Stealth Architecture produced mappings and objects as triggers for an understanding of stance, organized research-based sessions, workshops and displays. In the Weltkulturen Museum we have, for internally and informally choreographed practices that produce a continuous play of flux. This endeavour should entail site-specific and research-based investigations and projects. In the Weltkulturen Museum we have, for instance, organized research-based sessions, workshops and displays open to the public, where we take various and specifically scouted and produced mappings and objects as triggers for an understanding of trade. Here are in particular an urban political presence. The Weltkultur Museum will dedicate several exhibitions and events to the overall theme of "Trading Perceptions" over the following years. The diverse relationships that determine the ways in which artefacts have been circulated and traded, the connections of the museum to global commerce and to changing political and economic incentives are all aspects of the inquiry.

Green Room
The Green Room on the upper floor of the Weltkulturen Museum is used as a project space, in which the team has worked on an installation and display of processes. The studio was invited by the museum to undertake research in this laboratory-like condition, formulating new interpretations and creating original artworks based on the findings, superimpositions and conflicts generated by the contemporary condition of Frankfurt (our findings) and the historic depth of the museum's existing and outstanding collection. The space has been used as an archive of mapping and research work on stealth spaces and objects related to formal and informal modes of trade, based on our ongoing investigation of the city of Frankfurt. In order to enhance the historic contextualization of the project, we have also worked with architectural photographs from the image archive as well as with selected architectural artifacts and objects from the collection of the Weltkulturen Museum. As a working methodology, we have combined internal and external formats, such as discussion groups, workshops, open talks, presentations and informal exhibitions. The work on display is presented in a variety of formats, ranging from objects, drawings, photographs and writings to mappings.

Spatial Anthropology
In order to understand these spaces in more detail, we have started the year by using a methodology that anthropologists would make use of: we will engage in field work, lead (recorded) conversations with relevant individuals and groups, take photographic and video evidence. [x]

Guest Prof. Markus Miessen
Städelshule Architecture Class (SAC)
Dö rerstraße 10, 60596 Frankfurt am Main


Special contributor to the exhibition: Arem Linke.

Thank you for hosting A CSP: Prof. Nikolaus Hirsch (Dean Städelshule), Prof. Ben van Berkel (Dean SAC), Prof. Johan Bettum (Programme Director SAC).

Thank you for hosting Stealth Architecture at Weltkulturen Museum: Dr. Clémentine Delius (Director), Dr. Yvette Mutumba (Research Curator), Nina Huber (Project Coordinator).

Design Concept: Studio Matthias Görlich (Matthias Görlich, Charalampos Lazos).

THEATRUM MONDI GLOBAU STR  WELTKULTUREN MUSEUM

Historically, Frankfurt is home to the ‘Messe Frankfurt’, one of the largest trade fairs in the world, which – in its current legal and operation al framework – was established in 1897. However, the actual trade fair dates back to 1902, when Frankfurt was first mentioned as a major port for international trade. One of the central advantages of Frankfurt as a historically interregional and later global city is owed to its highly connected geopolitical location; next to or close to two major rivers (Main and Rhein), and well connected to major pan-European trade routes and road networks. Today, Frankfurt hosts the ninth busiest airport globally, and is home to the Lufthansa fleet. In 1785 the first recorded manned flight in Germany took place in Frankfurt when a hydrogen-balloon was launched as part of the trade fair. Lufthansa was founded two years after the Messe Frankfurt.

Hidden Infrastructures: the enabling space for trade
Since Frankfurt is such an important centre for trade, it bursts with two very different sets of infrastructures: at first, it necessitates a formal infrastructure, which supports, benefits from, and enables official trade. Examples include the trade fair, the stock exchange, the European Central Bank, all major international banks, the airport, the train station, the motorways, business centres, and hotels. Further, the above phenomena produces a fertile ground for alternative forms of markets and trade, but also relies on a second-layer infrastructure, which allows for a trade-capital to operate on a daily basis, an infrastructure, which is often not visible and may not have a clearly recognizable and specifically defined facade or face to it. Examples of this phenomenon include Internet service hubs, server warehouses, the Commerzbank trading floor (Bahnhofsviertel), the largest Internet hub in the world (De-Cix Management GmbH, Olsund & Gallas), Central Data Centres (i.e. on Hauen Laendrasse & Kleyerstrasse), Deutsche Börse Rechenzentrum Eschborn, call centres, (unofficial) detention centres, informal sex work, sterile environments, and second layer markets.

Framework
As part of the larger project ‘Theatrum Mondi/Global Street’, this year-long research project at the Städelshule investigates the question and phenomenon of (informal) trade, spaces of infrastructure, and – more specifically – practices and buildings without a Face/ade. As a starting point, the group will inquire questions of trade and how those practices spatialize within urban environments: what
In collaboration with guest artists, writers, designers, architects and researchers from various disciplines, the Weltkulturen Museum seeks to understand how and why its collections were formed and how they changed and adapted to the flow of their material artefacts have characterised the style of objects acquired by the museum. Certain archive photographs of the museum stores, which depict the results of an ethnographic expedition to the Sepik in the early 1960s are distinctly reminiscent of market displays. The relationship between the history of the Weltkulturen Museum and systems of trade can be read in the various locations in which the museum and its collections were housed before it was established on Schauspielstrasse. The first grouping of ethnographic material from different museums and anthropological societies as well as private collections was housed in the “Handelskammerstall” (School for Commerce) in the Junghofstrasse. This collection of circa 4000 artefacts formed the basis of the newly founded Städtisches Völkermuseum in 1904. From 1904 to 1908 the museum was housed in a former bank, the Goethe Bankhaus in the Minzgasse. As the collection grew, it began to require more space and in 1908 it was moved to the Palais Thurn & Taxis located in the centre of Frankfurt’s business district in the Große Eschersheimer Strasse. In 1944, the Palais was destroyed and with it around one third of the museum’s collection. However, the majority of artefacts were saved thanks to the commitment of Dr. Karin Hahn-Hillascek, who worked at the museum and had begun already in 1942 to organise the transport of artefacts to different locations in Germany. From 1945 to 1961 the museum’s collection was housed in a bunker in Frankfurt, Reiskirchen, and the daily administration of the museum was performed from the private apartment of Dr. Hahn-Hillascek in the Myliusstrasse in Frankfurt’s Westend. Until the early 1990s, the museum stores continued to be scattered around different parts of the city. The fact that these collections stored in ‘secret’ or rather in ‘unofficial’ locations remains a characteristic of their identity to the present day. Within the urban context, these deposits are deliberately not identifiable as such to maintain the freedom for the Weltkulturen Museum. Not only are the artefacts hidden, but their remarkable history and value, as well as the knowledge that surrounds them remains ‘stealth’. The research outcomes of the ACSP class offer a first glimpse into these ‘hidden’ infrastructures. {x}
Weltkulturen Museum Store, Frankfurt am Main, Osthafen

A life-sized portrait figure of a Papuan made of plaster and papier mâché (without wig and festive attire), formerly presented in the earlier permanent exhibition of the museum at the Palais Thurn und Taxis. For the history of this figure and the problematic use of such models please see http://www.journal-ethnologie.de/Deutsch/_Medien/Medien_2007/Kubai___ein_vornehmer_Krieger_aus_Neuguinea/index.php

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Weltkulturen Museum Store, Frankfurt am Main, Riederwald

Weltkulturen Museum Store, roof of a granary from New Guinea

Weltkulturen Museum Store, masks and parts of log drums from New Guinea
Bunker, Schäfflestraße 18, Frankfurt am Main, Riederwald. From 1945 to 1961 this was the store of the »Museum für Völkerkunde«.

Since 1987 this space has been used by a carnival social group »Narrhalla« (e.V.).
The future predictions today site at moving data centers out of the cities, which will then, as a result, produce vast single-purpose zones, special economic zones and enclaves. But what happens in those cases, where the close distance still needs to be established to improve low-latency? What happens could happen to urban street life in such cases?

Throughout history, trade was the accelerant for human settlements and urban developments. Today, electronic trade has replaced many other forms of trading and has become an accelerant for the development of new types of urban and spatial infrastructures. As the user interfaces decrease in physical size, the size of the networks in rapidity growing and in desperate need more physical spaces. The transformation of something previously thought of as ‘hidden’ is showing its face through spatial transformations of urban space as the size of the physical datacenter facilities increases. Can these spaces somehow allow for urban co-habitation?

VITAL TRADE ORGANS / FRANKFURT AM MAIN

Low Latency Frankfurt stock exchange (Deutsche Börse) as an accelerant for spatial development of data center facilities and its impact on urban development

by Iva Baljaks

When trade is mentioned, there is one city in the heart of Europe that immediately comes to mind. Frankfurt am Main has the reputation of being the bank- ers’ city. With its highrises that create an atmosphere of an American downtown, it is sometimes referred to as “Mainhattan” amongst its residents. Frankfurt’s geopolitical location is the heart of Germany, between the major rivers of Main and Main, has been a central advantage for trade possibilities and potential throughout history. Frankfurt’s trade fairs date back to the 12th century while the ‘Messe’, the world known Frank- furt Trade Fair, was estab- lished on today’s premises in the beginning of the 20th cen- tury.

Vital trade organs in Frankfurt can be recognized through the ‘European Central Bank’, the ‘Messe’ and Frankfurt International Airport and Frankfurt Stock Exchange. Since 2002, Deutsche Börse and global banks have facilities located in the highrise agglom- eration of the Bankenviertel.

The world’s 10th largest stock exchange by market capitalization is located in the Innerestadt, within the central business district. Frankfurt’s ‘Westzollamt’ is operated by Deutsche Börse. The stock exchange is usually thought of as brokers hectically moving around, piously following second-by-second news on screens, while talking to several other global traders on the phone. However, today’s reality has changed dramatically, especially in regard to its spatial repercussions.
A short history of Frankfurt Stock Exchange

The origins of the stock exchange in Frankfurt date back to the 9th century, but it was only in the 16th century that Frankfurt became an economically prosperous city with foundations in trade and other financial services. It was then that the Börse was founded to set the first fixed currency exchange rates. In the 19th century, Frankfurt became the home of the German stock exchange.

In 1871, the Börse moved to its location at Börsenplatz. In 1921, Deutsche Börse became the owner of the venue, and it operated business on the exchange.

Today, Deutsche Börse Group (DBG) holds three different locations and operates the larger Frankfurt area. The headquarters employs more than 2,000 workers and is located in Eschborn, just outside the tax territory of the city of Frankfurt. Before DBG moved to Eschborn, it was located in the western part of Frankfurt, but currently only the vaults and the data center remain on this site. The image that comes to mind when thinking of trading – the use of brokers shouting and staring at large screens – is still operative in the city’s center, at the Börsenplatz, but with only 16 employees of Börse. (fig.3)

Most of the trading is electronic trading, through Xetra and Eurex, trading systems for securities and shares, developed by DBG and spread throughout the world. (fig.4)

What is it that enables electronic trading? An Internet Exchange Point (IX or IPX) is a physical infrastructure through which Internet service providers (ISP) exchange Internet traffic between their networks. In the fact that Frankfurt has the largest Internet Exchange Point in the world (by peak traffic) somehow related to the (spatial) phenomenon of the Frankfurt Stock Exchange?

In fact, the electronic trading system Xetra has increasingly replaced broker supported floor trading. Domestic shares as well as ETFs, for instance, are traded primarily through Xetra. However, order in most liquid securities, especially cap shares, foreign shares, investment funds and almost all bonds are still traded on the Frankfurt Stock Exchange after the closing of trade on Xetra at 3:30 p.m. (ix trading of all securities takes place exclusively on the floor.)

http://deutsche-boerse.com

Eurex is a world class, high speed, high capacity settlement engine, offering electronic clearing and settlement services for OTC derivatives. It is the leading venue for clearing and settlement of OTC derivatives in Europe and the world. London clearing, in performance, is more advanced in a number of areas. Eurex Clearing is located in London, near the Bank of England, and is a major clearing house for cross-border transactions. Eurex Clearing is the market leader in the clearing of OTC derivatives in Europe.

Swiss Ex (‘Swiss Exchange’) is a worldwide electronic securities trading system based in Zurich, Switzerland. It was created for the Swiss Stock Exchange and launched in November, 1997. More than 14 stock exchanges around the world have licensed the Swiss Stock Exchange Xetra electronic trading platform.

In 1995, DE-CIX (Deutsche Com­munications Internet Exchange) established its headquarters in Frankfurt.

A closer look into networks and the Internet as a network of networks, demonstrates that Internet exchange points were developed, historically, so that different networks, carriers and internet service providers can peer with one another for free. The process of peering happens when two network exchange data between each other’s customers for free and for mutual benefit.

Why is it that the largest peak traffic of 2 terabytes per second happens in Frankfurt? Internet exchange points are endpoints of trading platforms and data centers in Frankfurt.

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Why is it that the largest peak traffic of 2 terabytes per second happens in Frankfurt? Internet exchange points are endpoints of trading platforms and data centers in Frankfurt.
WARM standby site
back up servers need to be physically brought to the location

COLD standby site
minimal or no equipment, everything has to be brought into a dedicated space

MINIMUM

MAXIMUM

back up servers need to be physically brought to the location

data is constantly duplicated on another physical location

data center

data
One of the most relevant issues in regard to contemporary data centers is security, both in cyber- and physical space. Cyber security can be reduced by ensuring that a data center is cloud enabled and virtually protected. Physical security is another issue. Data centers use different physical layers of spatial security. Usually the area around the data center is fenced and video monitored for a variety of potential hazards. To physically enter a data center, one has to pass ID control and, to get close to the servers, companies make use of proximity cards, biometric radars and mantraps—a new kind of 'deep space', with two doors, where only one person can enter at the time and only when the first door is closed the second one opens to let the person enter the next space. (fig.6)

Clients can also dictate a specific security package when renting out a separate room within the server space(s). On the other hand, information flow enters the space through heavy cabling. (fig.7) In today’s global market system, money means data. Hence, data centers today are more secure than the banks that supposedly hold that very money. (fig.8) For a data center to be operational, different architectural components have to be put in place and enabled, from raised floor to heating and ventilation systems, from power back up to fire security, from network cableing to percentage of server area. The most important aspect, however, is business continuity and disaster recovery. All data centers have different and several forms of back up. They differ in time and cost required to run the back up data center.

A ‘hot’ data center backs up data as data is received in the main data center. These also contain all the equipment that the main data center has while they can start running immediately in case the source data center faces any kind of hazard. Not back up data centers have all the physical requirements for a data center to run, but the actual servers need to be brought in by one by one. A ‘cold’ data center only occupies a space as if it was only reserving a territory for business continuity. All equipment has to be brought in. Cold data centers also take more time to start running.
The Central Mosque in Münchenerstrasse is a perfect example of a retracted stealth space. Inconspicuous from the street, it nonetheless provides the infrastructural and sets the stage for a vibrant local neighborhood. Its parasitic beginnings (i.e., parasitic takeover of a former residential building) have now settled into other words it is close to nothing. It is certainly no sanctuary, nothing with signs of life."

"When we think about space, we have only looked at its containers. As if space itself is invisible, all theory for the process of preparation is based on an obsessive preoccupation with its opposite: substance and objects, i.e., architecture."

The Bahnhofsviertel of Frankfurt am Main, Germany, is a vibrant neighborhood. It is an accumulation of various layers: social, physical, and economic. Home to the largest percentage of immigrant population in Frankfurt, the Bahnhofsviertel is an amalgam of old buildings as well as some recent additions. The new structures appear to mold into the existing urban fabric, thus rendering them incognizant. Seemingly homogenous, the façades encompass myriad programs obscured by their faux-classicism. The result is a nebulous heterogeneity.

The expansion of old cities to accommodate the new—structures, people or programmes—is now a global phenomenon. The old is either being torn down or retrofitted to suit the new. Zoning of neighborhoods has been one of the oft-used tools to structure these changes. The Bahnhofsviertel was designed and designated as a residential neighborhood to accommodate 18,000 local residents. However, current estimates peg that figure at 2,125 residents. What happened to the residual spaces?

Current practices in urban planning involve delineation of urban areas into specific zones. Even so-called ‘mixed-use’ developments are demarcated as such. Does zoning lead to spatial limitation? Does it subvert penetration of layers? Zoning and demarcation are rigid tools that seek to control activities from the street level and reduce the possibility of unintended consequences, harmful or beneficial.

The plan for the revitalization of the Bahnhofsviertel envisages the district as a mixed-use zone. However, it does not account for the fact that the Bahnhofsviertel is already a dense collage of spatial uses. Sports halls double up as spaces similar to Turkish bathhouses. Religious spaces become areas of rest or meeting grounds for business and communal discussions. They serve as information dispensers to a local community and act as catalysts for trade. Immigrants, corporate workers, informal markets, religious spaces, second-layer communal spaces co-exist, cross-pollinate and enrich each other.

Collaborative processes necessarily function within a given framework. They imply a shared system in which the options available for choice and those who present them cannot be challenged. In a radically dynamic world, does the architect impose his or her vision on collaborative processes? Parastatic instances of architecture and program that do not blend with the visible abounds and make the Bahnhofsviertel the complex neighborhood it is. Users take over a space, adapt it and make it their own. They form representative groups to communicate their heterogeneous communities and the authorities. A dialogue is set up between these two stakeholder groups for the benefit of the neighborhood and the city at large (the Bahnhofsviertel has one such forum). Older spaces are retrofitted to accommodate new programs. The intended use of the space is diluted and new uses emerge. The older facades remain, concealing and lending credibility to the new uses.

The nightmare of Participation pp 9

Beyond the default modes of design practices, what are the possible avenues that an architect can explore in order to act as a ‘spatial enabler’? What kind of architecture allows for parasitic spatial behavior to occur and then stabilizes into a synthetic urban relationship (to the case of the Bahnhofsviertel)? If in a somatic like this, what role does the architect play? The architect may help to prepare for this, essentially, as an enabler, the architect provides guidelines that are mal-adaptable enough to allow for such accidental parasitic instances. The process can then be designed to allow it to run its course with a certain degree of control thereby opening up multiple possibilities. A measure of control is required to enable the space and for users to find its equilibrium. However, control is exerted only in terms of a catalogue of potential guidelines. Such a parasitic process enables a neighborhood to grow as an aggregation of diverse instances multiplying the chances of unintended consequences—thereby contributing to the proliferation of a vibrant urban neighborhood.
Frankfurt’s central station is the most important rail transport hub in Germany. Every day, more than 1,100 trains connect the city with many national and international destinations and around 700 suburban railway trains take passengers to stations within Frankfurt and the surrounding area.

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The Bahnhofsviertel presents a pause, a rupture; a threshold in the city that allows a visitor to immerse in its heterogeneity before entering the homogenized city itself.

The general socio-spatial development of Frankfurt should not hide the fact that some districts have a high concentration of foreigners. In 1999, the highest concentration of foreigners was found in inner city districts, which were characterized by a high proportion of old buildings, comparable low housing standards and many small businesses. The districts that are situated north of the Main river in Frankfurt registered the highest proportions of foreigners – namely: Bahnhofsviertel (69%), Gutleutviertel (55%), Innenstadt and Gallusviertel (both 48%).

69% of the population in the Bahnhofsviertel have an immigrant background.

The Bahnhofsviertel witnessed a boom in construction after the main station was opened in 1888. The construction was haphazard and led to what was then considered high densification. Shaft-like courtyards, dense construction and incompatible use led to protests and the adoption of the first zoning code in 1891.

From 1870 to 1914, 740 residences were constructed. A few mixed-use buildings, hotels and business houses were established as well.

The present day Bahnhofsviertel consists of a mixture of old and new buildings. Buildings were either bombed during the war or torn down to make way for newer buildings. The newer buildings were constructed in the same architectural style as the older typology and hence slip into the urban fabric of the district.

A peculiar feature is the floor heights. The older buildings have larger floor heights and therefore the newer buildings contain additional floors within the same volume.

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Frankfurt has the highest density of jobs in Germany, at 918 jobs to 1,000 residents. This high concentration of jobs can be attributed to the number of commuting professionals. In 2002, more than two thirds (65%) of all people employed in Frankfurt resided outside the city. Of Frankfurt’s 2005 resident population, almost half (48%) are gainfully employed, of whom 62% are white-collar workers, 18% are blue-collar workers, 15% are self-employed, and 5% are government officials.
Designed for 11,000 residents, inhabited by 2,125. What happens to the residual spaces?
MÜNCHENERSTRASSE: SECTION AS A COLLOID OF USES

Münchenerstrasse is an extremely dense colloid of different user groups. Small practices, informal markets, corporates, religious spaces and communal spaces co-habit the space. The neighbourhood has a time-centric spatial distribution and is constantly morphing to support the colloid. The intended residential spaces have long been transformed into various other heterogeneous programmes. Access and boundaries are flexible and appropriated according to need. Spaces of trade double up as social spaces. Spots bars function as Turkish teashops, stores double up as basement restaurants.

The ‘Merkez Camii’ (Central Mosque) on Münchenerstrasse in the Bahnhofsviertel is a Turkish mosque situated within what was formerly a residential building. Invisible from the street, the parasitic programme has gradually embedded itself within the colloid that is Münchenerstrasse. So much so, that it now is a catalyst for the other Turkish run programmes by serving as an attractor. The mosque is primarily a religious space, but also functions as a secondary communal space facilitating a network of a specific user group.

The mosque is accessed through a non-descript entrance that leads to a tunnel like passage opening out into the backyard. The facade gives no indication of the space within and a user has to traverse a 93.5 metre path to get to the place of worship. Along the path lie spaces of ablution, rest, regeneration and preparation. This deep space camouflages the mosque and dissociates it from the facade.

The Central Mosque in Münchenerstrasse is a perfect example of a retrofitted stealth space. Inconspicuous from the street, it nevertheless provides the infrastructure and sets the stage for a vibrant local neighbourhood. Its parasitic beginnings (i.e. parasitic takeover of a former residential building) have now settled into a symbiotic relationship with other trade spaces on Münchenerstrasse (e.g. The Turkish bookstore, Music store, supermarkets et al). This second layer communal space serves as an information dispenser to locals and new comers as well.

93.5 metres of deep space
It is easy to understand that Frankfurt is considered one of the most international cities in Germany. As a major European financial center it is home to a multitude of leading companies from within the financial sector and beyond. With more than 300 nationals and international banks, and a highly developed infrastructure, including Frankfurt International Airport, it has produced a city that is both attractive to corporate companies as well as to trade fairs and exhibitions. As a result, the employment density also reports for a huge number of national and international commuters, who have influenced the international image of the city. This image, however, exists not because of the high numbers of immigrants, but because of the high number of fellow expats living and working in the city.

The reason for every expats arriving to Frankfurt is not because of the specific quality of life that can be found in the city, but because of the high-level, white-collar employment opportunities that exist, and continue to grow.

The “internationals”, who are coming and leaving, produce a continuous state of flux. They live in the city for a certain period of time only, work in trading or related local businesses, and yet do not “trade” their cultural backgrounds. In Frankfurt, the existence of a huge international community seems to not have socio-spatial impact and interference on and with locals. They would rather be defined as existing in a constant spatial transit position. Considering the issue of multiculturalism and its related debates that were led in Germany over the past decade possibly could effect the confusion in understanding the differences between the definition of “labour” amongst internationals/expatriates and immigrants. What kind of different cultural and economic role do they embody?

Taking into account that there is no clear and ultimate definition of “labourers”, “(im)migrants”, “foreigners”, “expats” or “international” in fact has resulted in a situation in which the image of the city of Frankfurt has turned controversial – especially when considering its international attributes.

How difficult is it to feel international in Frankfurt as an expat, coming from a non-western country? How difficult is it for someone, who has a migrant background, but has lived in the city or country through generations? How big are the expectations by the local Frankfurt population that the “international” should learn and master the German language? How easy is it to exchange ones cultural view and belief system without being able to speak the local language? The requirement for German language courses is not an imaginary pragmatic response to an existing condition, but a first pass trade for every international in regard to integration.

One could argue that there is no concrete input (and output) taking place amongst locals and internationals. None of them affect the life of the other, which results in a situation in which internationals are not giving a real cultural contribution to the city and its quality of life. There is no socio-spatial integration, which may be the result of missing policies that would govern and reduce spatial segregation that has led to parallel realities. Because of the lack of cultural exchange amongst locals and internationals, expats have ended up choosing an international community reunion as a “louphole”; as, in most cases, the immigrant community does, too.

As an example, this project has observed the social network “InterNations”, which provides an expatriates’ community for people living and working abroad as well as all global minds, as the network claims. InterNations has their own expats fellows in the city of Frankfurt, with up to 6’000 internationals members, organizing 2–3 events per month, with 300–400 people attending. To be registered as a basic member is free of charge. But with limited access to the online network. The potential user will be charged an entry fee to every exclusive physical event of the network. In case one is qualified as an “albatross member”, which includes monthly payments, then one is granted free entry to access the online network, where one can meet fellow expats. The payment has to be made by credit card. It points at the fact that the InterNations network has a very specific target group of members, which increases the possibility and impact of exclusion of, for example, international students, immigrants and other communities.

When Frankfurt is considered an international city by people, who do not live in the city, it is usually because of the presence of people and communities such as expat members of InterNations. One of the French/Indian local members of InterNations, qualified as an ambassador of the InterNations community, told me during the interview that, as an expat in Germany and according to her own experience, she feels more discriminated in Berlin than Frankfurt. This came as a surprise to me, considering that Berlin is mostly understood as a very heterogeneous city with a certain history and tradition of multiculturalism.

However, she also told me that she has no real contact with locals in Frankfurt. According to her impression, Frankfurt’s locals often are more likely to be found in the suburbs than in the city. Perhaps this is the reason why she does not feel discriminated in the city: because she has no real possibility to meet locals.
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Germany

Invoice No.  A-1512213-177545
Invoice Date  13.12.2012
Customer No. 240386
Contact: support@Internations.org

Invoice for Online Albatross-Membership

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<tr>
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<th>Price</th>
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Payment

According to our General Terms and Conditions, payment is due immediately.
The payment was made by credit card, and the amount will be automatically collected from:

Credit Card Type: Eurocard
Credit Card No.: ***************
Card Holder: ***************
Valid until: 02/2015

For your convenience, your Albatross Membership will be automatically renewed. You may cancel your membership at any time.

We thank you very much for choosing the InterNations Albatross Membership.

With kind regards from Munich

Your Internations Team
The Dust-Market of the Western World

It consisted of chambers – a wide network, mazelike lots, subterranean. The market-system was similar to the one of the Hair-Carpet-Makers. In the beginning the Dust-Market only related to the Western World. It turned out later that the rest of the world was part of it as well.
Keyword: Symbiosis

The Dust-Markets’ hierarchy was ruled by the supreme figure called ‘Dust-Market’s-President’. He was in charge of the Key: the universal key that allowed him to access all parts of the market. It was his job to make sure that commercial laws were followed. His authority was demonstrated simply by the very fact of his being. He was the trusted head – the experience of his power was instantaneous, this was true.

The Market had two problems. The first one was the wind: powerful storms – the reason for being underground – that frequently intruded upon the system of chambers – a catastrophe that suffocated thousands of merchants. The second problem was the article of exchange itself. Many of the merchants starved because they were only able to trade dust with dust. Some of them died of thirst. The goods the dust once was have long been forgotten. Some of the oldest merchants still had faded memories in their mind.

To get into the league of Dust-Traders certain abilities were required; a moral sense and a natural conscience. In addition they did not want to hunt nor gather, but that was not necessary because there was enough dust. There were attempts to reduce the amount of dust but the market was flooded with foreign imports.

Now they stand in front of the facades – what remains of their existence. Behind them are the streets and the rooms. Perplexed they gaze into the sunset, dreaming of the good old times – somewhat Neolithic-like conditions.

Christoph Esser, 2013
Stealth architecture is not embedded within an aesthetic category; it is a praxis, a set of functional urban operations that transgress imposed political and economic models. Stealth urbanization is the site from which to produce new interpretations of infrastructure, property and citizenship.