

DETROIT

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SCHRUMPFENDE DARSTELLUNGEN

„Städte können nicht für sich selber sprechen, sie müssen repräsentiert werden“. Anhand der Entwicklung amerikanischer Städte im 20. Jahrhundert geht Robert A. Beauregard der Frage nach, inwieweit Geschichten über eine Stadt dazu beitragen, Verfall und Schrumpfung zu beschreiben und die Wahrnehmung zu prägen.

SHRINKING REPRESENTATIONS

“Cities cannot speak for themselves; they have to be represented.” By explaining the development of American cities in the 20th century, Robert A. Beauregard follows the question in how far stories about a city contribute to the explanation of decline and shrinkage and how they constitute the perception of these processes.

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SHRINKING REPRESENTATIONS

Robert A. Beauregard

Why now, in Germany, is the notion of shrinking cities interesting, worthy of attention? What is its significance? In the United States, public commentators, elected officials, and academic researchers talk about the decline of cities rather than their shrinkage. Decline suggests a diminished capacity and is meant to capture a sense of loss.

After World War II the large, industrial cities of the United States began to cast off residents at a level unprecedented in the country's history. So many people left and so few people moved in that their populations became smaller. Not just residents were lost. Jobs also disappeared as capital took flight to more desirable places. Households fled to the suburbs and retailers soon followed. Factories closed. The tax bases on which city governments drew to provide services were depleted. These losses led to a host of problems: concentrated poverty, fiscal stress on local governments, rising juvenile delinquency and crime, the spread of slums, and blighted commercial areas. Loss signaled decline. The capacity to attract new households and investors, maintain the physical environment, and provide public services was diminished.

From the late 1940s to the end of the 1970s, this story appeared often in popular magazines, on television, and in the newspapers as well as being the subject of numerous scholarly studies and government reports. In these texts, decline was represented by a variety of visual images: boarded-up buildings, empty lots strewn with debris, burnt-out automobiles discarded on desolate streets, abandoned factories, massive public housing projects, crumbling bridges, and idle men gathered on street corners. Most of these images orbited about the African-American ghetto. Whereas the skyscraper had become the symbol of the large U.S. city in the 1920s, its place in the national consciousness was replaced in the 1960s by the ghetto.

Simultaneously, observers searched for indicators - job loss, African-American households living in poverty, numbers of abandoned houses - and explanations that would bring decline into focus. Their quest was to capture and thereby tame decline. Only if decline's causes could be identified could its spread be arrested and places of affluence and security - mainly the suburbs - be protected.

The search for the grim reality of decline, for an image or interpretation that would assign responsibility and relieve anxiety, was to be thwarted. With the urban riots of the 1960s and the onset of what came to be called the 'urban crisis' comforting assessments became increasingly attractive yet more and more elusive. From a popular standpoint, the most successful moves were to blame the victims (poor African-Americans) or to declare the cities obsolete and accept their problems as the cost of progress. In the end, the fear felt by affluent, suburban households would not be allayed.

No one image can reflect decline's complexity; no one explanation can negotiate its deficiency of inhibitions. Decline, like shrinkage, is itself a representation. It is not an objective reality awaiting discovery, a material fact. Neither is it a unitary phenomenon able to be conveyed through one easily measured characteristic such as the waning number of a city's inhabitants. Rather, it is simultaneously an awareness of deteriorating and perplexing conditions and a symbol of widespread apprehension. For this reason, the search for an image or interpretation that disciplines decline is destined to fail. Decline is a meaning attached to a variety of intersecting conditions and events, decisions and social experiences, actions and

reactions, that elicit in the observer an ill-defined sense of loss. It is complex, elusive, and over-determined. As a representation of a deeper social anxiety, decline eludes a single image, a single statistic, or a single explanation.

To accept decline as a representation is to acknowledge the elusiveness and multiplicity of the urban condition and the restlessness of urban representations. As important, it is to recognize that society is willing to characterize its cities in this way, not because these cities are somehow and suddenly in decline in an objective sense but because decline's conditions have churned up a more fundamental anxiety. Over the centuries, cities have experienced growth and prosperity, freedom and oppression, opportunity and exploitation. Why, in the early post-World War II period in the United States, were cities labeled as declining? They were losing population, but is this decline? It could just as easily have been cast as an adjustment, a re-balancing of the country's demographic landscape.

The deep anxieties engendering this sense of decline formed at the intersection of suburbanization and race. The rise of mass-produced suburbs available to a growing middle class and an increasingly affluent working class provided an alternative to the congestion and frenzy of the cities. White households were able to take advantage of the new opportunities; African-American households were not. At the same time, the influx of rural African-Americans to the industrial cities and their further concentration in ghettos stirred up the country's long-standing racial dilemma. Throughout its history, the United States has failed to absorb African-Americans into the mainstream, despite cherished claims to being a land of freedom and opportunity. Suburbanites were worried that the problems of the declining city, and an increasingly poor and ostensibly dangerous African-American population, would overflow city boundaries and seep into their communities. Their escape from the city would only be temporary.

In addition to 'representations of decline' and 'decline as a representation' there is a third way to think about these two concepts. Consider the possibility that decline devalues the city as a narrative object. What occurs is a 'decline of representation'. The losses that are experienced engender a breakdown of signification and this brings forth a change in narrative possibilities. What shrinks when a city declines? Answer: the city's ability to generate interesting stories that some people want to tell and other people want to hear.

Decline in the United States led to less vibrant neighborhoods, downtowns dotted with empty stores and cheap retailing, less frequent public events, fewer people on the streets, and a rising sense of anxiety about being in public. Urbanity was diminished. With urbanity shrinking, the narrative potential of the city was correspondingly circumscribed and the landscape of narrative possibilities re-configured. Fewer and fewer people were living in and attached to cities. Stories about the city were not about these new suburbanites but about strangers who were both poorer and racially different. Consequently, the declining city became less attractive as an object of shared discourse.

But, what does this mean? It cannot mean that there are fewer stories to tell about cities, fewer differences providing material for novelists and film-makers, raconteurs and public commentators. Large cities contain innumerable differences, great complexity, and a dynamism that constantly begs for narrative engagement. The multiplicity of stories, if not infinite, is certainly so large as to defy numeric assessment. The combinations of emotions and actions, interpersonal relationships, and social situations is all-but endless.

Moreover, what can be said about cities is only partially dependent on the conditions within them. No one-to-one correspondence exists between material conditions and narrative possibilities. (This is another reason why it is so difficult to represent decline.) The narrative potential of cities lies only partially within their boundaries. The narrator adds to that potential from outside and draws from a larger world - and its history - in doing so.

If it is not the number of stories that shrinks as cities decline, what is it? In a declining city, the sheer emotional weight of decline and its overwhelming multiplicity detracts from the city's desirability as a narrative object. This affects the types of stories that are credible, interesting, and worthy of attention and thus the types of stories that are told. Stories of delight - stories that celebrate self-discovery, opportunity, joy, and accomplishment - fall away to be replaced by stories of despair and decay. Pessimism envelops optimism. Even if telling stories of delight is still possible, they ring less true.

A declining city, in fact any city undergoing rapid change, further experiences what can be called a narrative cascade. Studies of deteriorating infrastructure and municipal corruption breed additional studies drawing on a similar combination of urgency and outrage. Crime stories build on one another. Representations of decline become self-reinforcing, their intersecting credibility creating an avalanche of despair and distaste. There are more poor people, more decayed neighborhoods, more long-term unemployed, and more people suffering. In turn, the cascading of decline stories generates its own counter-narrative. In the face of unrelenting pessimism, stories of triumph become more interesting. A teenager overcomes her crime-ridden neighborhood and poor city schools to earn a college degree and become a successful business executive. A neighborhood organization resists the forces of deterioration by fixing up dilapidated homes, building playgrounds, and renovating storefronts. Such stories proliferate, as if the sheer telling of them can somehow reverse decline and return the city to growth and prosperity. Narrators turn despair into triumph.

The opportunities that exist in declining cities are opportunities to overcome adversity. Stories about people finding fame and fortune there are rare. Declining cities have fewer occasions for becoming famous in the arts or turning a small business into a thriving corporation. The prevailing social and economic conditions are simply inhospitable. Detroit lost its fame as a rock-and-roll Mecca not just because Motown music became stylistically unfashionable but, and also, because Detroit shed entertainment opportunities: theaters and clubs closed, impresarios looked elsewhere for venues, and performers begin to avoid the city. Detroit's image as dangerous and torn apart by racial tension was daunting to a middle class that might have supported a thriving music scene.

Despite the discomfit they engender, stories of despair are still told. In fact, a long tradition exists in the United States of commentators exposing the underside of the city to show how people are exploited, oppressed, made destitute and generally suffer injustice. Social critics, investigative reporters, and government officials hope that such stories will spur action by engaging not just compassion but a sense of social responsibility as well. Their goal is to reveal the city's problems so that action will follow.

In the early postwar period, the narrative potential for stories of accomplishment and the 'good life' shifted to the suburbs. The suburbs were affluent and prosperous; the cities suffered from concentrated poverty and disinvestment. Intellectuals, though, resisted such stories; they found only conformity and sterility. The popular media was disinclined to join them. In the cities, one overcame adversity; in the suburbs, one lived well.

The revival of the cities in the late 1970s shifted the landscape of narrative potential once again. Tales of gentrification began to proliferate, signaling a turn-about in the fate of struggling cities. The downtown office sector boomed and middle-class retailing returned in the form of festival marketplaces and urban shopping malls. With the economy robust and financial markets churning out millionaires in the 1990s, the cities became even more desirable. Boston, New York, San Francisco, Seattle, and Chicago became places where fame and fortune beckoned. The arts flourished once again and the rise in disposable income fed the growth of urban dining, shopping, spectator sports, and downtown living. No longer were commentators blocked from telling stories of delight. There was a dark side to this revitalization of the cities. Income inequalities increased and poverty and homelessness remained stubbornly rooted in many urban neighborhoods. Scholars were critical, but the popular media was, on the whole, indifferent to those who viewed the new urban prosperity from afar. Opportunity and accomplishment would come to epitomize the late 20th century city.

While no simple correspondence exists between the material conditions of a city - whether growing rapidly or declining and suffering loss - and the stories that are told, the narrative potential of a city is affected by its fortunes. Certain stories become more compelling, others more difficult to tell. Different types of narrators are attracted to the city and its inhabitants. Audiences change. When cities shrink, when cities decline, their narrative potential is changed. Cities cannot speak for themselves; they have to be represented. Only through representations can urban conditions be understood.

Any quest for a single image of the declining city, though, is undermined by the fact that decline is itself a representation. It is a symbol of a deeper and anxiety-provoking social reality. One might, for example, speculate about whether German cities are now shrinking because German intellectuals fear an invasion of U.S.-style suburbanization. Is it immigration or maybe the European Union that is creating the apprehension that is being displaced onto the country's cities? What stories can be told about declining cities? What stories are unavailable because they no longer resonate with a receptive audience? What are these stories really about? What do they mean? For declining and shrinking cities, representation does not just describe a social reality, it also constitutes it.

DIE PÄDOMORPHE LANDSCHAFT (UND IHRE MATERIELLE KONSEQUENZ)

Flucht und Vermeidung sind nach Ansicht des Architekten Andrew Zago die maßgeblichen Beweggründe für die enorme Ausbreitung der amerikanischen Städte. In seinem Artikel begründet er dieses Handeln mit dem Begriff der Pädorphologie. Dieser aus der Zoologie stammende Begriff wird für das jugendliche Verhalten domestizierter Tiere durch das Vorenthalten von Erfahrungen im Erwachsenenalter verwendet.

THE PAEDOMORPHIC LANDSCAPE (AND ITS MATERIAL CONSEQUENCES)

Escape and avoidance are according to the architect Andrew Zago the predominant reasons for the enormous sprawl of the American cities. In his article he substantiates this acting with the term paedomorphology. This zoological term is used for the juvenile behavior of domesticated animals which were kept back from experiences obtained in adulthood.

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THE PAEDOMORPHIC LANDSCAPE (AND ITS MATERIAL CONSEQUENCES)

Andrew Zago

The rise and evolution of suburbs is a defining feature of American life since the Second World War. From their inception they have been an object of scrutiny and comment. American suburbs have been disparagingly described as soulless non-places that promote racial and economic homogeneity while they gut our cities of their urban life. They have been criticized for their profligate consumption of undeveloped land and for their promotion of a car-dependent lifestyle. Alternately, recent apologists have turned these arguments on their heads insisting instead that suburbs are the manifestation of an innate American restlessness; that they evidence an expansive impulse that has historically been central to America's success.

These arguments have become well established. However, suburban development is far from being novel. As it enters its late mature phase new questions suggest themselves: What is the consequence of the proliferation of non-place when it reaches a saturation point? What drives the impulse to homogenize difference? Is the impulse to expand into the horizon an inviolable feature of American consciousness and imagination? If so, what becomes of that consciousness and imagination once the horizon is consumed?

In tandem with the growth of suburbs is a transformation of the urban core in American cities. It too has been exhaustively studied over the last fifty years. In particular, an inverse relationship has been observed in which the traditional spatial qualities of American cities find their antithesis in the suburbs, and the growth of the suburbs finds its counterpoint in the decline of the urban core. Urbanists have bemoaned the widespread irruption of suburban land use patterns within traditional urban fabrics while sociologists have produced startling statistics on the endemic racial segregation and disinvestment that characterizes many of America's largest cities.

But as with the suburbs, these observations are superceded by new questions: Does traditional urban form impart an intrinsic quality to urban life? Has urban form abetted inequitable social practices? As contemporary notions of form and space evolve, can new forms of urban life emerge? Given the current fascination with the explosive growth of global cities, how does one account for American cities that stagnate or are in decline?

The current form of many American cities arise as pathological responses to a stagnated dream; a paedomorphic urban landscape that allows for the denial of difference and strife for some people while marginalizing others. Metropolitan Detroit is an extreme case of this condition. In Detroit, the mechanisms of industrial production - and their attendant urban transfigurations - have been, half-consciously, the conduits of a stymied fiction of unlimited expansion. In Detroit, more than any other American city, the consequences of acting out this fiction have their starkest manifestation.

Understanding this urban condition requires an acknowledgement that the central relevant fact of cities is their *form* and consequently their *space*. To give prominence to the form of cities may seem to imply a conservative, if not reactionary, view of cities. It suggests reverting to an era when stable physical referents - architectural ensembles and master plans - defined urban space. The physical referents of space have not disappeared - a factor too often dismissed by urban theorists - but contemporary understandings of form and space have clearly expanded beyond these classical parameters. To speak relevantly about the present state and future of

Detroit and other American cities, one must account for these contemporary conceptions of form and space.

Detroit was the premier industrial city of the twentieth century. With Detroit, an entire region was transformed into a production facility for a single product - the automobile - giving the world both the perfection of the mass production model of manufacturing and the machine by which virtually every city in the world was to be transformed. Detroit shares a similar history of development and hence characteristics with other northern industrial cities in America. Cities such as Detroit, Chicago, Cleveland, and Milwaukee saw their most dramatic growth in the first half of the twentieth century; they conceded a large measure of their economic diversity to the singular demands of industrial production; they experienced a measure of decline; and they became and continue to be starkly segregated metropolitan areas. Because they have experienced a particularly clear set of transformations over the last 100 years, their urban pattern takes on a diagrammatic clarity that is not always seen in other American cities.

In Detroit, this urban pattern achieved its most extreme rendition, with the forces acting on it being larger, and more often singular than in other cities. Owing to the scale of the industry involved, and the extent to which the city ceded itself to industrial production, these changes coalesced to create more than textbook postindustrial urbanism. In Detroit, this synchronization has also created a categorically new urban condition.

A drive into Detroit reveals an urban landscape in an unthinkable state of abandonment and disuse. Beginning, in many places, at the city's border and continuing intermittently into its center, one sees large rambling swaths of disintegrated urban fabric. Whole neighborhoods of this once trim city lie fallow. Within these swaths, the buildings that remain - haphazardly suggesting once intact blocks - are as often vacant as they are occupied. They have the ragged and exhausted quality of buildings awaiting their demolition. Buildings gape with holes, and missing windows, roofs, and walls. They contort with sagging beams and racked walls. The remains of burned houses slump in charred silence with open doors. Between buildings unchecked vegetation and piles of refuse begin to suggest their own urban arrangements, blurring distinctions between individual properties and between private parcels and public streets. Even relatively intact portions of the city seem strained; fighting against the dendrites of failed infrastructure and arson that probe for soft urban tissue in which to expand. Paradoxically, new development - accelerating in recent years - does little to alter this mood in the city. It lends, at best, an odd air of sterility where it occurs, seen, as it is, against the backdrop of unabated out-migration and intractable poverty.

Leaving the city, conditions change abruptly. Often in as little as one block the disfigurement of extreme urban decay is replaced by the recognizable features of stable suburban communities. Here neatly maintained homes, arterial roads with landscaped medians, retail shopping strips, and national franchises are found in carefully isolated arrangements. The sense that physical referents have been methodically neutralized - the distinctive characterless character of American suburbs - is the primary impression here. More fundamentally, in contrast to Detroit one sees the features of normal cities: functioning traffic lights, operating retail stores, occupied houses. In marked contrast too is the demographic change as one moves from an overwhelmingly black city to overwhelmingly white suburbs.

Statistics match and even magnify the contrast between Detroit and its suburbs: By some estimates, 40 percent of Detroit land is either vacant or abandoned, and even after an aggressive campaign to demolish the city's abandoned building stock, 38,668 of the city's 375,096 buildings were vacant in 2000. An estimated 40,000 parcels of previously privately

owned land have reverted to city ownership through abandonment. The population of the city of Detroit is less than half of what it was in 1950 falling to 951,270 in 2000 from a high of 1,859,568. During this same period, the population of Metropolitan Detroit rose 55 percent to nearly 5.3 million. Racially, Detroit is nearly 90 percent black while most of its suburbs are more than 80 percent white.

Considered in isolation, suburban Detroit is unremarkable. It is composed of the same range of suburban development types seen in other northern industrial cities: concentric rings of older inner suburbs, newer peripheral suburbs, and new exurban outposts. What is remarkable is the jarring contrast of these suburbs with the severe urban condition of the city. They are more than two extremes states of one urban area, they are different worlds. In the 1980's it was suggested that Detroit had more in common with postcolonial African nations than with its suburbs. This was not hyperbole - it was an accurate assessment of the gulf that separated the city and its suburbs. The juxtaposition raises questions not only about the condition of Detroit, but also about the mechanisms of disinvestment and the nature and sense of suburban development.

Detroit's suburbs grew through the evolution of mechanisms - regulatory, economic, social and technological - that have come to shape most American cities. A panoply of forces ranging from the implementation of modernist planning principles and the development of interstate highways to increased middle-class affluence and new home lending practices have created patterns of development through which cities continue to expand their urban periphery and renegotiate the relationships among the exurban extremity, the suburban middle, and the urban core.

Cities evolve through interplay between explicit formal strategies and immaterial policies and processes; the one deflecting and redirecting the other. Postwar America is unique in the degree to which immaterial policies and processes have come to dominate urban growth, acting as surrogates for urban form. These new mechanisms of growth are disembodied. They are not employed with a sense of their spatial consequences and are, in fact, intended to suppress spatial consequences and neutralize the urban environment. This is futile in that the production of form and space - especially in cities - is an inescapable byproduct of human activity. As a result, the suppression of space doesn't stop its production. Rather, it causes it to appear as the unintended consequences of other actions. In the context of American cities it appears as aberrations and leads to the disturbing condition of space attempting to deny or be oblivious to its own presence.

Two distinct types of forces have come to shape our cities; intentional and unintentional, conscious and unconscious, premeditated, and not. While it is difficult to consider these forces separately they nonetheless persist and, in American cities, have different values ascribed to them. Those forces that are overt, intentional, and planned are considered the correct and valuable mechanisms for urban planning. The others either remain unacknowledged, or are discredited as inconsequential, or are stigmatized as blight. As a result, through the application of overt mechanisms of planning - born of localized public policy, individual lifestyle decisions, and the economic calculations of developers - different, unintended, cities have resulted. There seems to have been no conscious decisions to have American cities grow as they did or be as they are.

Much recent scholarship has considered the enigma of urban growth. It has been suggested that cities are an *emergent system*, like an ant colony, in which an organization-wide intelligence propels a system forward coherently by way of innumerable local decisions. In

many ways cities are such a system, but humans are not ants. In an ant colony, no consciousness or volition is ascribed to individual ants. We see a measure of intelligence in the system and this stands in marked contrast to the lack of intelligence in its constituent parts. With cities this is not the case. While individual actions can be taken without a conscious sense of how they shape larger patterns, they are the product of intelligence and volition. Conversely, large scale strategic plans are carried out in cities and any bottom-up *emergent system* must interact with it. In an environment such as contemporary America, where form, as an explicit urban strategy, is avoided, how does this volition and intelligence manifest itself? Considering the resultant nature of the urban space, American cities appear to have acted out a scenario that is more psychic and pathological than premeditated or rational. Space is produced as a palimpsest of an unconscious agenda.

We play the game SimCity fascinated by its ability to replicate the complex interaction of variables in an urban environment. The unexpected and unintended result of the game mirrors the perplexing and incongruent consequences we see rising from a set of directed and intentional actions in cities. It corresponds to our intuitive sense of how cities work. It frustrates our desire for control while not entirely neutralizing our ability to do so. It suggests an alternative to direct instrumental control; an urban system that develops quasi-autonomously. Instrumentality is not lost in SimCity; rather, it is deflected. It creates virtual urban scenarios that waver between order and chaos, control and autonomy, closely matching our contemporary understanding of cities.

SimCity however has a precise limit. With its degree of verisimilitude, we observe the game, we interact with it, we are fascinated by it, but we are not moved by it. Its limit is *form* - or rather its absence. There are consequences but not *material consequences* in the sense that the game does not produce novel and resonant material structures. The permutations are open-ended yet play out within a rigidly circumscribed set of spatial possibilities. This limit suggests that the real nature of cities involves more than the interaction of abstract variables and it points to the deep role of form in cities. This role of form is not generally acknowledged. Indeed, for architects and urbanists, cities today present a paradox: *form*, traditionally a measure of an architect's core expertise, is challenged by the model of urbanism that views cities as emergent eco-systems. This model sees little use for the intentionality of form and considers instead urban growth and transformation as products of collective intelligence, inflected by the marketplace, social practice, and public policies. This model convincingly exposes form's repeated failure to engender urban life. Through this new insight we have come to see city, a noun, more properly as a verb: to city.

With this insight, Jane JACOBS was correct to assert in 'The Death and Life of Great American Cities' that "the city is not a work of art". That assertion, however, is not sufficient given that architecture has had a demonstrable affect on the life, even the conception of city. JACOBS' assertion must be joined to difficult questions about the nature and limits of form, about the persistence of art, about the public experience of art, and about the nature of architecture as an art form.

Art has never been proven to be true, yet we understand its utterances as valid when it registers with a deeper structure of things; foregrounding, as it were, the background noise of existence. More fundamental than the satisfaction of proofs, art constructs a framework which relates the world to individual consciousness. Art isn't useful, it's essential. It is as necessary and constant a feature of human existence as eating and sex, though it stems from the special birthright and burden of self-consciousness.

Architecture is the art form that impinges itself most directly on human affairs and thus has a special relationship to life and to cities. In architecture, art's un-provable truth becomes public infrastructure, reaching its apotheosis in the architecture of cities. While often useless to urbanism, architecture is far from being outmoded; it is urbanism's indispensable dispensable feature. Form has always been the vehicle and the substance with which architecture achieves this. As CHURCHILL noted: "we shape our buildings; thereafter they shape us".

Architecture's continued relevance to urbanism is no longer assured, nor is the future of urbanism as an art form. Non-physical referents have come to define our daily lives. Space is formed independent of aesthetic and cultural intentions and this has altered our sensibilities and our reality. Forces that shape cities and our perception in cities are today more often the intangible webs of information and the dynamic calculations of development than master plans and architectural ensembles. The conventional notion of form as a quality wedded to the shape of objects comes to be viewed as a minor byproduct of larger forces. These changes indicate the eclipse of the primacy of form by the primacy of event.

The paradox is that we have, on one hand, a compelling and valid picture of city as a pulsating, permutating matrix of supra-conscious creation and on the other, urban architecture as a birthright and burden of self-consciousness whose intentionality shapes our core conceptions. But this is not a paradox to resolve, it is a paradox to embrace as the foundation of a new - expanded - conception of form.

American cities no longer provide frank encounters - a necessary foundation for social and cultural maturity - but instead, either entertainment or isolation. The essential humanity of and necessity for space - as a product of creative imagination - has been annulled by a society with an uneasy sense of its own ethical vulnerability. America's oldest metropolitan areas have - hanging over them - the pallor of an immorality of space. No longer considered a naive pleasure, this pallor re-frames suburban expansion as an orchestrated - if unconscious - mechanism of racial subjugation, and a perpetuation - in the landscape - of a psychic adolescence for the white middle and upper class. American space - a term that once evoked an easy, thrilling, unselfconscious impulse - has become pathology.

Zoologists observe, in domesticated animals, phylogenetic change that involves the retention of juvenile characteristics in the adult. This change is called *paedomorphism* and is thought to result when animals are removed from a range of maturing experiences in their environment. An example in humans is the feature we call being *baby-faced*. As the spatial intuition that had fueled America encountered its own ethical and aesthetic limit, it mutated into a caricature of itself. Expansion became escape and avoidance. Analogous to morphologic consequences of animal husbandry, this mutation brought about phylogenetic change to cities, transforming them into *paedomorphic urban landscapes*.

The *paedomorphic landscape* is an environment of avoidance but it is also a mechanism of oppression. The soft, subsidized urbanism of the suburbs and the 'lifestyle' urbanism of gentrification are constructed to contain - and remove from consideration - the undesired elements of difference and the unsightly material consequences of development. Banality and nostalgia - the operating principles of development interests in America today - are opiates that distract from the realization that America's early ideals are undermined by the structured hypocrisy of our cities. This hypocrisy is revealed most graphically in metropolitan patterns distribution - more starkly and completely segregated today than thirty years ago. It is revealed in the absence of occasions for public space not as entertainment but as arenas for

frank encounters. It is revealed in a pattern of urban civil unrest that has punctuated life in American cities since the civil war.

In 'Unknown Quantity', Paul VIRILIO observes that every technology creates its own *accident* as an unstated but unavoidable corollary to its achievements; first as a potential and later as inevitability. We think of accidents as sudden - compressing events into seconds or even a split second. But if we imagine accidents in a new way - as the tacit corollary of technology with material consequences - we can also imagine them unfolding in time across decades. The current morphology of Detroit - the product of decisions and forces of development, industrialization, land planning, and racism - are such an accident.

Accidents produce form and space; not via static objects but through dynamic vectors. They retain an indissoluble link to intentional actions yet freely generate their own unanticipated arrangements. At an urban level they are the most visceral and poetic force in contemporary cities; the art form that hovers between chaos and control. It resonates with our contemporary sense of the structure of space, providing precisely the quality absent in SimCity.

There a strong and disturbing beauty in Detroit that is born of its experience - a density that paradoxically arises out of its dissolution. This beauty should not be ignored nor trivialized; it is a hard-won quality that gives Detroit a depth of character that few American cities match. The irony is that the extreme deterioration of Detroit - as *accident* - may provide a prescient glimpse of a new urban potential.

In contemporary life we glimpse the contours of a radical density in which the mechanisms that isolate the background armature of existence from the foreground structure of life lived, weaken. It is, at its core, an urban potential growing from a new, expanded, sense of *form* as the simultaneous interaction of structure and substance manifested in time. In this new sense *form* is understood as the sum total of the manifestations of *city* - from its material presence to the stochastic processes underpinning and conjoined to that presence. It is this totality that gives it its density. It folds individuals, discrete objects, actions, pasts and presents into a thick roiling mat. It is radical in that it can render perceptible the continuum that links our day to day experiences with the deep horizon of our consciousness. As potential, however, the emergence of this form is not assured and its precise sense is not determined. As always, *imagination* will propel this intuited sense from potential to its specific instantiation and *art* will give it its vital sense.

The social ills and ethical shortcomings of contemporary American cities are real and acute. One can, and should, feel a responsibility to address these problems, working towards a more equitable future. However, independent of one's moral responsibility for direct action is the more general dilemma of imagination. In a large measure, America was the fruit of modern thought and the engine of the modern transformation of the world. The powerful fiction of limitless expansion into the horizon fueled this transformation since the time of Renaissance explorers. That trajectory of the modern world, however, has run out of space. As a consequence, a spatial impulse that was once an act of imagination is now pathology. American cities are no longer the efflorescence of our culture nor are they vital works of art. Their form exists more as medical charts to be diagnosed and accident scenes to be investigated. In Detroit we see an urbanism that is a phrenological landscape of adolescent denial, subjugation, and escape.

Architecture - like urbanism - deals in danger. The removal and suppression of difference, of conditions that require frank encounters with space and with others, deadens our experience

of life. It renders us psychically immature and incompletely formed. Our architecture and urbanism has lost its profundity and we are left with an environment where banality and nostalgia are the only palatable expressions. The broad potential of urban space to be cathartic, equitable, civil, inspiring, liberating, erotic, and terrifying is curtailed by our own reluctance towards frank exposure and our avoidance of the material consequences of our cities. While this is a dilemma for architects, it is a catastrophe for Americans.

In Detroit, we observe an urban structure that has grown to resemble pathology of arrested development - *a paedomorphic landscape* - and, simultaneously, have developed the new urban form of *accident*. This condition should not be denied or ignored as it contains both the end-state and future hope of American cities.

DAS FORTBESTEHEN DER LANDWIRTSCHAFT IN DETROIT

Detroit ist als Autostadt mit den Marken Cadillac, Ford und General Motors weltberühmt. Vielen ist ebenfalls die Vielzahl an Freiflächen in der Innenstadt bekannt. Weniger geläufig ist hingegen die enge Verbundenheit Detroits mit der landwirtschaftlichen Nutzung dieser Flächen im Stadtgebiet. Regina Reichert stellt die über 300jährige Geschichte der Agrarnutzung in Detroit vor.

LAND USE: THE PERSISTENCE OF AGRICULTURE IN THE CITY OF DETROIT

Detroit, the Motor City, is world famous for brands like Cadillac, Ford and General Motors. To many it is also known for the phenomenon of urban blight. Much less common is the knowledge about the close ties between the city and the agricultural use of vacant inner city lots. Regina Reichert presents 300 years of agricultural history in the city of Detroit.

Regina Reichert, *1974, Architektin/ architect, Hamtramck, Michigan,
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LAND USE: THE PERSISTENCE OF AGRICULTURE IN THE CITY OF DETROIT

Regina Reichert

The urban agriculture movement is not a new development in the city of Detroit. Farming has played a critical role in the politics, planning, and progress of the city since the French arrived in the eighteenth century. A reflection of the diverse ethnic groups who now call Detroit home, agriculture has persisted through the economic ebb and flow of the metropolitan area for centuries having a major influence on the history and culture of the city.

The Shape of the City

The American fur trade at the end of the seventeenth century meant power and wealth and French fur traders sought to secure the trade route along the Detroit River. When Fort Pontchartrain was established by the French explorer Cadillac in 1701, he brought farmers and artisans to the settlement in order to illustrate the intentions of the expedition to the Indians and Jesuit priests working in the region. This was not to be another trading post but rather a permanent, self-sufficient colony.¹ Agriculture was used as a political tool to stabilize the fort and lay claim to the land.

As the town inside of the fort grew, farmers were given land outside its walls. These farms and their division of the land established the form of the city itself. The long, thin tracts of land extended back from the riverfront, some for miles, and became known as ‘French ribbon farms.’ Family names like Chene, Brush, Campau, Livernois and Cass labeled these farms as they label the city streets of Detroit today.

A series of historical events in which Detroit played varying roles would soon set off a string of boom and bust cycles marking the city’s development. The European Potato Blight of the 1840’s brought a flood of immigrant labor to the region in search of work. They were “followed by small farmers and agricultural laborers who, at the close of the Civil War, were bankrupted by the flood of American wheat and corn that cascaded into Europe.”² The end of the Civil War also brought freed slaves to Northern cities, including Detroit, which had housed stops along the Underground Railroad and now presented prospects for work in factories and heavy industry. The Panic of 1873 and subsequent Depression halted European migration momentarily but American Railroad expansion, peaking in the 1880’s, and canal construction projects in the Midwest provided job opportunities and new East-West travel routes. By the 1880’s, “in Detroit a third of the 216,000 people were foreign born. A majority of the foreign-born were industrial workers and their families.”³ What started in 1701 as a French fort along the river had developed into a diverse population including Chinese, German, Polish, Swedish, Italian, Latino, and African-by-way-of-the-American-South. These citizens brought with them diverse agricultural practices and in some instances introduced foreign vegetation to the area, such as the Chinese sumac (commonly referred to as the ‘Tree of Heaven’) that continues to flourish in the city.

Idle land

As the population grew, so did the demand for new housing. From 1857- 1892 many of the French family farms were sold for development in large real estate deals. Subdivided and sold at auction, advertisements for new residences and modern houses littered the newspapers as the city expanded outward. But in 1893 another crisis halted the U.S. economy: “The wealthy hoarded their gold. The treasury’s stock of gold fell below the legal minimum. Six hundred banks closed their doors. In July 1893, the Erie Railroad went into bankruptcy, to be followed by 155 other railroads, including the Northern Pacific. One fifth of the total American railroad mileage went into receivership. The effect on Detroit was catastrophic.

One after another, the railroad-equipment manufacturers, the stove works, the shipbuilders- all the heavy industries- either shut down or continued operations with only skeleton crews.”⁴

The Mayor of Detroit at this time, Hazen S. Pingree, was a Progressive reformer who won the 1890 election fighting for the rights of immigrants and laborers. With an estimated 25,000 unemployed workers out of a population of less than 250,000 the city’s social services were quickly exhausted. “Pingree noted that, as a result of real estate speculation in the previous boom, plots of land held for a rise in value were standing idle all over town. He made a public appeal to the owners to permit the use of their properties for vegetable gardens.”⁵ And so was born the Pingree ‘Potato Patch Plan’. The plan was successful enough to get the poor and unemployed through the worst years following the 1893 money crisis and to be admired and duplicated by other cities across the country and in Europe. Pingree saw the immediate needs of the population and acted to put them ahead of idle real estate speculation.

The automobile industry began to take shape at the turn of the century and Detroit once again found itself undergoing explosive growth in both industry and population. By 1910 there were 38 automobile companies registered in the city. In 1914 Henry Ford announced factory wages at \$5 for an eight-hour day and news spread quickly across the country as thousands of workers moved to the metropolitan area. The population rose sharply from 466,000 in 1910 to over 1,720,000 in 1930 due to the dominance of the automobile industry on the nation’s economy and the demand for workers in the new factories.⁶ The instability of Europe surrounding the First World War instigated a new wave of immigrants to the States and many to Detroit due in part to Ford’s recruiting throughout Europe and the Middle East. Ethnic groups grew to include Belgian, English, Finnish, Yugoslavian, Czechoslovakian, Greek, Syrian & Lebanese populations.

In addition to his automotive industry, Henry Ford was also building a vast real estate empire. Having been raised on a farm (although never caring much for the labor involved in being a farmer) Ford valued land. He had a motto: "No unemployment insurance can be compared to an alliance between man and a plot of land." An agriculturist in his own right, Ford championed the “Victory Garden” propaganda administered by the Federal government during World War II when gardening became every family’s civic wartime duty. Just as obsessed with production and efficiency of working the land as he was with labor in his factories, Ford published pamphlets and company newsletters with detailed instructions including lists and diagrams for planting the most practical produce in the most effective configuration.

As the fervor of the war subsided, Detroit began losing its economy and the population followed. Between 1948 and 1967, the city lost nearly 130,000 manufacturing jobs.⁷ Factories within the city limits closed their doors, like the Packard Plant in 1956, the same year that the Federal Highway Act was passed. As the job market in the city plummeted, new roads and suburban housing led the way for white citizens of Detroit to prosper north of the Eight Mile Road border. Entire neighborhoods in the city were razed and residents displaced in the name of ‘urban renewal’ that included interstate highway construction, but these planning projects led to further alienation of the city from the suburbs and the real estate value of property in the city became worthless.

“Much of the land planned for renewal stood vacant for long periods of time. As a result, vacant land became (and continues to be) a pervasive and accepted part of the Detroit inner-city landscape. This land took on various hues and physical characteristics, from bare earth and weeds, to green, rural-like tranquility, to western sagebrush, and to a Detroit specialty,

white wooden fences, which gave vacant blocks in the heart of the city the appearance of Kentucky horse farms.”⁸

Into this landscape, the “Farm-A-Lot” program was introduced in 1974 under Mayor Coleman Young’s administration. Participation was initially targeted to senior citizens and the purpose was to make use of vacant land and improve quality, quantity and availability of fresh vegetables in Detroit citizens’ diets.⁹ Similar to Mayor Pingree’s Potato Patch program, Farm-A-Lot sought to make use of the city’s vacant lots as productive parcels of land and opportunities for the underserved of the community at a time when property was being held for a rise in market value. The Farm-A-Lot program continues today with little enthusiasm or support from the city government while maintaining a waiting list that includes new participants and veterans alike.

Throughout the history of the city, local government has turned to farming when its citizenry was in dire need and then dismissed its importance as simply a provincial digression when the curve reversed itself. The fact remains that Detroit in the twenty-first century is home to a growing number of agriculturists and community organizations geared toward farming. A deep-rooted part of the city’s culture going back over three hundred years, urban agriculture provides an opportunity for the city to turn its volatile history to its advantage instead of burying it beneath the pavement.

Detroit is once again gaining the attention of real estate developers and those who have been waiting for over thirty years to cash in on property holdings. Some see the urban farmer as having given up on the city while many agriculturists see the city government as catering to developers at any cost. Finding value in both building and landscape, reconsidering the relationship between both built space and open space in the city, is necessary if Detroit expects to experience a healthy growth cycle.

¹ Arthur M. Woodford, *This is Detroit: 1701-2001* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2001), 17.

² Robert Conot, *American Odyssey: A Unique History of America Told Through the Life of a Great City* (New York: William Morrow & Company, 1974), 97.

³ *Ibid.*, 98.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 112.

⁵ Don Lochbiler, “The Shoemaker Who Looked Like a King,” *Rearview Mirror: a special to the Detroit News*, 2001.

⁶ Steve Babson, *Working Detroit* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1986), 27.

⁷ Thomas J. Sugrue, *Origins of the Urban Crisis: Race and Inequality in Postwar Detroit* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), 143.

⁸ Arthur M. Woodford, *This is Detroit: 1701-2001* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2001), 169.

⁹ Excerpt from an interview with the former director of Farm-A-Lot.

YARNING DETROIT

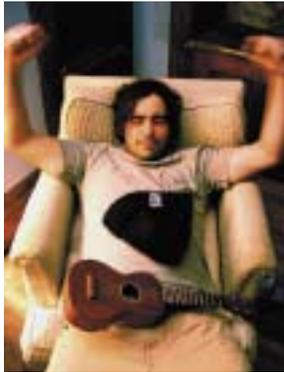
Detroit ist weithin für seine als extrem verarmt und heruntergekommen geltende Innenstadt bekannt – geprägt von Kriminalität, Korruption und Verfall. Trotz dieses negativen Images leben auch hier Menschen friedlich miteinander ein ganz normales Leben. Die in Barcelona lebenden Künstler Aeron Bergman und Alejandra Salinas untersuchen das Leben in Detroit aus dem Blickwinkel dreier Detroiter Bewohner. Die drei Protagonisten wohnen in einem Viertel, in dem gemeinnützige Vereine und Nachbarschaftsklubs sich bemühen, die Stadt wieder sauber und bewohnbar zu machen. *Yarning Detroit* bietet eine persönliche und positive Sichtweise auf die Leben einzelner Bewohner; die Geschichten, die hier erzählt werden vermitteln einen großen Optimismus und zeugen vom Willen der Menschen, die eigenen Lebensträume trotz der teilweise schwierigen Lebensumstände in der Motor City zu verwirklichen. *Yarning Detroit* besteht aus Interviewmitschnitten, handgemalten Schildern, die einer der Protagonisten angefertigt hat und Zeichnungen, die die Künstler auf Grundlage der Interviews, der Schilder und alter Motown Liedtexte angefertigt haben.

YARNING DETROIT

The City of Detroit is known worldwide as the epitome of a neglected, impoverished inner city, where crime, corruption and desolation rule. Despite its negative image, however, this is still a place where people go about their daily business in peace and lead meaningful lives. Barcelona-based artists Aeron Bergman and Alejandra Salinas look at life in Detroit through the eyes of three of these 'ordinary' citizens. The protagonists live in a neighborhood where non-profit organisations and local block clubs are rebuilding and cleaning up the city. *Yarning Detroit* takes a positive, personalised look at the lives of these individuals – presenting stories that provide a sense of optimism and resilience against the harsh realities of the Motor City. *Yarning Detroit* consists of audio-recordings of three interviews, hand-painted signs by one of the protagonists and drawings that take their inspiration from the interviews, the signs and old Motown music lyrics.

Alejandra Salinas, *1977, Künstlerin/ artist, Barcelona, aaland@luckykitchen.com

Aeron Bergman, *1971, Künstler/ artist, Barcelona, aaland@luckykitchen.com



Steve Christensen. A 34 year old law school graduate and Detroit resident. He worked for Habit for Humanity for several years before moving on to another non-profit organisation that helps local residents weatherise their homes for the long, cold Detroit winters. He describes his home, a run down old mansion on Detroit's west side, built for the auto executives of last century.

“I was born in the city of Detroit, but my parents, they left. They left with the white flight of the late ‘70s and... didn’t turn back. Well, my dad worked in Detroit. He always loved Detroit, but he didn’t want to live here. But I chose to make Detroit my home. Lord knows there’s plenty of work to be done. But there’s plenty of people willing to do the work. A lot of people were real racist towards Coleman Young (ex mayor of Detroit) and said that he’d screwed up the city. But they didn’t look at the other reasons why the city was screwed up. One thing’s for certain, its not an easy city to live in.

And this house where I live was built in 1890, so it’s 110 years old. It’s a 3 story house. At one time it was a boarding house. There’s a Commonwealth Street address for this building. And then there’s a Willis Street address. The Willis Street address was a fruit seller. And a shoe repair guy, a cobbler had a business down underneath, but now its just a regular old basement. And in the mid 60’s or early 70’s it was a big ol’ heroin place. There was a drug dealer that lived here for years and years and years... And when he finally got caught and got sent to jail he ripped out all the leaded stained glass and sold it to pay for his legal fees. So that is why there’s no leaded stained glass in this house. So you are walking through our little foyer here. kitchen... This is the back stairway. Beautiful house, it’s all wood trim and... I think... I’m pretty sure it’s haunted. For some reason I don’t think my room’s haunted, but the middle room is definitely haunted. I think. I get that feeling. A lot of crazy stuff went on in this house especially back when the drug dealer lived here.”



Tanya Henderson. A 27 year old single mother. She and her son Anthony are recent homeowners as part of a Habitat for Humanity redevelopment zone in a struggling neighborhood on Detroit's west side. In the interview, she describes the neighborhood when she was growing up compared to the present.

“I grew up in this neighborhood. Just two blocks over on 25th. I was born and raised here. My mother and father came here from the south. There was a lot of houses occupying these vacant lots. There was a lot of elderly people in the neighborhood, there was a lot of kids. We rarely had places to play, but it was safe. We always had a title for grown-ups name. Mr. Washington what can you do? I remember the elderly people being very friendly. If we knocked on their door and said would you like something from the store, they were eager for us to come in. And then as time went past a lot of the drug activities moved into the neighborhood trust from the elderly people went down, they wouldn't even come out. I have seen the neighborhood go from good, worse, to getting a little bit better. So, I'm really looking forward to the neighborhood becoming what its supposed to be, not what it used to be. But I'm so comfortable here the way things are. I have a bell. Here it's only one. But if you ring my first bell from the front. I can know who's ringing the door bell from the back. Let me go try this. (Bell sound). As we walk through here I have my dining room and my living room adjacent together, which is fine. Our eating privileges are here, and relaxing... This is my linen closet. I have a bonus room which I call the computer room. But if I have my son do his homework he's fine here. I have a phone jack here. Which is great. This is my son's room. Step in here. He chose this because he liked to look out the window. Now he can actually look and see what the weather is gonna be like. He knows exactly what to put on. Whether it's raining or snowing.”



Carl McGruder. A 74 year old retired sign painter living in a refurbished Habitat for Humanity home on Detroit's east side. Although he talks about struggling with racism growing up as a kid and struggling with urban blight as an adult, he is positive that things are better than ever. His trade was hand painting signs for local businesses.

“I was born in Detroit. In that area, McDougal, Cheyne, in that area. I don't know if you have ever heard of Joe Lewis? (The boxer). He used to live down the street from me on McDougal. He was one of the most important persons in our lives, yea he was. Well... coming up as a kid myself. It changed a whole lot for the kids now... by being black. Black people had a rough time here 'cause it was oppressive. Why? I don't know. I couldn't understand it. (Bell rings). Be right there! It's not like it used to be. It's almost against the law now. I opened the door up for a lot of kids, I think, black kids today by going ahead and accepting, to a certain extent... And not to get angry, not to get frustrated and not just to go ape. I just took what I had to take... and went ahead on. Because if the black man didn't take a lot of that crap there wouldn't be enough of us here today. When I moved to this neighborhood it was bad. You heard about dope, crack, cocaine? They had crack houses all down the street. Prostitution... right in the neighborhood. Aw man, it was really a mess. We just wanted to know how to get rid of it. The only way we could get rid of it was to come together. That's when I formed the Block Club. Together people can do it. The way we would do it, we had a list of everybody in the Block Club, their name and telephone number. We have a bad house down the street, kids coming in and out of it, acting crazy, smoking them old crazy, crazy, those crazy cigarettes, we need something done. We got everybody behind it calling; we busted that dog-gone place so quick, ha. I've been threatened on that corner. But I didn't let that bother me. Because if it happens it happens. But I'm going to do what I have to do. Now, I just felt so relieved. I just felt good. I wanted everybody to be happy because I was happy. I wanted to see a smile on other people's faces. Because man... I got out there and started helping others. I would do this, I would do that. I started building little white picket fences. Then my neighbor saw it. I built them a fence across the street. You bet. People all down in the garage helping me put stuff together, nailing, putting stuff together and ... it just turned out to be swell.”

THROW-AWAY CITIES

Cities are different from nature, where nothing is throw-away. The city is the opposite. The point of the city is to be disposable.

EINWEG-STÄDTE

Städte sind anders als die Natur, in der nichts zum Wegwerfen gedacht ist. Die Stadt ist sogar das genaue Gegenteil. Der Sinn einer Stadt ist, dass sie wegwerfbar, verfügbar ist.

Jerry Herron, *1949, Director of American studies, Wayne State University, Detroit

THROW-AWAY CITIES

Jerry Herron

I live in a throw-away city, the most thrown-away city that humans have ever built. But this is beside the point. The point is that throw-away is the telic destination toward which all cities are headed. And this is what makes cities different from nature, where nothing is throw-away, or at least where nothing ever, finally, gets thrown away. Within that ecological regime, everything is always already still here, matter never being either created or erased. The city is the opposite. The point of the city is to be disposable, to put itself at the disposal of things and events and people that are desirable precisely because they won't last. Because they will be thrown away, and because everybody knows this from the start, regardless of what contrary proposition they pretend to believe. The only difference, then, between other people's cities and ours — between historic cities and the “generic” city apparatus (after Koolhaas) that Americans disseminate globally — is that their cities are either more or less botched imitations of the throw-away logic that reaches perfection in ours, with there being no more perfect example of throw-away than Detroit, which has been thrown away by more people than any other city on planet earth.

Here's what I mean. Historically speaking, the only reason for coming to a city, and similarly the only reason for remaining in a city, or building a new city, is to be able to throw away things from the past you didn't want to keep around, including the city itself. (The Brasilia Effect, it might be called.) That's the deep truth in the old Hanseatic maxim, about city air making people free. It's true. The city does free people, potentially at least, from anything related to the past, and in that way it remains the only real alternative to the dismal (and often deadly) re-cyclings of nature. Think about great novelists of the city: Balzac, Zola, Dreiser. The thing that gives the city its erotic charge, making it crucially different from the country, is the calculated impermanence of everything there, so that identity (including the identity of the city itself) is moment by moment being renegotiated, discarded, thrown away, on behalf of whatever it is that will come next. And that's the profit of the city, both real and metaphoric: it disposes of things so effectively that people come to rely on disposability itself as the only believable, and believably renewable, stay against impermanence and chaos.

“Historic” cities — Paris, London, Prague, Berlin — only look different. They really aren't different from ours, not if the truth were told. Baron Haussman disposed of Paris (just as Corbusier wanted to do a century later), and by disposing of the past, ended up creating the metropolis that people now naively think of as the evolved epitome of city life itself when the only thing that really evolves is the equipment for getting rid of the past. Which is to say that the power of things that are old-streets, neighborhoods, houses, public buildings does not reside in the things themselves (an obvious point, if constantly overlooked) but in the minds of people who transact the city as discourse, sentiment, nostalgias of various kinds. The reason we say we like the past is that such statements make us feel better about erasing the equipment that created it, which again is why people bother with cities, which are the only alternative we have to the inescapable past of nature, and the natural wasting that overtakes us all individually. Death, I mean. We enjoy throwing other things away because it gives us a feeling of being in control, because it protects us from the truth that we too are throw-away, and we can't help it.

The history of the city is a history of forgetting how to remember the past, the past of nature, of the city itself. That's a different project entirely from simple forgetfulness. It implies intention, design, a strategic dismantling of the equipment required to preserve the past as a way of seeing. That's what throw-away means; it's no accident, but a positive plan. And this

plan is distinctive to each city, and unique, and the opposite of the generic sameness toward which everything new is tending. All cities are alike in their future; they are likewise headed toward the generic vanishing point of throwaway sameness. What makes each one distinctive is the precise mechanisms by which it reaches that telic destination. Here, no two are alike. What sitespecific engines of demolition arise at each location? Racism, freeways, a war, reconstruction, natural disaster, politicians, Henry Ford? That is where the real history of the city is being written: by the vernacular forgetting machines that render the past natively unrememberable. Not the fact that it's all about throw-away, but the means by which the throwing away gets done. That's what makes city people free.

WORKING PAPERS

I IVANOVO	I.1 Studien / Studies 1 (rus/dt) I.2 Studien / Studies 2 I.3 Ausstellungsbeiträge / Exhibition Contributions
II MANCHESTER / LIVERPOOL	II.1 Studien / Studies 1 II.2 Studien / Studies 2 II.3 Ausstellungsbeiträge / Exhibition Contributions
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VII VERMISCHTES / MISCELLANEOUS	

Im Frühjahr 2006 erscheint außerdem *Shrinking Cities: Complete Works 2, Interventionen/Interventions*, die die zweite Phase des Projekts dokumentieren.

Shrinking Cities: Complete Works 2, Interventionen/Interventions, a documentation of the second phase of the project, will be published in spring 2006.

Editorische Notiz/Editorial note

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