden images and familiar locations, making television appear uninspired and repetitive. However, one can also argue that TV documentary formats and the news provide residents with information so that they can act *as* residents of the city.[173] Magazines, city portraits and other related formats raise local awareness and broaden the perspective of people's horizons, which gives rise to solidarity beyond one's immediate environment. In the analyzed episodes, for instance, reports on the AEG factory closure and other factory closures informed the entire

173 Here, I am thinking of debates about controlling rent increases in Berlin ("Mietendeckel") which resulted in citizens gathering to protest.

nation about the situation of workers. The closures were discussed as a *social* (not individual) problem raising questions about structural unemployment in the affected districts and fundamental changes in the economy. One could criticize the underlying framing, for instance, of a generally modernization-affirmative language in district portraits. However, television does not tell this story without people, so the portraits include a feedback system (e.g., interviews about individual destinies, feelings about change, etc.). All this at least challenges the understanding of television solely in terms of a distributor of a detached ideology from above.

In fact, television's power lies in making people part of the storytelling (both as addressees and increasingly as senders, as the final section of this chapter is going to argue). Over the years, fact-based information programs shift to aestheticized portraits focusing on individuals and micro-stories, as represented, for instance, by the most recent episodes of BILDERBUCH (Ch. 4.3.1 & 4.3.2). The portraits follow inhabitants and their individual ways of living in and navigating through their neighborhoods. This presents the district as a *lived* space that gains meaning primarily from the fact that it is inhabited, animated, used and interpreted by people. In terms of Harvey's demand for citizen participation in the production of urban space, which includes mediated ideas about the city Berlin and its districts, this presentation of the district as a lived space could be interpreted positively. It was important for Harvey that people become part of the processes that produce the thing called 'city.' In his article "Contested Cities. Social process and spatial form," Harvey offers his understanding of the city and urbanization processes, and how both affect the way he feels people need to be included in "that [central] moment of urban construction" (Harvey, 1997, p. 22). He criticizes that often things take precedence over process, which leads to the exclusion and marginalization of certain groups. His attempt is therefore "to reconceptualize the urban as the production of space and the production of spatio-temporality, understood as a dialectical relationship between process and thing" (p. 23). This definition is purposefully open and activating, inviting citizens to work together on *their* urban environment. It aims to recognize the heterogeneous, bottom-up processes and spatio-temporalities that define a city.

Television is able to make these complexities of the city visible. Chapters 5.1 and 5.2 have demonstrated the many ways city portraits

present spatial and temporal layers in Wedding and Friedrichshain. Although the episodes strive for a coherent district image, and more broadly for a regional narrative, they nevertheless understand the district as a product of many developments and stories. Furthermore, they communicate a sense of ownership. If urban identity is understood in terms of feeling involved (people care and feel responsible for their environment), then the district portraits contribute to this feeling of belonging on the part of the audience.

In Harvey's spirit of putting process over form in considerations about urban space, one can therefore interpret television as a kind of process-generating system that constantly negotiates what we think and expect of a city, a region, or a neighborhood and its community; that offers us information on and relationships to other environments; that directly and indirectly introduces inhabitants (who they are, how they live and work); and that, in doing so, creates new and redefines old identity offerings and affiliations. In this way, television constantly triggers discourses about the city and related topics. It picks up on pre-existing issues in society and simultaneously introduces new agendas. In addition, television alters the very scales and perception of space-time in society, for instance, it challenges prevailing "boundaries of established differentiations – for example, between globality and locality or between the public and the private realms" (Jäger, Linz & Schneider, 2010, p. 9), and therefore the basic parameters of how society thinks and uses urban space (Ch. 2.3).

Considering television in the context of generating manifold processes connects to trends in television studies to understand the medium through heterogenous dynamics with on-going, interrelated processes of transformation (Stauff, 2012).[174] The discussion so-far, and this dissertation in general, have focused on the issues of representation in the depiction of the working-class neighborhood. Approaches of television, however, increasingly shift the focus to the *uses* of television and the question of its accessibility. This seems necessary with regard to the latest developments in television. Already

174 Based on Foucault's idea of governmentality, Markus Stauff (2005) however describes the reproduction of media content and technology, and the complex relationship between the users and senders of media content, as a government technology specific to television. Television is thus a cultural technology of neoliberalism and considered contrary to this context.

in the last decade[175], public broadcasters like *rbb* have continuously expanded their program to include cross-media programs (e.g., *rbbkultur*), theme weeks (e.g., *ARD*'s "Zukunft der Arbeit [future of work]"), multimedia projects (*rbb*'s "Industrie.Kultur.Brandenburg"), and YouTube channels. Here, the audience can individually navigate through videos and linked information on a website that usually frames the content and suggests ways of usage. In conclusion, *rbb* and its programs have to manage a balance between curated contents, on the one side, and a more autonomous concept of viewership, on the other. Within this tension, the critical demand of Negt and Kluge, and Harvey for a more participatory media practice would have to be negotiated anew. This would also involve a discussion about the TV archive and archival practices, which are challenged by the 24h online access of selected *rbb* videos on the described websites.

175 One can read about *rbb*'s ambitions of an online program, for instance, in their annual report from 2012, in which they state: "One focus of the supporting [online] program is the increasing exchange with users." (rbb annual report, 2012, p. 10, my translation)

5.3 Beyond the portrait series format

Having argued for the complexity of television, the final section of this chapter looks beyond the format of the portrait series and compares the analysis' findings with related documentary formats that appeared during the search process (Ch. 3.3.1). It highlights the differences between TV formats and simultaneously helps shape the district portrait's aim and function.

5.3.1 Underrepresented topics and perspectives

At first glance, other documentary formats on *rbb* greatly resemble the material presented in the portrait series. For example, two 45-minute films from the format GESCHICHTEN AUS ("Stories from…") about Mitte and Friedrichshain apply a similarly legitimizing narrative about unique districts in Berlin. The press release, for instance, states that Mitte would be higher, nicer, faster and more expensive than anywhere else in Berlin (rbb archive, 2010). Moreover, it is the place where one would not only find the historical center but also "the essence of Berlin" [00:30-01:00, my translation] (GESCHICHTEN AUS MITTE[176], 2010). The link to an authentic and original Berlin core is reminiscent of the framing of the working-class milieu in the episodes of BERLINER BEZIRKE and BILDERBUCH (DEUTSCHLAND). Also, here, the rough, unmediated, and honest atmosphere of the old district becomes the creative backdrop for the life and work of new creative inhabitants. The visible remains of the working-class milieu are likewise depicted by crumbling facades, low-angle shots of backyards and barrel organ music. Zille as the most famous representative of the milieu is also present. In referencing him and Walter Kollo, a representative of Berlin popular style ("Berliner Volkston"), GESCHICHTEN AUS MITTE attempts to recreate (in a romanticized way) the atmosphere of the milieu at the beginning of the twentieth century.

A significant difference is, however, that the milieu is not located in Wedding or elsewhere, nor is it marked with a note that the film material was taken from old Zille feature films. As an atmospheric layer, milieu culture accompanies an interview with a woman about

176 Time codes in the analysis refer to GESCHICHTEN AUS MITTE (2010) played on VLC Player.

her grandfather's life when he moved to Berlin and discovered "a new world" [05:03, my translation]. Zille and Kolle's work is used to illustrate and animate the old Berlin, a world "full of contrasts" [05:51, my translation] according to the episode (– another case in which the milieu serves to embody a distinct Berlin character). This might be considered an example in which the working-class milieu is completely transferred to the realm of storytelling; in which it becomes more urban myth than a concrete localized memory. Behind the delocalization of the milieu is the program's attempt to mediate between private and general history. The private (as presented by personal interviews and destinies) serves as an anchoring point to make general history tangible. GESCHICHTEN AUS MITTE is therefore not interested in discussing local specifics of the milieu. Instead, it situates personal memories in a larger historical picture in which the milieu embodies the zeitgeist.

GESCHICHTEN AUS presents topics using dramaturgical and filmic strategies similar to the analyzed episodes of BERLINER BEZIRKE and BILDERBUCH (DEUTSCHLAND). The main difference between the TV formats is the selected content and material. GESCHICHTEN AUS and other formats (such as DIE RBB REPORTER, see below) focus on history and therefore include a larger variety of archive material. In addition to familiar images of the working-class neighborhood as presented in the analyzed episodes, the audience encounters new documentary footage from that time. Furthermore, sequences from the Zille films undergo a revival. While district portraits from the 1990s onward increasingly relied on the uniformity of archive material (i.e., no genre mix such as taking feature film material as documentations of the early twentieth century), recent documentary formats use feature film sequences to recreate the zeitgeist and underline interview stories with emotional content. District portraits, in contrast, focus on the present. They attempt to give a snapshot of the contemporary neighborhood. Instead of in-depth insights, the portrait aims to present a variety of topics, which should showcase the district as an interesting and diverse place. Ironically, however, other formats are often more diverse in what they depict.

By comparing BERLINER BEZIRKE and BILDERBUCH (DEUTSCHLAND) with GESCHICHTEN AUS, it becomes clear which topics have been neglected and underrepresented in the examined episodes. GESCHICHTEN AUS MITTE, for instance, discusses the old

Fischerinsel ("Fisher's Island") in Mitte, where working-class accommodations were located in East Berlin. The episode provides original footage from the GDR newsreel DER AUGENZEUGE in 1969, which exemplifies the understanding of good and modern living in the GDR beyond the prestigious buildings of the *Karl-Marx-Allee*. Despite the new high-rise buildings' meaning for the GDR (it is discussed at length in GESCHICHTEN AUS MITTE), the *Fischerinsel* is never mentioned in the respective episodes of BERLINER BEZIRKE and BILDERBUCH (DEUTSCHLAND). GESCHICHTEN AUS FRIEDRICHSHAIN[177] (2010) provides another perspective by connecting working-class history with the persecution of Jews and the ideological void after the takeover of the fascists. There is a detailed report on how the left labor movement in Friedrichshain fought and lost to the Nazis. After the fascist took over, interviewees mention betrayal in the household and ruckus in the neighborhood. GESCHICHTEN AUS FRIEDRICHSHAIN presents the neighborhood as a chaotic place with many forces fighting each other after the Nazi takeover. This is a rather complex picture of Friedrichshain in comparison to the portrait series, which usually simplifies and idealizes the Red working-class neighborhood as united place against the fascists. However, as one can take from the contemporary witnesses' reports, the Nazis could further consolidate their power *because* they had sympathizers and followers among the working-class community, too. Thus, what is new about GESCHICHTEN AUS FRIEDRICHSHAIN is that it draws the line between the communists and the National Socialists [08:15], with the possibility of working-class people on both sides.

These are only a few examples of how the working-class neighborhood can be presented in a different light by different formats. By including DIE RBB REPORTER and HEIMATJOURNAL in the comparison, we find other, *positive* cases of proletarian housing projects: for example, Messel's architectural designs in HEIMATJOURNAL – HEUTE AUS BERLIN: PROSKAUER STRAßE (2014), and the *Schiller Siedlung* in HEIMATJOURNAL – HEUTE AUS BERLIN-WEDDING (2007). These structures are still inhabited and considered successful. It might have been interesting to see how these more than a hundred years old buildings provide good housing today when the demand for new concepts of living is higher than ever.

177 Time codes in the analysis refer to GESCHICHTEN AUS FRIEDRICHSHAIN (2010) played on QuickTime Player.

Fig. 29 (Image 64, 65 & 66, Capture DIE RBB REP. – M, Jobs that sustain district life)

Another neglected topic is night work. In the analyzed episodes, the night is solely reserved for Berlin's party scene. The episode DIE RBB REPORTER – 24H MÜLLERSTRAßE [178] (2018, hereafter: Die RBB REPORTER – M), on the other hand, shows the invisible labor needed to sustain businesses during the day: the episode depicts employees of Berlin's public transport company repairing buses in a workshop, and a fruit delivery for a grocer with Turkish roots (Image 64, 04:13). In both cases, people take pride in their jobs. Work is ideologically charged when people show full dedication: the repair workers, for instance, proudly talk about doing the job already in the third generation. They would often do more than needed but they do not mind it because of their passion. The episode also shows processes of work in detail, reminiscent of BILDERBUCH FRIEDRICHSHAIN and MITTE, which idealize handcraft. The workers appreciate "solid work" [03:18] – to prove the point, an "almost 40kg brake disk" [03:40] is changed in front of the camera (Image 65, 03:37). Additionally, the food store's butcher is captured in many close-up shots while cutting the meat. The sequence evokes the portrait of the creative butcher shop as presented in BILDERBUCH FRIEDRICHSHAIN with the key difference that it is not textile meat that is sold by an art worker to passing-by tourists. This time, it is about the jobs that sustain life in the neighborhood for the locals (in the fields of food, transportation, cleaning and safety).

178 Time codes in the analysis refer to DIE RBB REPORTER – 24H MÜLLERSTRAßE (2018) played on Vimeo, uploaded on February 3, 2018.

5.3.2 A new urban working-class

Next to BILDERBUCH ("local portraits from the region Berlin-Brandenburg") and KONTRASTE – DIE REPORTER ("investigative reportage series" [Kontraste, n.d.]), DIE RBB REPORTER is listed as one of the three main formats for documentaries and reports on the *rbb* website (rbb, n.d.). In the press statement it says: "The *rbb* reporters can be found everywhere in Berlin and in the state of Brandenburg where there is something to report"[179] (ibid.). This statement reveals that the format is detached from the regional flavor of the BILDERBUCH series. Therefore, it is particularly interesting to see how 'work' and the working-class tradition are negotiated here regardless of the historicization and appropriation of the Wedding milieu for the narration of urban identity and history.

Contrary to BILDERBUCH episodes, DIE RBB REPORTER – M claims: the worker is *still* in the Wedding. DIE RBB REPORTER – M depicts daily life and work in the *Müllerstraße* in the tradition of Wedding's working-class history – not artists but workers follow industrial workers. A policeman confirms in an interview: "We [Wedding] have high unemployment, we have a high proportion of foreigners [...], but the one who lives here is, in my opinion, still the classical worker."[180] This statement in particular, and the episode in general grant affiliation to the working class also to the immigrant (e.g., grocer and butcher) and the unemployed, which is highly uncommon for the analyzed district portraits. The policeman also counts himself as a worker in that tradition (Image 66, 24:42): "I work here, I grew up here, [...] I had a very nice childhood, [...], I also have many memories of my childhood in the Müllerstraße [...]."[181] Together with the following sequence of a postman delivering parcels, the episode introduces many typical jobs in the city. It is precisely the continuation of an understanding of the working class applied to the modern urban context that is so absent in the analyzed episodes. Theoretically, this continuation entails the

179 German original: "Die *rbb* Reporter sind überall dort in Berlin und im Land Brandenburg anzutreffen, wo es etwas zu berichten gibt." (Die rbb Reporter, 2012)

180 German original: "Wir haben 'ne hohe Arbeitslosigkeit, wir haben 'ne hohe Durchsetzung [...] von Nationalitäten, aber der hier Lebende ist der, wie ich finde, noch klassische Arbeiter." [24:03-24:15]

181 German original: "Ich bin der hier Arbeitende, ich bin hier großgeworden, [...] ich hatte 'ne sehr schöne Kindheit, [...], ich verbinde auch gerade mit der Müllerstraße viele Erinnerungen an meine Kindheit [...]." [24:26-24:35]

potential for people to think about the changing role of work and its contexts. Practically, however, DIE RBB REPORTER – M does not go beyond a superficial idealization and romanticization of the introduced jobs.

The recognition of a new urban working class is in line with Harvey's observation that, with the disappearance of factories, the city evolves as the new focus of political struggle, urging us to find "a completely different conception of who is the working class" (Harvey, 2012). We would have to ask new questions: "Who produces the city? Who maintains the city? Who sustains the city?" (ibid.) In line with these thoughts about what comes after the traditional working-class, recent TV programs such as BERLIN PUTZT! DRECKIGE ZEITEN (2018, hereafter BERLIN PUTZT) dedicate their focus on those professions that are systemically relevant for the city. The "heroes with a mop, broom and pan" (title of the first episode) are the central characters of the documentary series consisting of five episodes. They are presented as the workers behind the scenes at the Olympic Stadium, Madame Tussauds, the strip club and other places. Familiar places such as *Stadtbad Mitte* (public swimming pool) and familiar professions such as the chimney sweeper make an appearance in BERLIN PUTZT, too. They are not only presented as nostalgic professions and historical places, as in BERLINER BEZIRKE and BILDERBUCH, but as those people and places that sustain contemporary urban life.

Interestingly, BERLIN PUTZT draws parallels to the classical worker by referring to 'the typical Berlin character.' The workers are depicted as funny guys never making a fuss about their hard work and taking everything with a sense of humor.[182] In DIE RBB REPORTER – M, too, the policeman and female bus driver draw on cordiality and humorous resistance to outside hardships. This can be understood by returning to the analysis of district portraits: the analysis showed how proletarian tradition and culture in former working-class neighborhoods is built into a narrative of the city's history and identity processed for a TV audience. There is a trend toward the narration of a common urban identity and the role of the working-class neighborhood is no longer a lived reality, but a historical root of that Berlin identity. This is an important step for understanding how formats such as BERLIN PUTZT

182 For example: A woman, who is pasting up a new advertisement on a billboard, says: "That is so tiring for my arms… everything here… Don't need no sweat shop!" (Berlin Putzt Trailer (lang), 2018, my translation, [00:38-00:42]).

approach the 'heroes of work' by saying what is good for 'our' city.[183] The worker is portrayed as the typically rugged Berlin character; this allows the audience to have a sympathetic attitude toward workers, which is openly intended by the documentary series and evokes a cohesive urban communality. In this sense, 'work' experiences a new localization. Television does not just depict work that occurs in a big city, but it is specific Berlin work, or at least a Berlin attitude toward work.

With Harvey, one could argue that this is an example of how control over the meaning of work and the city is exercised on a symbolic level, in which the working class is (once again) co-opted for external ideologies and thus excluded from processes of meaning production in their city. The episodes advertise the story of a charismatic city in which workers are not exploited but do their job with passion and commitment. This communicates an image of workers *already* being an integral part of the city, its generation and its reproduction. For Harvey, this would be a fake promise that deprives the workers of real self-determined participation in urban processes.

This is a legitimate point. However, one can refer to the complexity of television and the many TV programs that make it their task to discuss topics such as 'who owns the city,' the new world of work, forms of precariousness, and so on. In this sense, it is hard to blame responsibility to a single format such as BERLIN PUTZT to discuss all of these aspects. One could say that it raises awareness of those professions that are otherwise invisible. Another example: if I criticize that night work is underrepresented in district portraits (Ch. 5.3) and then another time I happen to watch a long documentary about night shifts at the airport, is the critique about television justified? The critique is legitimate insofar as it addresses the format and function of the district portrait. If city portraits are produced and consumed for the promotion of urban identity and communality, then ignoring the groups underrepresented in TV's portraits means to neglect a significant part of the working population and their contributions to sustaining neighborhood life. This is important with regard to whom television grants a voice and whose interests are given visibility in processes of urban construction simulated by television. Expanding the scope beyond the district portrait showed how workers in the food,

183 The *rbb* trailer says: „It is about time for you to meet those men and women who keep the capital clean for us." (Berlin Putzt Trailer (kurz), 2018, [00:08-00:13])

transportation, cleaning and safety industry potentially contribute to a continuation of working-class history, particularly in Wedding, and resist urban mystification.

Ch. 6 Conclusion – working-class experience is individualized and uprooted

This dissertation traced changes in the depiction of the working-class neighborhood in district portraits of Wedding, Mitte (incl. Wedding) and Friedrichshain throughout the years. This chapter concludes by summarizing the main results of the analysis, and evaluates the results in regard to the long-standing question of the impact of TV representation on the working class.

Firstly, the media-historical perspective has demonstrated that the depiction of working-class neighborhoods has always been greatly impacted by the interests and perspectives in which filmmakers approached the working class and their living environment. The working-class neighborhood was and still is above all an object of projection for ideas about the city, urban development, and social change. Even before television, the first films about proletarian slums in the early twentieth century used proletarian neighborhoods to build an audiovisual argument for the necessity of urban modernization (Ch. 2.1 & 2.2). And, also with television, 'the working-class neighborhood' is a reflection of the contemporary city discourse, *rbb*'s media-internal strategies, and new understandings of society. The analysis covered the period between 1979 and 2016, and identified three dominating narratives (the post-industrial society, the region, and the individual) in which the district portraits embedded their depiction of the working-class neighborhood. The following paragraph summarizes each narrative and its implication for the working-class topic.

Chapter 4.1 is about the historicization of the working-class district and a handing-down of its tradition for a society that sees itself moving into a post-industrial era. Accordingly, the two TV portraits from 1979 and 1984 are characterized by an extensive use of archive material from early twentieth century films about an urban proletariat that is re-contextualized in the portraits as a glorified originality in a linear telling of German history. In the analyzed district portraits of the late 1990s and early 2000s in Chapter 4.2, urban space gains importance as an expression of regionality and regional identity. The city of Berlin is explored as a layered urban space, and diversification is expressed by new perspectives represented in the episodes. This allows working-class experience to be depicted in more diversified ways. However, there is also a typification of people in the city (*the* construction

worker, *the* migrant worker, etc.) in support of a euphorically advertised melting pot image of Berlin. All in all, the historicization of the working-class district and the handing-down of working-class tradition is continued in the service of regional identity, by which public broadcasters position themselves in relation to emerging commercial broadcasters and strive to retain their audience. Finally, the most recent episodes in Chapter 4.3 focus on experiences, perceptions and uses of urban space. Regional identity is expressed and mediated in the individual lifestyles of ordinary protagonists. In this context, working-class locations, other than the factory and the corner pub, are depicted as a source of authentic experience for new inhabitants seeking to affirm their standing in the district. Furthermore, working-class tradition is incorporated as a slowed-down temporality, as seen in the act of crafting, and a small-town spatiality valuing rootedness and communality. In summary, these differing interpretations demonstrate how flexible the idea of the working-class neighborhood is depending on the social, urban and televisual context in and for which the TV portraits are produced.

Secondly, the working-class neighborhood and the inhabitants' culture and tradition, are historicized and used as a key component to tell the story of urban change and modernization. The analyzed portraits are less about exploring what working-class culture looks like today, or what has become of the close relationship between work and living – once a defining feature of working-class neighborhoods. Rather, they understand working-class tradition as a closed chapter in Berlin's history from which the present has moved on and to which one can return in search for a reassuring rootedness. The omnipresent narrative of change in all episodes and a simplified idea of history as a linearly progressing strand play an important role in this perspective. Accordingly, the working class and working-class history are comfortably dismissed when it comes to depicting the glorious sides of progress and modernization in the district, but are also valued as the foundation of Berlin's unique character that helps distinguish the city from other allegedly faceless developments.

Thirdly, point two is connected to the tendency in *rbb*'s portraits to present the working-class past of a district as a collective urban tradition. Instead of seeing working-class culture as an exclusive experience of a defined group of people like it was the case in early film (Ch. 2.2), the analyzed TV portraits depict proletarian culture

more fundamentally as the authentic and original Berlin. This also has to do with how television presents itself as a preserver of local history and seeks to display regional identity through its local programs. The portraits, for instance, take over functions of oral history and transfer individual working-class experiences, as displayed through interviews into a collective memory of 'our region.' In this context, the series format of BERLINER BEZIRKE and BILDERBUCH (DEUTSCHLAND) is particularly suitable for packing diverse stories into a homogeneous image of the region Berlin. The working-class district, broadly labeled as the 'old' Berlin, gains importance as a central component of Berlin's identity. This historicization and collectivization distinguishes the analyzed TV portraits from the early films of the beginning twentieth century. In summary, the depiction of former working-class neighborhoods on *rbb* not only negotiates locality and identity *of* the working class. Rather, the channel bases a broader concept of a Berlin identity on the former with points of reference for its audience. The local station *rbb* primarily addresses Berlin citizens and citizens of the surrounding regions, but also functions as a travel guide by highlighting hotspots and attractions for interested outsiders. Within the nationally running BILDERBUCH series (up until 2008), episodes on Berlin Mitte primarily serve to introduce the capital to a broader TV audience.

Fourthly, these results need to be understood in the context of the analyzed format of the district portrait. One could argue that the district portrait is designed to portray not only working-class history but a broad range of topics. Thus, the format cannot provide a detailed analysis of the working-class heritage and instead fulfills its function by making generalized statements. Nevertheless, the evaluation of the *rbb* archive shows that in the corpus search of TV programs (longer than 10 minutes and with at least one mention of "working-class district," "work* Wedding," "work* Friedrichshain," etc.) the vast majority of programs starting in the late 1990s are portrait series. 1994 is the last repetition of a critical documentary called WAS WURDE AUS DEM ROTEN KIEZ – although this case already indicates a transition to the series format as the documentary is rebroadcasted and framed by a serially produced show itself. One can therefore conclude that the district portrait is the *main* medium at *rbb* that deals with the topic of the working-class neighborhood and that hence predominantly negotiates meaning and significance of the term for society today. The

narrowing down of the representation of the working-class district on TV to almost exclusively the portrait series format is probably the most fundamental result.

The prevalence of the portrait series in the corpus search is in line with an intensified formatting of the documentary genre on television, as it is reflected in the analysis of BERLINER BEZIRKE and BILDERBUCH (DEUTSCHLAND). The representation of the working-class neighborhood by district portraits is a strong example of how content, and constellations of people and locations are strongly shaped according to program schedules and production frameworks. In order to further identify the characteristics of the district portrait format, this dissertation included comparisons to other programs such as GESCHICHTEN AUS, DIE RBB REPORTER and BERLIN PUTZT (CH. 5.3). The comparison proved that the historicization and appropriation of the Wedding milieu for the narration of urban identity and history (results one to three) are particularly characterizing for the district portrait. Contemporary reinterpretations of 'the worker,' and topics such as night work (both thematized in the compared programs) were underrepresented because they were outside of the format's aim of addressing regional identity. This example demonstrates that an intensified formatting of the documentary genre on television may prevent new perspectives of a subject to appear within the same format.

Finally, the historical reference to films about urban slums in the early twentieth century has shown that the exposition of the working-class subject to film triggered critical discussions about what these representations mean for the residents and the transition of their culture into the logics of a medium (Ch. 2.4). A main argument was that the production of meaning is externalized from the worker community. This dissertation argued that with the introduction of television, the concept of urban space opened up and modes of address shifted to incorporate the whole political spectrum, which hailed hopes for a more democratic vision of society (Ch. 2.3). Still, it is highly disputed whether television enabled or further obstructed visibility and participation for the group called 'working class' in media representations. Oskar Negt and Anexander Kluge, for instance, continue to consider televisual representation as a one-directional imposition of meanings in the 1970s and early 1980s (Ch. 5.2). Even today, one can find TV studies that closely link their understanding of German television to the class issue (Seier & Waitz, 2014). This

dissertation's result of the appropriation of working-class culture for the construction of a generalized Berlin identity by *rbb* could be considered a point in case for an externalized, patronizing perspective of working-class tradition and culture. In consideration of legitimate criticism, this dissertation nevertheless discussed whether television did not considerably depart from the distancing view of early ethnographic films by including a contribution of working-class experience and new types of workers to its mediation of urban space and identity in district portraits (Ch. 5.2). How crucial 'the urban' is for a reconsideration of the working class today has been argued by human geographer David Harvey. However, *rbb*'s portrait series BERLINER BEZIRKE and BILDERBUCH (DEUTSCHLAND) miss their chance to really translate the working-class neighborhood and its notion of proletarian culture to a contemporary urban working class.

The analysis of district portraits over the years indicates a trend of a continuing diversification of the working-class experience on television. Mentions of *the* class and *the* working-class neighborhood are primarily relevant in the historical context. This can be viewed critically because it hinders a political mobilization of the workers for whom the traditional working-class neighborhood was so well-known. On a more positive note, however, a wider range of voices is heard (for example, the garbage collector in BERLIN PUTZT, the chimney sweeper and construction worker in BERLINER BEZIRKE, etc.). In summary, the relationship between locality and identity – once a defining tie for the working-class neighborhood – thus moves into two directions. Firstly, it becomes more individualized and detailed, with the questions turning around the individual (e.g., how does the individual deal with developments? How does he or she appropriate his or her neighborhood?). Secondly, at the same time, there is a generalization of this relationship, which formerly only belonged to the working-class neighborhood: working-class culture is told and mystified as an urban tradition, hence uprooted from its location in the neighborhood.

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF TV PROGRAMS (CHRONOLOGICAL)

WAS WURDE AUS DEM ROTEN KIEZ? ZWEI ARBEITERVIERTEL IN OST- UND WEST-BERLIN. (June 8, 1979). Trenkner, J. & Pleitgen, F. (directors), Wehrand, D. (production), Kruppa, E. (editor). Berlin: *SFB*.

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BILDERBUCH BERLINS MITTE (March 29, 2013). Farschid, M. (director), Baumert, R. & Kreimes-Lück, B. (production), Conrad, G. (editor). Berlin: *rbb*.

BILDERBUCH FRIEDRICHSHAIN (May 16, 2016). Wittmers, D. (director), Baumert, R. & Kreimes-Lück, B. (production), Conrad, G. (editor). Berlin: *rbb*.

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