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EXPANDING A DEBATE ABOUT SHRINKING POST-SOCIALIST CITIES TOWARDS AESTHETICS: URBAN SHRINKAGE, INSPIRATION, AND CREATIVITY

Abstract | Shrinking cities are becoming a new 'reality' in contemporary urban development thanks to numerous scientific contributions about this globally widespread phenomenon. However, it is not widely known that the term "Shrinking cities" was initially promoted through the same-name international project that culturally dealt with shrinking cities. This project, led by Eastern-German cultural experts, revealed internationally the essence and frequency of urban shrinkage. Interestingly, the approach used in this project has been important to clarify that urban shrinkage is not a negative process *per se*. Even more, the project contributed to define the multi-dimensional and productive character of this phenomenon. The further research and projects on shrinking cities were less devoted to its cultural and aesthetical side. They were mostly oriented towards the main causes and consequences of urban shrinkage, discussed within the discourses of economy, geography, demography, political science, and ecology. Nevertheless, the inspirational, artistic and creational aspect of urban shrinkage has not been lost. With the recent formation of the concept of shrinking cities, a new attention has been given to potential ways to overcome urban shrinkage. New conceptual proposals and attempts have also used culture, art, and creativity again, but in different format. They have tried to connect the previously acquired scientific knowledge with creative industries and applied arts, where they are seen not just as a creative moment, idea or artistic inspiration, but as a comprehensive, and usable "healing" approach to reinvigorate shrinking cities. The aim of this paper is to present ongoing efforts towards the link between urban shrinkage, inspiration, and creativity. It is done by comparing them with the position of this link from the beginnings of the concept of shrinking cities in the early 2000s. Therefore, it is a contribution to the development of the historic perspective of the aesthetical and artistic side of this concept, which certainly needs a more prominent role in the future urban development.

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Index terms | *Creativity; Inspiration; Post-socialist Europe; Urban aesthetics; Urban shrinkage;*

INTRODUCTION: POST-SOCIALIST SHRINKING CITIES THROUGH CULTURE, CREATIVITY AND AESTHETICS

Shrinking cities has recently emerged as a new “reality” in global urban development (Rink et al, 2012). It should be clarified at beginnings that urban shrinkage as a development process has existed parallel with urban growth since the first cities. Then, the process of modern urban shrinkage has also been noticed 60-70 years ago, in the case of early-industrialised cities in the USA (Kaufman, 2011). However, the frequency and widespread of shrinking cities, as well as the appearance of the case of extreme urban shrinkage, have cemented the position of this phenomenon as important in contemporary urbanisation at global level (Richardson & Woon Nam, 2014; Pallagst, Wiechmann & Martinez-Fernandez, 2014).

Urban shrinkage is especially evident in Europe, where 40% of cities are losing population (Rink et al, 2012). However, this percentage differs greatly across the continent. In the eastern half of Europe, which consists of the former socialist countries, urban shrinkage is by far the prevalent type of urbanisation today (Turok & Mykhnenko, 2005). In Romania and Bulgaria, more than 90% of all cities are shrinking; the other post-socialist countries have the lower percentage of shrinking cities, but all of them have more cities in this group than in the group of growing cities (Restrepo Cadavid, Cineas, Quintero & Zhukova, 2017). Serbian cities are also pretty threatened by urban shrinkage; approximately 85% cities has had demographic decline and economic underperformance by the last national population census in 2011 (Djukić, Antonić & Vujičić, 2017). The presented figures illustrate that shrinking cities and the ways of their future development are of special interest in post-socialist Europe.

Shrinking process is a multi-dimensional and complex phenomenon (Hospers, 2014). It reflects through different aspects and many times it is challenging to position these aspects between causes and consequences. However, from the early beginnings of research, urban shrinkage has been mainly described as a process of population loss in an urban area due to the problems of its economic restructuring (Rieniets, 2009). Thus, demographic and economic aspects figure as the most prominent ones. The other ones with minor role are numerous: social, political, administrative, ecological, physical, financial and fiscal shrinkage, etc. (Großmann, Haase & Rink, 2008).

Interestingly, the internationalisation and the main promotion of both the term and concept of shrinking cities in the middle 2000s was carried through the same-name project (“Shrinking Cities / Schrumpfende Städte”) that was basically settled in art, creativity, culture and aesthetics from post-socialist space in Eastern German cities. Since that, this initial, “artistic” approach in the phenomenon of urban shrinkage has been retreated to the other afore mentioned aspects, better linked with scientific investigations and quantitative outputs. Nevertheless, this approach has not been lost. Even more, it seems that artistic approach is passing through a renaissance period now, after the consolidation of the concept of shrinking cities in the early 2010s.

The aim of this paper is to present ongoing efforts towards the link between urban shrinkage, art, inspiration, and creativity. Its contribution is to determine the current aesthetical and artistic side of this concept. This is of special interest, because art, culture and creativity have become important global factors to fuel socio-economic development (Aber & Yahagi, 2014). Therefore, the aesthetical and artistic side of shrinking cities certainly needs a more prominent role in the future urban redevelopment

and demographic regeneration of shrinking cities.

METHODOLOGY

This research is shaped as a review paper. The key content of the paper is related to the newer knowledge regarding relations between urban shrinkage, art, culture, inspiration, and creativity. To acquire it, the initial artistic development of the concept shrinking cities (and the same term) from the early and middle 2000s had to be explained. This is done by combining primary and secondary resources and by adding comments and conclusions.

INITIAL RESEARCH OF SHRINKING CITIES THROUGH ART AND AESTHETICS

It was already highlighted that both the term and concept of shrinking cities were initially promoted through the same-name international project – “Shrinking Cities / Schrumpfende Städte” (2002-2008) – that artistically and culturally dealt with urban shrinkage. This project was led by Philip Oswalt and the other Eastern-German cultural experts and it was financed by the Federal Cultural Foundation of Federal Republic of Germany. However, the project involved many international experts in art and research and included different cities as research case studies. The main case studies were four urban areas: Detroit (USA), Manchester/Liverpool (Britain), Ivanovo (Russia), and Halle/Leipzig (Germany). In line with this character, the project revealed internationally the essence and frequency of urban shrinkage at different levels: in Eastern Germany, in Europe, and globally. Hence, the project played a critical role to mobilise cultural and scientific community from different disciplines to explore the phenomenon (Laursen, 2009). The project manager, Philip Oswalt, clearly revealed the intention in the introduction of the project, saying: “Shrinking cities are a cultural challenge to us. In the Shrinking Cities project, architects, academics and artists investigate recent developments ... and make suggestions” (Oswalt, n.d.)

At the first glance, it is unexpected to understand that a cultural project handles such project with easily noticeable functional and physical repercussions, typical for the fields of urban planning (Laursen, 2009). Nevertheless, several artistic actions (Fig. 1 & 2) conducted within the “Shrinking Cities” Project triggered general opinion relating shrinking cities. In essence, the project tried to give the positive answer that shrinking cities with their identity, uniqueness and mental milieu were an ‘excellent polygon’ for new artistic expression in architecture, film, photography, music, literature and the other forms of fine and applied arts. This approach was used in the whole project, where every investigated shrinking city (or ‘polygon’) got a specific ‘artistic dossier’ (SCP, n.d.).

The outputs of the project were praised even at its final stages. The most important ones were several mobile artistic performances, created by the project members, which were eventually exhibited in shrinking cities in Germany and in the USA. These events did not presented just the consequences of urban shrinkage (mainly negative), but they also aspired to show the positive, creative dimension of this phenomenon (Hollander, Pallagst, Schwarz & Popper, 2009). Apart of these, major events, many small cultural actions were conducted. For example, a series of documentary movies about urban shrinkage were realised, such as “Requiem for Detroit?” (2010), “Sometimes City” (2011), “The Pruitt-Igoe Myth” (2011), and “Detropia” (2012) (Luescher & Shetty,

2013).

At the end, the impact of the project has been much more significant than the enlisted outputs. The artistic and culture-based actions carried through “Shrinking Cities” Project have changed the way people perceive urban shrinkage and shrinking cities as its physical reflection. P. Oswalt (2006) scrutinised this change in the project; to show people that shrinking cities are not a paradox in urban development, but its new normality and that they need to be familiarised with it (SCP, n.d.). Finally, people became familiar with both the term and concept of shrinking cities.

THE RECENT RESEARCH OF SHRINKING CITIES AND AESTHETICS

Today, after the consolidation of the concept of shrinking cities, this approach through art, creativity and culture is usually settled in the broad social aspect of the concept, but this picture is more complicated (Antonić, 2018). Although the fields of art, culture, and creativity have never been excluded from the main research discourse of shrinking cities, it seems to this topic has been recently reinvigorated due to a new climate in general urban development. These sectors have been traditionally appreciated by scholars due to their traditional influence on social wellbeing, but also as useful and innovative tools for economic regeneration recently (Aber & Yahagi, 2014). There are two main directions that are observable in the current discussions about the role of art and culture in shrinking cities and their desirable reurbanisation.

Generally, inherited ‘classical’ culture is considered as a significant factor for reurbanisation. This is underlined as a very useful approach for the cities with strong cultural background, such as Dresden, Jena or Potsdam in Eastern Germany (Wiechmann, 2009). The example of Dresden (Fig. 3) is well-documented. The city successfully implemented the strategy adopted immediately after the fall of socialism in the early 1990s. This strategy was based on the comprehensive physical renewal of ruined old city ambient as an extended tourist offer for the numerous visitors of classical cultural and artistic splendour in many city museums and galleries. The use of huge resources from federal government for this aim has been criticised by public, especially during the years of urban shrinkage in the 1990s and the 2000s (Wiechmann, 2009). This approach has had a partial impact on the best examples in Eastern Europe, e.g. world-heritage cities in post-socialist countries. For illustration, the afore mentioned Dresden, as well as St Petersburg in Russia or Tallinn in Estonia, have witnessed reurbanisation process since the start of 2010s, Sibiu in Romania (Fig. 4) has slowed its shrinkage towards reurbanisation, but Pecs in Hungary has continued to shrink fast despite it was even European capital of culture few years ago.

Another problem in the previous approach is that many cities do not possess so valuable cultural legacy to be a ‘fuel’ for their regeneration and reurbanisation. However, the things that all shrinking cities possess are creativity and local tradition that can be utilised for these aspirations. This is even evident for those cities with profound industrial past, rarely linked with culture and art (Bontje, 2016). J. Aber (2009) emphasises this interconnection between creativity and local tradition. It should be done through cultural industries, one of major attainments of a shrinking post-industrial city and globalisation. For example, many American shrinking cities have recently based their development agenda on the encouraging of creativity and the formation of local creative clusters (Audirac, 2009). The point is that this vision can be achieved only with comprehensive local development of higher education and tertiary economic sector; this is, for example, an outcome of the research of the City

of Liepaja in post-socialist Latvia (Egliņš-Eglītis & Lūsēna-Ezera, 2016). Accordingly, development policies that encompass both urban regeneration and wide support for creative industries and clusters or make links and customisations between these two sectors are seen as a key element to enable reurbanisation and urban redevelopment (Oliveira & Paulino, 2017).

CONCLUSIONS

The main intention of the paper is to present the newest directions in the research of shrinking cities that bridge this wide topic with the fields of art, inspiration, and creativity. The basis for this research is the same-name research cultural project, “Shrinking cities”, which has left an immense impact on the entire concept; it consolidated the name of both the term and concept of shrinking cities globally. Moreover, the cultural events and research-scientific contributions realised within the project changed the deeply embedded opinion that shrinking cities cannot be considered as ‘exempts’ of contemporary urban processes and that they also have or, more precisely, must have a development perspective.

The acquired findings relating the newest data about the links between shrinking cities and the fields of art, inspiration, and creativity present a quite new situation. After establishment of both term and concept, the general interest about this topic has been reoriented towards the future of shrinking cities, i.e. possible solutions for them. Two presented approaches are diametrically different, but both have art, inspiration, and creativity in their essence. It is also obvious that they target two different types of shrinking cities, in line with their historic and cultural legacy. However, this dichotomy is more profound.

- The first type of cities, with rich and unique heritage and culture, face simpler procedure because the focus is on already obtained on artistic and cultural treasure and they can easily start with the second phase – their promotion and sustainable use. Thus, they can achieve the redevelopment and eventual reurbanisation in short-term periods, like in the explained case of Dresden.
- In the other side, the second type of shrinking cities without rich and unique heritage and culture had to first rediscover which kind of heritage and culture they can promote and utilise and, then, how they can be linked with general urban development. This is certainly more time-consuming. Such cities are also prevalent and they usually cannot use just the tools from art and creativity to redevelop themselves. Finally, the showcases of this type are still rare, which put a bigger challenge for the development agenda of such shrinking cities.

At the end, regardless of the type, shrinking cities need the better integration and/or customisation of their development policies, to allow a ‘synergy effect’ and rational approaches in this process. This is particularly important because, as it was explained in the introduction, shrinking cities have limited demographic and economic resources, which cause a lot of constrains for their future.



Fig. 1 and 2: Artistic interpretations by Shrinking Cities Project: (left) Exhibition “Shrinking Cities – Interventions” in Leipzig, Germany, and (right) a Poster for Cleveland exhibition in the USA in 2007 (Source: Shrinking Cities Project: <http://www.shrinkingcities.com>).



Fig. 3 and 4: Dresden in Eastern Germany and Sibiu in Romania are showcase cities for the reurbanisation based on the rediscovering of rich ‘classical’ culture (Author: B. AntoniĆ);

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