Shrinking Cities

Volume 2 ▸ Interventions

HATJE CANTZ

Shrinking Cities

Volume 2 ▸ Interventions

Edited by Philipp Oswalt for the Kulturstiftung des Bundes
with the editorial assistance of Elke Beyer, Anke Hagemann, and Anita Kaspar,
with Füsun Türetken, Kristina Herresthal, Alexandra Hoorn, and Lena Feldhahn

Shrinking Cities is a project of the Kulturstiftung des Bundes (German Federal Cultural Foundation) in cooperation with the Project Office Philipp Oswalt, the Museum of Contemporary Art Leipzig, the Bauhaus Dessau Foundation, and the magazine *archplus.*

KULTURSTIFTUNG DES BUNDES

HATJE CANTZ

COLOPHON

Shrinking Cities, Volume 2 ▸ Interventions
Volume 1 ▸ International Research (ISBN-10 3-7757-1682-3, ISBN-13 978-3-7757-1682-6)

The German edition of this book was published in conjunction with the exhibition "Shrinking Cities—Interventions," Galerie für Zeitgenössische Kunst Leipzig, November 26, 2005–January 29, 2006. This English edition is published in conjunction with the exhibition "Shrinking Cities," planned for the following venues: 10th International Architecture Exhibition, Venice, September 10–November 19, 2006; University of Tokyo, with AkiDeCo Museum, Tokyo, Fall 2006; Pratt Manhattan Gallery and Van Alen Institute, New York, November 2006–January 2007; Cranbrook Art Museum, Bloomfield Hills, Mich., and Museum of Contemporary Art Detroit (MOCAD), February–March 2007; Afoundation, Liverpool, Summer 2007; E-Werk, Saarbrücken, Germany, Fall 2007; Deutsches Architekturmuseum in Frankfurt (DAM), Frankfurt am Main, November 2007–January 2008; Pro Arte Institute, with State Museum of History, St. Petersburg, Spring 2008 (exhibition schedule as of May 2006).

Editor and concept: Philipp Oswalt; *Editorial team:* Philipp Oswalt, Elke Beyer ("Reorganizing" and "Imagining" chapters), Anke Hagemann ("Reevaluating" and "Reorganizing" chapters), and Anita Kaspar ("Deconstructing" chapter), with Füsun Türetken, Kristina Herresthal, Alexandra Hoorn, and Lena Feldhahn; *Translations:* Brian Currid ("Deconstructing" chapter), Jill Denton ("Deconstructing" and "Imagining" chapters), Nancy Joyce ("Survival Handbook"), Steven Lindberg (Introductory texts and "Reevaluating" chapter), Christina M. White ("Reorganizing" chapter); *Copyediting (German edition):* Miriam Wiesel, with Stefanie Oswalt; *Copyediting (English edition):* Ginger A. Diekmann and Niamh Warde; *Proofreading:* Niamh Warde, Greg Bond, and Rebecca van Dyck; *Production management (English edition):* Elke Beyer and Anita Kaspar; *Managing director:* Florian Bolenius (until February 2006), Karin Johnson (starting February 2006); *Graphic design:* Stephan Müller and Tanja Wesse; *Illustrations:* Tina Berning ("Deconstructing" chapter), Felice Bruno ("Imagining" chapter), Tom(as) Frey ("Reorganizing" chapter), and Maria Tackmann ("Reevaluating" chapter); *Reproductions:* Dr. Cantz'sche Druckerei, Ostfildern, and Licht & Tiefe, Berlin; *Binding:* Nething Buchbinderei GmbH & Co. KG, Weilheim/Teck; *Production and printing:* Dr. Cantz'sche Druckerei, Ostfildern; *Cover illustration:* Jacques Magiera

© 2006 Philipp Oswalt; authors, photographers, artists, and their heirs
© 2006 for the reproduced works by John Heartfield, Lucien Kroll, Les Levine, Gordon Matta-Clark, Robert Smithson, and Frank Lloyd Wright: VG Bild-Kunst, Bonn

Published by Hatje Cantz Verlag, Zeppelinstrasse 32, 73760 Ostfildern, Germany, Phone: +49 711 4405-0, Fax: +49 711 4405-220, www.hatjecantz.com

Hatje Cantz books are available internationally at selected bookstores and from the following distribution partners: USA/North America – D.A.P., Distributed Art Publishers, New York, www.artbook.com; UK – Art Books International, London, www.art-bks.com; Australia – Tower Books, Frenchs Forest (Sydney), www.towerbooks.com.au; France – Interart, Paris, www.interart.fr; Belgium – Exhibitions International, Leuven, www.exhibitionsinternational.be; Switzerland – Scheidegger, Affoltern am Albis, www.ava.ch. For Asia, Japan, South America, and Africa, as well as for general questions, please contact Hatje Cantz directly at sales@hatjecantz.de, or visit our homepage at www.hatjecantz.com for further information.

ISBN-10 3-7757-1711-0
ISBN-13 978-3-7757-1711-3
Printed in Germany

Table of Contents

Project Participants, Acknowledgments 10
Foreword | *Hortensia Völckers and Alexander Farenholtz* 11
Introduction | *Philipp Oswalt* 13
Governmentalizing Planning | *Nikolaus Kuhnert and Anh-Linh Ngo* 19
Without a Model: Experimental Urbanism | *Friedrich von Borries and Walter Prigge* 25
Truth Discourses | *Barbara Steiner* 31
Commissioned Contributions to the Exhibition 36
Project Publications 40
Notes on Contributors 42
Illustration Credits 45

DECONSTRUCTING 48

Demolition City 50
Planned Destruction | *Anthony Fontenot* 52
Demolition and Urban Development: A Historical Sketch | *Gerd Albers* 62
La Défense | *OMA* 68
Leinefelde: Orderly Retreat | *Ulrike Steglich* 70
Dismantling Infrastructure | *Matthias Koziol* 76
Decamping Detroit | *Charles Waldheim and Marilí Santos-Munné* 80
Gordon Matta-Clark | *Dan Graham* 86
Demolitions: Opening Interior Gardens | *Lara Almárcegui* 98
The Background Muzak of an Epochal Change | *Tina Veihelmann* 99
Palast der Republik: Re-deconstruction | *Eric Tschaikner* 106
The Solution: Vibach in 2042 | *Johannes Touché* 108
Cretto | *Alberto Burri* 110

Evolutionary City 112
Robert Smithson and the Architecture of Absence | *Kai Vöckler* 114
Continuous Conveyor Belt City | *Superstudio* 131
Structures of Possibility | *Pierre Huyghe* 132
Specific Indeterminacy: Witznitz Briquette Factory | *Florian Beigel Architects* 136

Feral City 142
Naturally Determined Urban Development? | *Jörg Dettmar* 144
Duisburg-Nord Landscape Park | *Latz + Partner* 151
Urban Agriculture | *Holger Lauinger* 156
Tilbury Park | *muf architecture/art* 165
Apple Tree Court: An Urban Oasis | *Anthony Milroy et al.* 168
COW—the udder way | *Ulrike Steven et al.* 169
Grow! | *anschlaege.de* 174

Contraction City 178
The Compact City: A Model for Eastern German Cities? | *Markus Hesse* 180

Remaking Barnsley | *Alsop Architects* 184
Bradford City Centre Masterplan | *Alsop Architects* 185
Oswald Mathias Ungers's Urban Archipelago for Shrinking Berlin | *Jasper Cepl* 187
Russian Disurbanism | *Christiane Post and Philipp Oswalt* 196
Fiber City, Tokyo | *Ohno Laboratory* 204

Depleted City 212
The Shrinking and Perforated City | *Marta Doehler-Behzadi* 214
Chemnitz-Brühl | *Matthias Grünzig* 218
Core & Plasma | *L21* 220
Wall It Up. And Take a Breath. | *Peter Arlt and letzelfreivogel architekten* 222
The Suburbanization of Inner Cities | *Walter Prigge* 225
Gas Station Urbanism, or What's Left of the City | *Orange Edge* 232
On-Demand Infrastructure for Shrinking Regions | *Florian Böhm* 235
Tourism in a Luxury of Void | *Michael Zinganel* 244
[Inverse] Seasonal City | *Hans-H. Albers, Michael Hieslmair, Maruša Sagadin, and Michael Zinganel* 250
Cities in an Aging Society | *Matthias Grünzig* 257
Us Old Folk | *L21* 260

Polarized Regional City 268
MetroSachs | *Friedrich von Borries and Walter Prigge* 270
The Last Bastion | *Bart Lootsma* 276
Territorial Retreat | *Hans-Joachim Bürkner* 282
Emscher Park International Building Exhibition | *Arnold Voß* 293
Schkreutz City Map: 1st Edition | *SMAQ* 301
Bitterfeld: A Translocal Region | *Urbanista* 306
Hollocore | *AMO* 308
The City Turned into a Region | *Robert Kaltenbrunner* 310
The Upper Calder Valley | *John Thompson & Partners et al.* 322
However Unspectacular: The New Suburbanism | *Interboro and CUP* 324
Strategic Planning | *Manfred Kühn* 330

—
—

REEVALUATING 336

Temporary City 338
Vacant Lots as Incubators? | *Klaus Overmeyer* 340
Building Guards | *HausHalten e.V.* 344
Community Gardens on Josephstraße | *Lindenauer Stadtteilverein e.V.* 344
Dietzenbach: Definitively Unfinished | *Projektgruppe Stadt 2030* 348
Sportification | *complizen Planungsbüro* 350
Utilization of Vacant Space in Dessau-West | *Anonymous users* 354
What Is Art Up To in Disused Buildings? | *Elske Rosenfeld* 355
FURTHER Up in the Air | *Leo Fitzmaurice and Neville Gabie* 362
Theater as Urban Intervention | *Andreas Hillger* 366

Pioneer City 372
Space Pioneers | *Bastian Lange and Ulf Matthiesen* 374
These Start-Up Times: How Dessau Organizes Vacant Spaces of the Future | *Ulrike Steglich* 384
Alternative Investment in Shrinking Cities | *Birgit Schmidt* 386
Alternative Investment: International Models 392
Leipzig-Plagwitz: The Dark Land Behind the Marsh | *Kathleen Liebold and Heidi Stecker* 394
Struggling with the Creative Class | *Jamie Peck* 401
Werkleitz Gesellschaft e.V. 407
Chinati Foundation | *Donald Judd* 408
Los Topos | *Club Real and Peanutz-Architekten* 412
The Settlers … In the Boondocks | *Claus Strigel* 417
Go East: On the Wild-West Rhetoric of Shrinking City Projects | *Anke Hagemann* 421

Reinterpreted City 426
Forty Years of Heterodoxy | *Juan Herreros* 428
Potteries Thinkbelt | *Cedric Price* 431
Against Necrophilia | *Stephen Mullin* 436
Bat Hat: Redesign of Battersea Power Station | *Cedric Price* 438
"Urban Renewal": Not Just Demolition | *Wolfgang Kil* 439
WiMBY! (Welcome into My Backyard!) IBE Rotterdam-Hoogvliet | *Crimson* 445
Battle of Matériel with No Winners | *Claudia Wahjudi* 454
Door Recycling | *Raumlabor et al.* 456
Automatenbar | *Automaten e.V.* 460
Recycling Projects | *Dan Peterman* 462

—
—

REORGANIZING 464

Do-It-Yourself City 466
Urban Self-Organization | *A Conversation with Marjetica Potrč* 468
Adamah | *Kyong Park/iCUE et al.* 474
Catherine Ferguson Academy | *G. Asenath Andrews et al.* 476
The Activating State | *Thomas Knorr-Siedow* 479
Can Social Capital Save Shrinking Cities? | *Christine Hannemann* 484
Contemporary Activist Art | *Stella Rollig* 489
Social Change, Self-Empowerment, and Imagination | *A Conversation with Irene Bude, XPONA, Anke Haarmann, Kristina Leko, Tadej Pogacar, and Isa Rosenberger* 499
The World Economic Crisis, Subsistence Economics, and Modern Urban Planning | *Markus Kilian* 503
The Buffalo Is Dead | *A Conversation with Frithjof Bergmann* 513
Out of Work, Into Reality! | *bankleer* 515
workstation | *WochenKlausur and ideenwerkstatt berlin e.V.* 518
Opera of the Unemployed | *Robert Linke and Hans-Joachim Schulze* 521

Strong City 524
In Times of Crisis – Back to the Cities | *A Conversation between Marta Doehler-Behzadi, Dieter Hoffmann-Axthelm, Stephan Lanz, Engelbert Lütke Daldrup, and Philipp Oswalt* 526
Wolfen: The Cost of Silence | *Tina Veihelmann* 534
The Experiment of Red Vienna, 1919–1934 | *Rudolf Kohoutek* 540
From Managerialism to Entrepreneurialism | *David Harvey* 547
The Urban Task Force and Its Urban Renaissance | *Anna Minton* 555
Rethinking Local Specificity and Community | *Ash Amin* 559

Commodified City 568
Communalization of Property? | *Holger Lauinger* 570
Reality Properties: Fake Estates | *Gordon Matta-Clark* 572
Acquisition of the Property at the Corner of Tibusstraße and Breul | *Maria Eichhorn* 576
Opening Empty Lots to the Public | *Lara Almárcegui* 580
Claiming Land | *Stefanie Bremer et al.* 581
Loans for Shrinking Regions | *Rolf Novy-Huy* 587
Fictitious Values, Imaginary Markets | *Matthias Bernt* 592
Collateral in Hand, Treuhand, and the Invisible Hand | *Andreas Siekmann* 597

Emerging City 600
Hoang's Bistro | *Christoph Schäfer* 602
Urban Transformation as Unintended Side Effect | *Robert Fishman* 608
Shrinkage and Immigration | *Franz-Josef Kemper and Olaf Schnur* 615
To Play with Shrinking – and Shrink Playfully? | *Friedrich von Borries* 622

Exceptional City 628
Exterritories | *fiedler.tornquist* 630
Recruitment of Settlers in the History of Prussia | *Carsten Benke* 638
Non-plan | *Reyner Banham, Paul Barker, Peter Hall, and Cedric Price* 644
Enterprise Zones in the United Kingdom | *Klaus Zehner* 649
Special Economic Zones in Poland | *Uwe Rada* 655
Special Tax Zones as a Fatal Strategy | *Corell Wex* 658
Special Social Welfare Zone Forst | *Jesko Fezer, Stephan Lanz, and Uwe Rada* 661
Temporary Autonomous Zone | *Hakim Bey* 669
Dresden's Colorful Republic of Neustadt | *Residents and other stakeholders* 670

—
—

IMAGINING 672

Communicating City 674
On the Crisis of Urban Public Life | *Jörg Dürrschmidt* 676
Le Week-End | *D. Gregor Mirwa et al.* 683
A Monument for the Women's Center | *Isa Rosenberger* 686
Conflict as Productive Potential | *Nina Möntmann* 689

[murmur] | *Gabe Sawhney, James Roussel, and Shawn Micallef* 695
Immaginare Corviale | *Osservatorio Nomade/Stalker* 696
Tenantspin (Superchannel) | Superflex 698
Karlskrona2 (Supercity) | *Superflex* 701
Blinkenlights | *Chaos Computer Club* 704
Walk the City, Flex Your Mind | *Gregor Harbusch* 706
Love at Leisure. Help Me Stranger. Roundabout. | *e-Xplo* 708
Rainwater Retention Tanks on Land Awaiting Development – A City Walk | *Boris Sieverts* 714
Communication with the Ones Who Left | *Mirjam Struppek* 717

Marketing City 722
City Marketing: Origin and Critique | *Stephen V. Ward* 724
Promoting Detroit | *William J. V. Neill* 730
De-TRO-it | *Ursula Faix, Anders Melsom, and Kathrine Nyhus* 736
The Pott's Boiling | *Springer & Jacoby* 738
Leipzig Freedom | *Orange Cross* 742
The Guggenheim Effect | *Lorenzo Vicario and Pedro Manuel Martínez Monje* 744
Architecture as Branding | *A Conversation with Will Alsop* 753
Twenty-First-Century Homesteading: New Attempts to Resettle the American Frontier | *Kate Stohr* 759
Flagship Developments | *Various Architects* 766

Profiled City 770
The Urban Self | *Anke Haarmann* 772
The Secret of L.E. | *Anke Haarmann with Irene Bude* 776
The National Museum of Statistics | *Eva Grubbauer, Martin Luce, Joost Meuwissen, and Johannes Weisser* 778
International Building Exhibition "Urban Redevelopment Saxony-Anhalt 2010" 784
Urban Identities | *Ulf Matthiesen* 787
The City Must Be Invented | *Regina Bittner* 793
Urban Blindness | *Ruedi Baur* 797
The Railway Underpass at Tourcoing | *Intégral Ruedi Baur et associés* 801
A Regional Image for Südraum Leipzig | *Unverzagt und Albrecht* 802

Imaginary City 804
To the Sisters of Carl Möglin | *Wiebke Loeper* 806
The Battle of Orgreave | *Jeremy Deller* 812
Making Museums of Industrial Heritage Sites | *Susanne Hauser* 816
The Power of Desire | *Stephan Lanz* 823
The Square of Permanent Reorganization | *Andreas Siekmann* 826

—
—

S U R V I V A L H A N D B O O K
with Perspectives on "Human Capital"
Authors collective, led by Wolfgang Engler

PROJECT PARTICIPANTS

Shrinking Cities is a project initiated by the Kulturstiftung des Bundes (German Federal Cultural Foundation) in cooperation with the Project Office Philipp Oswalt, the Galerie für Zeitgenössische Kunst Leipzig (Museum of Contemporary Art Leipzig), the Bauhaus Dessau Foundation, and *archplus* magazine.

Chief curator: Philipp Oswalt (architect/writer, Berlin)

Curatorial team: Nikolaus Kuhnert (*archplus* magazine, Berlin), Walter Prigge (Bauhaus Dessau Foundation), Barbara Steiner (Galerie für Zeitgenössische Kunst Leipzig)

Collaborators of project participants for the second project phase: Project Office Philipp Oswalt, Berlin—*managing director:* Florian Bolenius (until February 2006), Karin Johnson (starting February 2006); *research associates:* Elke Beyer, Anke Hagemann, Anita Kaspar, Kristina Herresthal, Alexandra Hoorn, and Füsun Türetken; *interns:* Lena Feldhahn and Sebastian Juhnke; *sponsoring:* Nicole Minten; *public relations:* Astrid Herbold (until mid-2005), Achim Klapp (starting mid-2005); *volume copyeditors:* Ginger A. Diekmann and Niamh Warde (English edition), Miriam Wiesel with Stefanie Oswalt (German edition); *Web site:* e27, Berlin; *EDP system administration:* united-data.net/Johann Dinges; *tax consultancy and accounting:* Eckhard Stranghöner with Regina Marks; Galerie für Zeitgenössische Kunst Leipzig—*exhibition and project coordination:* Kathleen Liebold; *press and publicity:* Heidi Stecker; *accounting:* Gisela Pataki; *interns:* Stefan Höhne and Stefan Pedersen; Bauhaus Dessau Foundation—*research associate/project coordination:* Friedrich von Borries; *intern:* Tobias Kurtz; *finances:* Manuela Falkenberg; *archplus* magazine—*research associates/project coordination:* Gregor Harbusch, Kristina Herresthal, Anh-Linh Ngo, and Susanne Schindler; *jury for the competition:* Azra Aksamija, Ruedi Baur, Regina Bittner, Anne Lacaton, Georg Schöllhammer; *preliminary selection for the competition:* Mitch Cope, Anke Hagemann, Sabine Kraft, Philipp Misselwitz, Sergei Sitar, Schirin Taraz-Breinholt, Jan Wenzel; *management:* Sabine Kraft

Expert advisors: Christine Hannemann (sociologist, Humboldt-Universität, Berlin), Wolfgang Kil (architecture critic, Berlin), Ulf Matthiesen (city and regional researcher, Institut für Regionalentwicklung und Strukturplanung, Erkner)

Exhibition design: Rasmus Koch and Jakob Trägårdh, Copenhagen

Graphic design (corporate design, publications): Stephan Müller and Tanja Wesse, Berlin

Collaborating institutions (as of January 2006) for entire project: Bildungswerk Weiterdenken in der Heinrich-Böll-Stiftung e.V., Dresden; Goethe-Institut, London; Kulturamt Leipzig; Sächsische Aufbaubank – Förderbank, Dresden; Internationales Leipziger Festival für Dokumentar- und Animationsfilm; Cineding Leipzig, Cinemathèque Leipzig, Kinobar Prager Frühling Leipzig, Passage Kinos Leipzig, Schaubühne Lindenfels, UT Connewitz e.V.; *for individual works:* Agentur für Arbeit Halle/Saale; Aus- und Weiterbildungsstätte "Arbeit und Leben" Schkopau; AWO Stadtverband Leuna e.V.; Soziales Dienstleistungszentrum Merseburg; Berliner Journalisten-Schule; Bunter Laden Leipzig; Frauenkommunikationszentrum Wolfen; Internationale Sommerschule Halle; Metal Culture, Liverpool; RAUM—Zeitgenössische Kunst und Philosophie, Wismar; St. Gabriel's Church, Liverpool; Stadtplanungsamt Halle/Saale; Stadtplanungsamt Magdeburg; Stiftung Trias, Bochum; Verein der Freunde der Staßfurter Rundfunk- und Fernsehtechnik e.V.; Westcott Farm, Devon, Great Britain

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

We would like to thank the Kulturstiftung des Bundes, above all Hortensia Völckers and Alexander Farenholtz, Uta Schnell, Fokke Peters, and Friederike Tappe-Hornbostel, who were always there with advice, ideas, and specific assistance. Important advice and support were provided by, among others, Omar Akbar, Harald Bodenschatz, the Inura Network, Stefanie Oswalt, Kyong Park, Andreas Ruby, and the Galerie Barbara Weiss. We also would like to thank Francesco Careri, Robert Jessop, Kieran Long, Gregor Mirwa, Toni Moceri, and Axel Sowa.

We are grateful to Hatje Cantz Publishers and its staff, especially Annette Kulenkampff and Christine Müller, for their helpful collaboration.

We are indebted to all those who actively participated, without whom this project never could have been realized.

We are grateful to the exhibition installation, education, and visitor services teams of the Galerie für Zeitgenössische Kunst Leipzig for providing the first exhibition venue in autumn 2005.

In addition to the funding received from the Kulturstiftung des Bundes, individual authors participating in the project were supported by the Royal Netherlands Embassy in Berlin; the Embassy of the Republic of Slovenia in Berlin; the British Council, Berlin; the Office of the Federal Chancellor of Austria, Department of Culture, in Vienna; the Danish Arts Council – Committee for International Visual Art, Copenhagen; the Austrian Embassy in Berlin – Kulturforum, Berlin; Eternit AG, Berlin; Mitteldeutscher Rundfunk, Magdeburg; Norddeutsche Landesbank NORD/LB, Magdeburg; Stadtplanungsamt Magdeburg; TechniSat Digital GmbH, Staßfurt; Wohnungsbaugesellschaft Magdeburg.

The exhibition was also supported by the IKEA Stiftung, MDR FIGARO – Das Kulturradio des Mitteldeutschen Rundfunks, and Ströer Deutsche Städte Medien GmbH, Dresden.

FOREWORD

The shrinking of cities is found in all areas of urban life. The consequences reach far beyond economic fault lines, fundamentally transforming the cultural and social structure of a city. On the basis of four urban regions in the United States, Russia, Great Britain, and Germany, the first exhibition and the accompanying book offered an informed and lucid survey of the international dimension of this development. The scope of what has been transformed for residents in their cities—reductions in schools and kindergartens, cutbacks in public transportation systems, new unutilized spaces and empty factories in neighborhoods, changes to the tempo of the city, and the attitude to life of those "left behind," to name just a few—were demonstrated impressively.

The first part of this project met with great public interest and a broad resonance in the national and international press, and that was because the situation it treated was neither minimized nor smoothed over. The exhibition and book heightened public awareness of the cultural dimension of shrinking cities and drew attention to the fact that shrinking cities are not a special case of urban development in, say, the former East Germany.

When taking stock in this way, it is all the more urgent to ask what opportunities for cultural innovation and what possibilities for creativity are opened up when we abandon the hope that the process of shrinkage is a short-term problem to be addressed through economic growth.

In dealing with shrinking cities, the disciplines of urban development, urban planning, and architecture, which traditionally have been guided by ideas for managing growth, reach their limits. For that reason, the second part of the project—the exhibition and this book—is rigorously focused on ideas, productive and debatable approaches, and even visions of how to approach shrinking cities. In addition to traditional urban development measures, we must test and explore possibilities for social, cultural, and communicative interventions. The restructuring of cities should be understood as an opportunity.

It would be unrealistic to expect that the concepts and ideas that you will read about here can provide simple recipes that can be employed directly to immediate effect. We see their significance rather as a way of playing through options and models, sometimes even with a utopian gesture, so that new aspects and images can be introduced to our notion of urban life. The point is to show that there is, and must be, a whole spectrum of possibilities for action.

The spectrum of views represented in this project is especially broad. It extends, for example, from portraits of specific people who have discovered individual ways to come to terms with shrinking opportunities to work and consume in their city, as a way of social survival that preserves self-respect and the practice of being responsible for oneself (the "Survival Handbook" by Wolfgang Engler et al.), all the way to a scenario—which sounds bizarre only at first—for a Chinese special economic zone for the region of Halle/Leipzig ("Exterritories" by Johannes Fiedler and Jördis Tornquist). This notion aims at a fundamentally new understanding of design and planning: rather than establishing and planning results, it aims to design and explore other sets of rules in which the outcomes are not determined in advance.

What we thus have before us is a kaleidoscope of ideas presenting possibilities for approaching shrinkage that range from individual, everyday strategies in shrinking cities to top-down political and social conditions and critiques thereof. Taken together, they transform our traditional idea of urbanism and can lead to a long-term rethinking that will affect both individual and social action. Cities will not be reconstructed until there is a reconstruction in our heads.

With the project Shrinking Cities the Kulturstiftung des Bundes (German Federal Cultural Foundation) entered terrain where the question of the scope of cultural production and intervention is a self-critical element of the project. We see the continual resurveying of this terrain as an important task and challenge for the future.

We would like to thank the chief curator, Philipp Oswalt, and his team as well as co-curators Nikolaus Kuhnert (*archplus* magazine, Berlin), Walter Prigge (Bauhaus Dessau Foundation), and Barbara Steiner (Museum of Contemporary Art Leipzig) for their outstanding work. Christine Hannemann (sociologist, Humboldt-Universität, Berlin), Wolfgang Kil (architecture critic, Berlin), and Ulf Matthiesen (city and regional researcher, Institute for Regional Development and Structural Planning, Erkner) have supported the project as advisors and offered productive guidance. We would like to thank them and all the participants for their valuable contributions.

We hope you find these readings inspiring and informative.

Hortensia Völckers, Artistic Director/Executive Board, Kulturstiftung des Bundes
Alexander Farenholtz, Administrative Director/Executive Board, Kulturstiftung des Bundes

INTRODUCTION

Philipp Oswalt

As the theme “shrinking” has moved to the foreground of public consciousness in Germany in recent years and is emerging in places like Japan and eastern Europe, the question of how to respond creatively to this unwanted urban change is raised all the more urgently. It is clear that the strategies pursued thus far have proved unable to formulate a satisfactory response, even if one accepts that in many places it simply will not be possible to reverse the shrinkage—an insight that has led to the prevalence of the term “shrinking cities.”

The widespread call for artists is symptomatic of the enduring helplessness. Where community politicians, urban planners, architects, and property owners no longer know what to do, they invite artists to fill the vacuum. There is hardly an urban development proposal today that gets by without artists, hardly a neighborhood without artistic interventions in vacant spaces. From the building ministry to the district manager, from the investor to the neighborhood group: with the increasing skepticism about their own roles and disciplines, they are hoping for a quasi-religious redemption from the arts. Usually, of course, this just papers over more fundamental problems.

If we agree with the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu that social space translates into physical space,[1] it must be said that social problems are reflected in the crisis of physical space in shrinking cities, and that without addressing this crisis, little of substance can be said about the transformation of cities. But that is not all. Not only are social constellations expressed in urban space, which can be read as a kind of mapping of them, but social questions are also reflected in the conception of the models for action themselves (and their crises).

Social Ideas

The classical model of urban planning took for granted control over the entire territory, the state as a central building developer, and the existence of welfare state models to achieve good living conditions for all residents. After this model underwent a crisis, for a number of reasons, in the 1970s, it was increasingly replaced by the postmodern model of island urbanism—though its effects continue to be felt in many areas even today, and occasionally it still dominates. This new model dispenses with any attempt to shape the whole, limiting itself to small, island-like areas for development, planned with increasing perfection and, often enough, later controlled, while the other areas of the city disappear from the sphere of interest and fail to attract attention. The goal of such planning is to acquire private investment to realize projects. And so this concept is also called the “entrepreneurial city.”

Both models of urban development—that based on the classical welfare state and the entrepreneurial model—are, for the most part, ill suited for dealing with shrinking cities. Shrinking areas are characterized by both state and private disinvestment. Shrinkage goes hand in hand with radical cuts in financing, especially at the community level, as a result of increasing expenditures and reduced incomes. At the same time, in the context of a drop in demand, an excess of supply, and devaluation of the real-estate market,

private investments fail to materialize. The process is exacerbated by the fact that banks are not prepared to lend money to those who are willing to invest, as shrinking areas are viewed as high risks.

The reaction to this dilemma in Germany—a society marked by neoliberal rhetoric, increasing privatization, and a large state share of gross national product—is characteristic. Whereas state direct investments are largely taboo, despite a state share of gross national product of nearly 50%, a simulated market economy is blossoming—a planned economy without a plan, so to speak. The state invests enormous resources as matching funds for inadequate private investment or even to create the illusion of private investment. It subsidizes jobs in large industry with six-figure euro sums per capita and builds enormous infrastructures to pave the way for private investments that often enough fail to materialize anyway. From an urbanistic point of view, of course, such policies do not result in consistent models. The funds spent according to various rules for subsidies are manifested in a fragmented patchwork rug of disconnected, often unfinished parts.

Neoliberal?

Criticizing such policies as neoliberal is pointless, as this is not a genuine rollback of the state but merely a different kind of state, employing its funds based on other criteria. The question is for what and to what ends they are used. Urban development demonstrates this exemplarily. For the so-called Stadtumbau Ost program (an urban renewal program for eastern Germany), a total of €2.6 billion of communal, state, and federal funds will be made available over a period of eight years—seemingly quite a large sum. For the same period, however, the federal government used to pay out about €80 billion in subsidies for private home ownership.[2] The subsidy for home ownership is by no means a form of welfare policy, for one has to have equity capital to qualify for such funding. It serves the lobby of the construction trades and provides for middle-class homeowners.

This is even more obvious using the example of the shrinking city New Orleans after the catastrophe of Hurricane Katrina in 2005. Certainly the negligent disregard of flood protection, the insufficient mobility of poorer residents, and the lack of catastrophe protection can be characterized as typical neoliberal practices. Yet the primary beneficiaries of reconstruction funds amounting to several billion dollars are several American firms that have direct personal connections to the White House. The direct distribution of the funds to those affected was never seriously considered. The journalist Naomi Klein observed, "'Reconstruction,' whether in Baghdad or New Orleans, has become shorthand for a massive uninterrupted transfer of wealth from public to private hands." The headline on the cover of *The Nation* in which Klein's article appeared sums it up: "Now the real looting begins."[3]

The production of ideology is not without consequences, even if it veils the facts: the consequence of neoliberal rhetoric and the invoking of supposed economic efficiency liberate state funds from the criterion of socially just distribution and clear the path to the shifting of social resources and influence.

In other respects, too, so-called neoliberalism is distinguished not so much by reductions in state power than by different forms of state power. In their essay "Neoliberalizing Space,"[4] the Anglo-Saxon urban geographers Jamie Peck and Adam Tickell demonstrate that, following a first phase of deregulation and the rollback of the Keynesian welfare state in the United States and Great Britain during the 1990s ("rollback neoliberalism"), a "neoliberal" rollout has long since returned in the form of an expansion of state controls, measures, and institutions under new premises.[5]

The Ambivalence of Modernity

Nevertheless, however ill-suited the neoliberal model may prove to be in dealing with shrinking cities, the conservation or restoration of the classical welfare state has also failed to provide a convincing perspective, not least because of a sad alliance with a rationalistic determinism. The fundamental ambivalence of this approach, which characterized the modern era into the 1970s, no longer can be ignored. The question of whether additional state welfare or more self-organization of civil society is desirable admits of no clear answer, and any decision has its disadvantages.

In the days of the High Modernism of architecture and urban planning, people still dreamed—building on the political ideas of socialism and a general faith in progress—of overcoming contradictions, of achieving harmony in an ideal society, of eliminating the contradiction between city and countryside. The positions of Ludwig Hilberseimer and the Russian disurbanists are examples of this. Essential to this model is the idea of overcoming disparities of social space and producing living conditions based on equal value. The presumption was that economic aid to lesser-developed regions was desirable not only for reasons of social policy but also for reasons of economic policy, for the funds invested there would have the greatest spin-off effects on growth.[6] Economic and social goals supported each other in a win-win situation—or so the assumption went. Today, the opposite view is prevalent: only in the existing growth areas of large agglomerations can economic development be pursued effectively with the maximum spin-off effect on growth. This view results in a dilemma: Should the existing funds be invested for the greatest effect on growth, thus maximizing the wealth of the society as a whole while simply putting up with increasing polarization of the social geography? Or should we renounce growth and concentrate on balancing differences in living conditions?

The most productive approach may be to try to break out of this dilemma by seeking other scenarios for development that do not futilely employ all available means to bring shrinking regions to the standards of growth areas but rather offer unique qualities that turn the differences into positives, without contributing to a polarization of society. The prerequisite is to abandon the idea of uniformity and consciously emphasize qualitative differences.

Shrinking cities question existing social practices, values, and models and thus call for a fundamental cultural reflection and reevaluation: Is urbanism conceivable without density? Can slowness itself represent quality? What role does property play in the use of space? Can unused spaces and materials be used in different ways? Are there informal practices that can be read as positive models for action? How do mentalities and identity crises influence urban space?

In such a process of searching for a new cultural orientation, the perspectives of different fields matter: architecture, art, media, sociology, ethnography, economics, and so on. In such a context, scholarly work and other approaches can be joined by artistic production—freed of the compulsion to formulate solutions and contribute directly to improving the situation—to provide essential stimuli and communicate knowledge.

Insoluble Problems

For the planning theorist Lucius Burckhardt, decision-making dilemmas are fundamental to urban development: "Urban planning is a doling out of comforts and sorrows; everything that urban planning plans brings some people advantages and others disadvantages.... Problems are insoluble, precisely because they are permeated with the doling out of sorrows. There is no best and definitive solution to problems. There are only possibilities for a society to muddle through reasonably well for a while. But insolubility does not mean that one shouldn't do anything at all..., on the contrary. Problems have to be 'dealt with.'"[7]

Every model for action is structurally incomplete: it may be successful in certain areas, but in others it will have little effect or even worsen the problems. The ideas behind the "entrepreneurial city" that have been practiced in shrinking cities like Manchester, Birmingham, and Baltimore exemplify this. On the one hand, they have achieved remarkable success at revitalizing city centers; on the other, they have tended to have negative effects on outlying districts because less public funding is available for them, and they continue to suffer from economic decline and population loss.

Any urban development plan is biased. Rather than offering an allegedly objective or neutral promise of salvation through planning, this bias has to be exposed and negotiated. There needs to be a discussion about what social ideas, what interests, and what goals manifest themselves in a given project. There needs to be a repoliticization of urban development without it being completely absorbed by politics, as happened in the 1970s.

Political Deficit

The architect Rem Koolhaas recently pointed to the political deficit as one of the fundamental weaknesses of contemporary architecture: "We have broken the connection with politics and have not been able to find a different domain of legitimacy apart from good and intelligent architecture. But that would be tremendously important. Architecture is only legitimate when it formulates a utopia. Since 1945, however, this idea of a social task has continually declined. The loss was compensated by a lot of attractive new inventions by architects. Only in the past ten years, however, as the number of projects for the public domain has increasingly diminished, and we architects find ourselves serving private interests, has it become very clear that the decline of our theoretical content is also a decline of architectural content."[8]

More concretely, in the context of shrinkage, there has to be a new debate over the instruments of planning—analogous to the beginnings of High Modernism: the development of new tools of action was essential to the formation of the architecture and urban development of High Modernism. On the basis of a new sociopolitical model, new clients and sponsors were created, as were new forms of financing, new models for taxation, new concepts for community politics, new institutions, and so on. Today we urgently need such topics to be addressed again. For years, countless urban development plans have been produced in reports and urban development proposals, in competitions and direct commissions, but they have not had any noticeable effect. The reason is that all the projects are based on growth-oriented models for action that do not take hold in shrinking situations: the plans are obsolete from the outset.

Reinforcing the Local

One essential point of departure for the new models for action that are required is empowerment of the local, a reinforcement of autonomous opportunities for action. Abandoning the enforcement of ideas of the unity of an entire country does not have to take the form of a tribute to the neoliberal policy of "locational competition." For the development of cities, the emancipation of the local means regaining the power to shape a situation that had increasingly evaporated in the face of the dominance of centralized state regulation, the fragmentation of jurisdictions, and the rise in power of external influences. These days, communes are degraded into administrative apparatuses that merely implement the directives of others, having lost any opportunities to shape policy because they lack freely available financial resources and are hampered by detailed regulations. Their empowerment through decision-making authority and financial means is a precondition for developing productive qualities within regional inequalities, which can serve as a basis for models for living that take into account local differences.

From this perspective, the disempowerment of the local that has been seen in many ways in eastern Germany since reunification has proven to be one of the central political problems. Along with the drying up of community finances, the impositions of the institutional apparatus of western Germany, the importation of elites from western Germany, and the properties that are largely held in western German hands have hindered any autonomous development. It is therefore hardly surprising that participation in social processes—by any measure of civil engagement, such as elections, parties, unions, or churches—is clearly lower in eastern Germany than in western Germany. Acquiescence was purchased in eastern Germany through transfer payments, but hardly any opportunities for autonomous development were created. Compared with Great Britain in the 1980s, the profound social transformation took place amid an almost ghostly silence; but the silence thus purchased cannot produce forward-looking perspectives.

Just how far this disempowerment has gone is demonstrated by the circumstance that the model of the participative budget practiced in Brazilian cities like Porto Alegre cannot be applied in many German communities because they no longer have any funds for investment. As a result of the centralized overregulation of their structures, much wealthier former industrial countries are sometimes less flexible politically than are significantly poorer countries.

Paradoxical Planning

Formulating approaches to shrinking cities necessitates regaining a form of planning that overcomes the neoliberal reduction of urban development to insular projects, that thinks of space as a whole, and that takes into account larger temporal horizons. At the same time, such an approach has to take the contradictions inherent in planning as the starting point for discussions: How can one take action without being able to solve problems? How can large areas and stretches of time be given shape when they can neither be surveyed nor predicted, much less determined? How can the incompleteness of planning be made productive?

In addition, urban development is influenced by many different forces that are based on a wide range of structures for decision-making, developmental processes, and power structures. Most of them lie outside the level on which urban planning and local action occur. Indeed, they extend across all conceivable scales: from the neighborhood to the

globe. For this reason, giving shape to urban space cannot be limited to the local but calls for action on a broad range of levels that are only loosely connected. The urban sociologist Klaus Ronneberger speaks of a "policy of jumping scales" in this context: "Because places are not restricted locally, and power relationships are produced and reproduced in a variety of geographical units, the perspective should be constructed in such a way that the individual territorial levels are leapt over and thus the boundaries of neighborhood and city are also transgressed. A policy of jumping scales could open up a path to new forms of an urban practice that counteracts the neoliberal territorial strategies."[9]

Multiplicity

This book presents and discusses a number of models for action that address the various scale levels of the urban. It is divided into four fields of action. The field "Deconstructing" examines the questions of how urban rollback—that is, the process of de-urbanization—can be shaped and what qualities can be gained by that which remains. The field "Reevaluating" explores how the traditional, the abandoned, can be reappropriated and used differently. The field "Reorganizing" is concerned with the question of social organization: How can processes, structures, and programs be conceived differently in order to create new opportunities for development? Finally, the field "Imagining" addresses mental processes of communication, memory, the search for identity, and the production of desire, considering urban action from the perspective of the imagination.

The themes of the subchapters clarify the perspectives on the city on which the envisioned approaches to action are based. The eighteen urban ideas presented are in themselves incomplete and cover only part of the complex urban reality. At the same time, however, they represent the necessary conceptual model on which any form of urban action is based. They therefore give an initial sense of the ideological premises of the various practices, making them negotiable.

—

Philipp Oswalt, chief curator of "Shrinking Cities"

—

Translated from the German by Steven Lindberg

—

Notes

1 Pierre Bourdieu, "Site Effects," in *The Weight of the World: Social Suffering in Contemporary Societies* (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 1999), 124.

2 The program Stadtumbau Ost will run from 2002 to 2009. The costs for the state subsidy for home ownership amounted to €11.4 billion in 2004 alone. Over the eight-year period, the sum would be eight times that. The planned elimination of the subsidy in the fiscal year 2007/08 will gradually reduce the annual costs in the future.

3 Naomi Klein, "Purging the Poor," *The Nation,* October 10, 2005.

4 Jamie Peck and Adam Tickell, "Neoliberalizing Space," *Antipode* 34 (2002): 380–404.

5 See also Loïc Wacquant, "How Penal Common Sense Comes to Europeans: Notes on the Transatlantic Diffusion of the Neoliberal Doxa," *European Societies* 1 (1999): 319–352.

6 On this, see Robert Kaltenbrunner, "The End of Homogeneous Space," trans. David Skogley, in *Shrinking Cities, Vol. 1, International Research,* ed. Philipp Oswalt (Ostfildern-Ruit, Germany: Hatje Cantz, 2005), 704–710.

7 Lucius Burckhardt, "Das Ende der polytechnischen Lösbarkeit," reprinted in idem, *Wer plant die Planung: Architektur, Umwelt und Mensch* (Berlin: Martin Schmitz Verlag, 2004), 119–128.

8 Rem Koolhaas, "Die Berliner Schlossdebatte und die Krise der modernen Architektur," in *Fun Palace 200X: Der Berliner Schlossplatz; Abriss, Neubau oder grüne Wiese?,* ed. Philipp Misselwitz, Hans Ulrich Obrist, and Philipp Oswalt (Berlin: Martin Schmitz Verlag, 2005), 45–46.

9 Klaus Ronneberger, "Von der Regulation zur Moderation," *dérive* 14 (2003), 18. See also David Harvey, *Spaces of Hope* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 234ff.

In dealing with shrinking cities, classic urban design and city planning reach their limits. In the face of this new challenge, new paths are taken: the “hard” tools of construction and deconstruction are joined with the “soft” tools of political, social, cultural, and communicative interventions. This book provides an international overview and critical discussion of concepts and strategies for shrinking cities from the fields of architecture, landscape design, urban planning, the media, performance, and art. The approaches discussed range from artistic responses and self-empowerment projects to architectural and landscape interventions, strategies of media communication, and city marketing, to new legal regulations and utopian designs. A series of essays critically discusses current projects in North America, Europe, and Japan, as well as important historical positions in architecture and art.

Contains:
Projects by Will Alsop, Ruedi Baur, Florian Beigel, Chaos Computer Club, Crimson, Jeremy Deller, M. J. Ginzburg, Gordon Matta-Clark, muf, Hidetoshi Ohno, OMA, Cedric Price, Andreas Siekmann, Robert Smithson, Superflex, Oswald Mathias Ungers, and many more.

Essays by Ash Amin, Regina Bittner, Wolfgang Engler, Robert Fishman, Dan Graham, David Harvey, Juan Herreros, Bart Lootsma, and many more.

864 pages, 478 illustrations, 369 in color

KULTURSTIFTUNG DES BUNDES

ISBN-13: 978-3-7757-1711-3
ISBN-10: 3-7757-1711-0