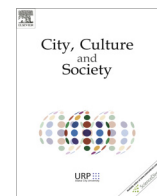


Contents lists available at [SciVerse ScienceDirect](#)

City, Culture and Society

journal homepage: www.elsevier.com/locate/ccs

“»And in the end my street will not be the same«”.² The art project 2–3 Streets and its link to (un)sustainability, creative urban development and modernization³

Annette Grigoleit^{a,*}, Julia Hahn^{b,3}, Davide Brocchi^c^a Institute for Philosophy and Sciences of Art, Leuphana University Lüneburg, Scharnhorststr. 1, G-21335 Lüneburg, Germany^b Institute for Technology Assessment and Systems Analysis, Karlsruhe Institute of Technology, Karlstrasse 11, G-76135 Karlsruhe, Germany^c Institute for Media and Cultural Science, Heinrich Heine University Düsseldorf, Germany

ARTICLE INFO

Article history:

Received 24 November 2012

Received in revised form date 8 April 2013

Accepted 4 May 2013

Available online xxxxx

Keywords:

Art
Urban development
(Un)sustainability
Creative industries
Modernization

ABSTRACT

The art project 2–3 Streets, initiated by the artist Jochen Gerz, was part of the European Capital of Culture year RUHR.2010. International participants were invited to live in ‘deprived’ areas of three cities in the Ruhr-region in Germany. In this paper we discuss two separately conducted studies of the effects of this art project for the neighborhoods involved, describing critical aspects and placing them in a theoretical framework of sustainability, creative cities and modernization. The bringing together of the complementing theoretical findings of the two studies results in a reflection of (un)sustainable tendencies (within this art project), which can offer subsequent insights for other (art) projects in the thematic area of urban development. Our exploratory analysis enables a framework for further in-depth empirical research.

© 2013 Elsevier Ltd. All rights reserved.

Introduction

The art project 2–3 Streets, initiated by the artist Jochen Gerz, was part of the program of the European Capital of Culture year RUHR.2010. The idea behind this project consisted of reviving certain areas of three cities of the Ruhr Region (Duisburg, Dortmund, Mülheim an der Ruhr) regarded as ‘deprived’ by inviting international participants to spend a year in a new and unfamiliar street.

In a year-long Internet-based communication process 78 participants, the so called ‘new residents’, out of 1457 applicants from 30 countries were chosen by Gerz and his team to become part of a trade: one year of rent-free living in exchange for regular participation in a daily Internet-based writing-process. The three streets were the St. Johann- and Saarbrückerstraße in the district Duisburg-Hochfeld (DU),

the Carrée Oesterholzstraße/Schlosserstraße at the Borsigplatz in the district Dortmund-Nordstadt (DO) and a high-rise building at the Hans-Boeckler-Square 7 in Mülheim an der Ruhr (MH). Gerz declared these three streets the site of a year long art-exhibition. For him their uniqueness was, that there was “»absolutely nothing to see«” (Gerz, quoted by Hoch, 2008) – except reality: the three streets and their everyday life were at the same time the context, the space and the object of the exhibition.

For the initiators of the project, the individual changes for the participants (the ‘new residents’) brought about by their new living situations and by the writing processes are seen as a potential source of change for the surrounding public life. (Meincke & Rellecke, 2011) The public, or neighbors (the so called ‘old residents’ who have been living in the area prior to the project) as well as visitors, were therefore also understood as participants in the project and part of the writing process. In every street there was a project-office. Here residents and visitors of the exhibition were able to participate in the Internet-based-writing process. After the end of the year the individual texts, written in 16 different languages and mostly on private PCs, were published by DuMont in a 3000-page book in anonymous and chronological form. Additionally, more participatory

² Gerz quoted by Dinkla (2011: 40).³ We would like to express our gratitude to Christoph Behnke and the editors Sacha Kagan and Volker Kirchberg, and the reviewers of “City, Culture and Society” for their valuable feedback.

* Corresponding author. Tel.: +49 4131 677 1661.

E-mail addresses: grigoleit@uni.leuphana.de (A. Grigoleit), julia.hahn@kit.edu (J. Hahn), davide.brocchi@uni-dusseldorf.de (D. Brocchi).³ Tel.: +49 721 608 28024.

projects in the neighborhoods, an installation in the Museum Folkwang in Essen, the above mentioned publication of the “collective text”, “visitor schools” (guided tours for outside visitors through the ‘streets’) as well as a large media coverage and events marked further project activities. These were understood as part of the overall project to initiate changes along the lines of “»in the end my street won’t be the same«” (Gerz, quoted by Dinkla, 2011: 40, translated by A.G./J.H.).

This article will discuss two parallel empirical studies of the art project 2–3 Streets that were separately conducted in 2010.⁴ The two studies, one conducted by a team from Leuphana University Lüneburg (Behnke et al., 2011) and the other one conducted by a team from the Heinrich-Heine-University Düsseldorf (Brocchi & Eisele, 2011) had different research designs but yielded similar findings, revealing their theoretical complementarity. Bringing them together offers an additional significant value for understanding the 2–3 Streets project and its problematic aspects, especially from the perspectives of the different (participating) interviewees, the ‘old’ and ‘new residents’ and based on some ‘implicit’ field-observations. As Jochen Gerz’s title quote “»in the end my street won’t be the same«” shows, the project attempted to fundamentally change the neighborhoods and its residents. This claim is a focal point for both studies, which identify and examine its, often problematic, implementation.

The interpretative approach of the firstly introduced study (Behnke et al., 2011) focuses especially on the art project’s latent and manifest connections to the theoretical debate on (un)sustainability and creative city strategies and its relation to the art worlds. The discourses on both sustainability and creative city approaches are wide and complex as they deal with in various disciplines. Also, both terms, sustainability and creativity, are used extremely inflationary and have therefore become “fuzzy” in their definitions. The conceptual and theoretical consequences of this fuzziness cannot be reflected on here. Yet, working definitions for both concepts are given below. The secondly introduced study (Brocchi & Eisele, 2011) relates to the paradigm of modernization by making the hypothesis that the

art project 2–3 Streets refers to a kind of cultural modernization strategy.

The bringing together of the empirical findings and theoretical developments of our studies points out several (un)sustainable tendencies within this art project and subsequent insights for other art projects in the area of urban development. In the evaluation of the art project an ideal image of 2–3 streets dominated in the press and in the supporting institutions. Our two studies show, that ‘the reality’ and the perception of 2–3 streets by the ‘new’ and ‘old residents’ cannot be reduced to form a constructed “good story”. In its realization there were several contradictory, problematic aspects that quickly became evident in the first dialogues with ‘old’ and ‘new residents’.⁵ Our findings are respectively linked to an exploratory claim and enable a framework for further in depth empirical research, e.g. using a case comparing research design. Furthermore, this theoretical reflection can offer the development of criteria regarding the assessment and review of projects, policies or approaches that incorporate creative city strategies. It becomes possible to establish a normative framework, which includes specific reference points for empirical investigations analyzing art projects. Further aspects of an alternative framework of a possible approach of the participants and residents of the project are briefly introduced, which are based on Richard Sennett’s notion of craftsmanship and could potentially “open up” and equal arena for encountering one another.



2-3 Straßen: The ‘vertical’ street, Mülheim an der Ruhr, Davide Brocchi 2011

⁴ The art project 2–3 Streets was accompanied by three separately conducted empirical studies which were initiated by the artist Jochen Gerz as part of the 2–3 Streets concept and budget. The studies were financed by the NRW-Kultursekretariat, an agency of the state North Rhine-Westphalia, as part of the budget for the European Capital of Culture RUHR.2010. The different research teams from the University of Hamburg, Heinrich-Heine-University Düsseldorf and Leuphana University Lüneburg were chosen to focus on the art project’s process from different points of views and independently from the contracting authority which was the NRW KULTURsekretariat Wuppertal. The authors of this article, Julia Hahn and Annette Grigoleit, participated in the study “Urban Creativity Impulses through 2–3 Streets?”, which was conducted by the Leuphana University of Lüneburg team in cooperation with Christoph Behnke. The study focused on the possibilities and restraints to act creatively within the project’s process, from different project participants’ perspectives (Behnke, Grigoleit & Hahn, 2011). This study will be introduced at first in this article. The third author of this article, Davide Brocchi, conducted another study partially documented in this article. This second study was part of the team effort by the Heinrich Heine University Düsseldorf, in cooperation with Marion Eisele. Entitled “The Exhibition 2–3 Streets. Report on the Socio-Scientific Survey”, it refers to possible changes through 2–3 Streets from the perspective of the different ‘old and new residents’ and the visitors (cf. Brocchi & Eisele, 2011). A historic focus on the specific local context of the Ruhr region and on the three different cities of the 2–3 Streets, including the issue of social inequality, constitutes another background, this time for analyzing the art-project 2–3 Streets and its effects as a kind of cultural modernization strategy. A further research team from the University of Hamburg focused on social network developments from the perspective of the ‘old residents’ and is not part of this article.

⁵ We would like to emphasize that there were also several ‘positive’ statements, which were also considered in our final reports. We made very different experiences during our stays in the three streets and especially in interaction with our interview partners and the 2–3 Streets teams. These experiences can be ‘placed’ between going-native-tendencies and also a kind of understanding regarding points of views on problematic facets of the project’s process and Jochen Gerz’s acting.



2-3 Straßen: St. Johann-Street, Duisburg-Hochfeld, Davide Brocchi 2011

In the following we will describe the two studies, focusing on their research designs and theoretical findings. The first study to be introduced was done by the authors Julia Hahn and Annette Grigoleit who belong to the research team from the Leuphana University of Lüneburg (cf. Behnke et al., 2011).

(Un)sustainable and (urban) creativity impulses through 2–3 Streets?

The 2–3 Streets project's artistic intervention can be understood as a proposal of activity towards the specific neighborhoods. Potentially the intervention connects itself to the existing structures, is open to participation and offers new possibilities for social encounters through collective efforts and initiates and encourages individual changes. 2–3 Streets attempts a revitalization of the social space of each neighborhood. The task of our study (conducted from October 2010 to April 2011) was to understand these possible changes in the 'deprived' neighborhoods from the perspectives of the so-called 'old residents' (the residents who have been living in the area prior to the project) and the 'new residents' (the selected project participants).

For the conducted interviews with the 'old' and 'new residents' the qualitative method of participatory photo interview (Kolb, 2008; Wuggenig, 1988; Wuggenig, 1990/91; Collier & Collier, 1986; Harper, 2002) proved to be particularly useful. Especially contacting the 'old residents' and establishing trust was successfully done by this method, regarding the continuous media attention and the three simultaneously conducted studies, with which the residents were confronted. During the first meeting with potential interviewees⁶, the possibility of taking their own pictures with a disposable camera was discussed. A "shoot-

⁶ For the field approach gatekeepers (i.e., staff members of the 2–3 Streets teams on-site as well as new residents) were 'used' to contact the old residents. In total 17 contact interviews were conducted in November 2010. For pragmatic reasons there was no time to systematically select different cases in terms of a combined process of selective and theoretical sampling (Kelle & Kluge, 1999).

ing script" (Suchar, 1997) given to the interviewees functioned as a loose guideline for taking the pictures. Offering the possibility of taking one's own pictures allows the interviewee to take on an active role by showing their subjective understanding of the research field as photographer and interviewee. (Kolb, 2008; Wuggenig, 1990/91) These photos were used as a visual stimulus in fifteen face-to-face interviews. As further "conversation starters" we chose photos from the 2–3 Streets archive according to photo-theoretical premises (Bourdieu & Boltanski, 2007; Bohnsack, 2009; Harper, 2002: 13; Raab, 2008), our research questions and theoretical pre-assumptions, (cf. Behnke et al., 2011: 67–75).

In order to examine the relationship between the continuous writing process and the local experiences closer, the 'new residents' were also questioned. Based on this methodical approach of photo elicitation we developed an online questionnaire made up of photos from the 2–3 Streets archive, questions meant to encourage answers in open form, as well as the possibility to upload an own favorite picture taken during the project year.⁷ (cf. Behnke et al., 2011: 75–79)

In our grounded theory-methodology oriented approach (Glaser & Strauss, 2005), certain theoretical pre-assumptions proved to be empirically relevant. In the different presentations of the project (such as the website, artistic concept, publications) the term "creativity" is widely used. In a first approach to interpret our empirical data we understood "creativity"⁸ in two ways, first as artistic creativity and second as the 'new', which is constituted through creative action. Because 2–3 Streets is an art project the connection to artistic creativity is 'evident'. Jochen Gerz (as the artist of 2–3 Streets) and his legitimized position in the art field⁹ enables a framework for the project in which the participants are able to act "creatively" regarding social changes in the neighborhoods. This implies an anthropological understanding of creativity, in the sense of "everyone is creative", in which novelty develops through creative action (Joas and Popitz, quoted by Bröckling, 2007: 152). The 'new' can be related to specific empirical levels, for example the individual whose authority enables the participants to develop and 'control' creativity as well as the ability to assign creativity to certain individuals or groups or not. This understanding of creativity enabled us to develop a heuristic framework

⁷ The teams of 2–3 Streets gave us different lists with the new residents contact information, which were updated regularly regarding the new resident's fluctuation. The online survey took place in February 2010 after the project 2–3 Streets was already accomplished as an art project. 20 'new residents' took part in our online survey (Behnke et al. 2011: 76ff, 78). In our final report we reflect on our experiences regarding the different ways we use the methodical approach of photo elicitation (Behnke et al. 2011: 139f).

⁸ The general debate surrounding the notion of creativity is characterized by a multi- and interdisciplinary use in different theoretical contexts and an inflationary and fuzzy use of the term. For an overview see: Sawyer (2006), Sternberg (1999), Runco (2004), Rech (2007), and Kirchner (2010). For a critique of the creativity term see: Raunig and Wuggenig (2007), Bröckling (2007), von Osten (2003), Lorey (2006), and Chiapello (1998). Regarding this creativity imperative, artists and creatives are often seen as role models for economic growth, resulting in specific decisions in the context of urban development and cultural policies (Florida, 2002; Landry, 2007).

⁹ According to the international ranking list of the online platform artifacts Jochen Gerz is number 654 (31.08.2012) (cf. <http://www.artfacts.net/en/artist/jochen-gerz-1054/profile.html>). The list reflects the "value" of an artist, taking into account exhibitions and auction prices. A position among the first 1000 artists is regarded as a high ranking.

to focus on relevant parts of the partly transcribed narrative empirical data using the method of qualitative (structuring) content analysis (Mayring, 2000) and the CAQDAS (computer-assisted qualitative data analyses software) program „Atlas.ti“ (Kelle, 2003). From the heterogeneous perspectives of the ‘old’ and ‘new residents’ we could understand possibilities as well as restraints of creative actions through the artistic framework and along the different activities of the project, such as the writing-process or participatory projects, the ‘old’ or ‘new residents’¹⁰ (Behnke et al., 2011: 80–98, 124–130). There have been e.g. possibilities to create actions in the sense of several changes, which have been initiated by the project and described as positive by the interviewees. Our interviews especially with the ‘old residents’ show certain changes on the individual level regarding an openness towards art, writing, unfamiliar people, like the ‘new residents’ or one’s own neighborhood. Further, changes on a social level regarding impulses through social encounters and activities have been pointed out too. (Behnke et al., 2011: 80–98)

We understood especially the ‘old residents’ ‘handling’ of the new, unfamiliar, creative situation of 2–3 Streets within an exploratory typology, which is based on a non systematic comparison of the interviewees ‘handling’ (e.g. Kelle & Kluge 1999). The typology differentiates between the pole of cosmopolitan culture (cosmopolitan openness) and the pole of local culture (locally based taciturnity) (cf. Hannerz 2002; Merton 1968). Furthermore we connected this typology with some indices for the ‘old residents’ position in social space and for their experience-based knowledge how to understand and deal with strange, new, social-cultural different situations, persons. So we condensed our results from our qualitative (structuring) content analysis on the basis of a typological reflection, which differentiates a cosmopolitan open-type, a local tacit-type and one type in between. (cf. Behnke et al., 2011: 99–110)

In a further step we interpreted the ‘old and new residents’ different handling of the project as an art project or art work, their understanding of artistic creativity or art in general on the basis of art sociological approaches, e.g. of Bourdieu’s art field and habitual premises.¹¹ (Behnke et al., 2011: 110–123 and 131–135)

In this article we will introduce a further theoretical perspective, which empirically grounds on more critical statements by the interviewed ‘old’ and ‘new residents’ and on

an exploratory claim too.¹² Several aspects of the participants’ connotations and critical valuations regarding problems within 2–3 Streets and its framework, which we interpreted as restraints of creative actions can be put in the wider context of an (art-)sociological debate on (un)sustainability (Kagan & Kirchberg, 2008). This enables the development of characteristics in order to relate the participants’ critique to aspects hindering sustainable processes within the art project. Further, indications point to the artistic intervention of 2–3 Streets as criticizing, but at the same time becoming part of creative class and creative city strategies (Florida, 2002; Landry, 2007), which can be linked to the debate on (un)sustainability as well.¹³

As a working definition, sustainability understood as a “concept speaks to the reconciliation of social justice, ecological integrity, and the well being of all living systems on the planet. The goal is to create an ecologically and socially just world within the means of nature without compromising future generations” (Moore, 2005: 78). The process of sustainability demands, among other changes in economic structures, changes in values, norms, and symbolic practices, i.e. cultural changes. As Kagan describes: “the search process for sustainability is first and foremost, to be understood as a search for a ‘culture of sustainability’” (Kagan, 2010: 2). Characteristics within Western culture such as self-referential models, inflexible boundaries, linear and fragmented (dichotomous scheme of order oriented) thinking are reflected in difficulties of our current culture when dealing with sustainability issues. It can be argued that these characteristics show tendencies within Western culture which point to unsustainable processes.

Within this context, artists have the potential to critically question values and norms of the dominant culture and therefore can function as key agents for processes of sustainability, as Dieleman (2008: 108) suggests. For him, artists “based on their specific characteristic and competencies” can contribute to reflexivity of a “more-than-rational’ nature going beyond traditional analytical approaches using technical rationality” (Dieleman (2008: 108)). The “building of a broader reflexivity and rationality” (Kagan, 2008) points to possible ways of engagement of artists with other social actors, creating networks to potentially changing ways of thinking and acting, unconventionally and open-mindedly approaching problems. This can be

¹⁰ To get some preliminary (and non-systematic, reconstructive) insights into the specific interview atmosphere and into the order of sense-making within the sequentiality of an interview process we integrated some ‘portraits’ by some of the interviewees in between the ‘documented’ results of our content analysis (Behnke et al., 2011: 84, 91f, 98).

¹¹ As a typological result - especially related to the ‘old-residents’ - we distinguish between two very different understandings of art, which explain the polarizing valuations of 2–3 Street. This means a differentiation between a professional artworld related understanding of art and an everyday oriented understanding of art without any artworld specific knowledge and contact to this world. There are three ways to ‘react’ to this project according to different practices of these two art understandings. The first way follows on the everyday oriented understanding of art, perceives 2–3 Streets as non-art and to stay away. The second way recodes the everyday understanding of art and understands 2–3 Streets as accessible social activity. The third way assumes the professional art field-related understanding of art and changes the everyday oriented understanding of art (Behnke et al., 2011: 121ff).

¹² As part of our grounded theory oriented research process (Glaser & Strauss, 2005) all these theoretical perspectives follow an exploratory claim and will need further empirical research and theoretical reflections on the basis of already collected data and further data. The research design needs to be extended, e.g., in case-constructing and case comparative regard (Kelle & Kluge, 1999). Then, it would facilitate to systematically and typologically differentiate between the ascribed meanings to 2–3 Streets. This must be understood against the background of the delayed permission by the contracting state authority NRW KULTURsekretariat Wuppertal to start the empirical survey. Thus, we needed a pragmatic attitude during our research process of only seven months (from October 2010 until April 2011) We had to deal with several limitations, like, e.g., the access to the field (because the art project 2–3 Streets was almost accomplished when we started), the construction of heterogeneous interview cases, and the use of different methodical approaches to collect data (e.g., an ethnographic approach, which would have allowed us to get insights into the projects process and the complex interactivities). There were also time limitations regarding the use of more hermeneutically complex and case comparative approaches to interpret our collected and possible future data.

¹³ We first introduced this interpretative approach at the ESA Conference “Social Relations in Turbulent Times” (September, 7 to 10, 2011, in Geneva) in the session on “Artistic Creativity and Sustainability” which was a part of the Research Stream 24 “Sustainable City and the Arts” of this ESA meeting.

complemented with Kagan's concept of "double entrepreneurship in conventions" as it pays attention to the "points of interactions between artists and the rest of society and to the broader zones where art worlds meet outside worlds" (Kagan, 2008: 148) and how artists as "double entrepreneurs" or change agents can initiate transformations both within and outside of the art world. For this, the artist has to be established in the art world to a certain degree and at the same time possess effectiveness in the "outward-oriented entrepreneurship in conventions" (Kagan, 2008: 175). This internal and external entrepreneurship also requires a high level of reflexivity of the artists. This potential role of the artists can be hindered by a number of difficulties, such as the artist's missing openness to understand the complex conventions outside the arts or such as the embedding in legitimated frameworks. Further, this can lead to the artists' 'entrapment' within their own art world conventions or values (Kagan, 2008: 171).

2–3 Streets and its "unsustainable" facets

Unsustainable tendencies can be associated with the 'new' and 'old residents' critique of the project teams and their inability to understand which changes to the neighborhood were actually desired by the 'old residents', or what was realistically possible i.e. against the background of skepticism, fears or taciturnity. As one 'new resident' noted¹⁴:

b: "In Duisburg Hochfeld people are distant and are very skeptical towards other people. This was clear to me right away. Unfortunately, the staff of the 2–3 Streets team, which was probably briefed accordingly by J. Gerz, was not very sensitive when it came to this".

An 'old resident' explained the following:

L: "(...) they should have engaged more with the people, should have socialized more, no matter which countrymen they are, should have explained better why the project was taking place, what one can do, then all people probably would have joined in, it could have changed a lot here, but not this way. They only thought about themselves, about finding a job here or whatever (...)"

These statements point to a lack of sensitive understanding of the complex local circumstances, which is also reflected in a certain disregard of the already functioning structures, e.g. neighborly help and local actors. Critique was also articulated by some of the 'old residents' regarding the conditions of participation in the writing process, which require having a computer as well as Internet access. This is especially relevant due to the fact that the neighborhoods of 2–3 Streets have a high unemployment rate and a high number of elderly residents. Even though the project offered laptops or computer courses, the rigidness of the framework was criticized because it didn't allow for participants to submit their writing in any other way, such as in

handwritten form. After the project ended the laptops could be bought by the residents as used ones, but to a price which was not affordable to many. These critical aspects point to a missing openness by Gerz and his team to sensitively understand and 'translate' the specific local circumstances 'outside' their self-referential artistic framework. There was thus a certain lack of "double entrepreneurship" with respect to the (external) interaction between Gerz and the residents.

A main part of the critique of the 'new' and 'old residents' was the sole authorship of the project's artist Jochen Gerz. The artist's lack of engaging interest in different participants and teams¹⁵, and the selective way of allowing participation and transparent communication (of project activities) were criticized, based on Jochen Gerz's 'dominant' presence. Gerz's given framework of the art project was seen as too confining and as missing a certain openness for possible dynamic processes. Changes remained under his control, which evoked effects of being demotivated. As some 'new residents' put it:

b: "A positive and appreciative position of J. Gerz regarding "his" project participants and staff would have been a real benefit. Whoever develops and conducts such large projects and gains the trust of almost eighty people giving one year of their lives should be more sensitive. Unfortunately, a lot went wrong when communicating with J. Gerz through which a lot of participants were demotivated, luckily myself only in the last third of the year".

o: "The non-communication within the project, missing possibilities of real participation, little democratic room and the constant influence by the project staff".

Gerz follows conventions of "authorship" within the contemporary art world and therefore remains the sole artist of 2–3 Streets who holds the authorship and can elevate himself within the art world.¹⁶ This becomes especially clear regarding the critique of an installation, which is now part of the permanent exhibition at the Folkwang Museum Essen. This installation itself is a large screen on which the written text constantly flows. It was 'pre-published' (going against the agreement of only publishing the text in book form after the end of 2–3 Streets) as the installation was presented on June 2010. Many 'old residents' were not informed about the installation and a group of 'new residents' in Mülheim created a blog (2–3 Etagen¹⁷) where they published their texts as a sign of protest. In the museum the description

¹⁵ A more implicit observation during the Lüneburg research team's stay in October, November and December 2010 was that the 2–3 Streets team's meetings with Jochen Gerz were tense regarding possible critique. Also, the balancing act between the theory and "practice" of 2–3 Streets as a social or art project was relevant. Further, the work situations of most 2–3 Streets team members (i.e. unpaid interns) can also be related to popular diagnosis of "the internship generation" or "precarious work in projects".

¹⁶ Regarding the authorship and authority of the artist Kagan refers to the Romantic Order (Kagan, 2008: 172), which remains a dominant belief. In it, the artist is seen as an individual, who is gifted, can "create works of exceptional beauty and depth which [...] express profound human emotions and cultural values (Kagan, 2008). Kagan also refers to the "Technological System", which the Romantic Order paradoxically supports. This technological understanding is mainly characterized by autonomy and fragmentation, which in turn supports the development of an autonomous field of art, including the notion of the gifted artists and the denial of economic functions have led to a "self-alienation of the art worlds" (Kagan, 2008: 173).

¹⁷ Cf. Blog 2-3 Etagen

¹⁴ All interviews were conducted in German and the research team has translated the selected quotations for this article. To make the names of the interviewees anonymous we used small letters for the names of the online questioned 'new residents' and capital letters for the names of the face-to-face interviewed 'old residents'.

text gives a short project description but only refers to the authorship of Gerz, which was criticized as it plays on the classic elitist roles and conventions of artist, artwork and ('passive') recipients. The residents' critique indicates that this hindered their creative writing process because the installation was seen as a 'betrayal of trust' also regarding the original project idea and the concept of the collective text.

As a 'new resident' put it:

k: "I see this release of the text as a betrayal of the real and original idea. Gerz pleads for art in the public space, even for life itself as art. Now he is hanging in the museum and it's exactly declined where his art begins, what is part of the exhibition and who is the observer. The roles again are the traditional ones. But I thought that was the idea of his projects: where does art begin? The observer becomes the artist, everyday life as an exhibition, an invitation to act, to create, to take Monet and van Gogh from the walls and now he's up there himself, Jochen Gerz on the wall".

These accounts can be interpreted as another 'sign' for an absence of "double entrepreneurship" of Gerz in the 2–3 Streets project. Taken together with the other indications, we can assume that these point to a certain 'entrapment' of Gerz within the contemporary art world's convention of "authorship". Because Gerz has an established position in the art world, he has a certain potential to function as a "double entrepreneur". Yet as Kagan notes in order to "not be trapped in the internal strife of the art world, [the artist] would have to set him- or herself as far as conventionally possible from the traditional distribution system of his/her art world" (Kagan, 2008: 178). The entrepreneurship to initiate changes within the art world wasn't really possible because Gerz remained bound to the notion of authorship, art institutional frameworks, as the installation in the museum shows. As a conceptual artist, often creating art in public space, his concern is to play on the art world's conventions such as avoiding the (success-related) materiality of an artwork or the rule of authorship (Dinkla, 2011: 40, 39). The interviews gave us some insights into Gerz communication, such as his claim to distance his art from the materiality of an exhibited artwork within a museum. Yet, there are no hints that he was able to openly communicate his artistic ideas and concepts. At times he opposed actions of the residents to play on conventions, not taking into account their different knowledge backgrounds and their skepticism regarding the project as an art project. Due to Gerz' strong position in the art world he was able to initiate such a large and complex project (regarding the involved actors, such as the Ministry of Culture of the state of North Rhine-Westphalia, community organizations such as housing companies, or the large energy companies E.ON and RWE. The 'legitimate' necessity for material 'results' of this art work, such as an installation in a museum, the continuous media attention or the published book, coincides with the large budget¹⁸ of 2–3 Streets. Also, the official interest groups mentioned above might have made it especially difficult for Gerz to go beyond conventions such as "authorship" and other long-time established art world con-

ventions. This also points to the importance of leaving "open both the meanings, interpretations and the functions of [the artist's] work, [which] can open up the "purpose" of any project carried out together by teams of artists and non-artists" (Kagan, 2011: 416) as an ability of the double entrepreneur. Based on our analysis we can more or less posit that an open-endedness of the project and a true and equal collaboration among all participants, artist or not, was not enabled. Gerz did not act as a double entrepreneur in conventions in the sense of an "outsider at times and the insider at other times, but only to a certain extent" (Kagan, 2011: 416).

2–3 Streets in terms of creative city strategies?

A further important way to understand the project is in terms of creative city strategies (Florida, 2002; Landry 2007). We could further state that the project's basic idea of gathering "creatives" in 'deprived' neighborhoods with the explicit goal of initiating fundamental changes goes together with urban development approaches, which focus on notions of the "creative class" (Florida, 2002).

The organizers of the project always referred to the 'new residents' as "creatives" using characterizations such as the high level of education, single-status, "ideal immigrants and modern migrants", mobility, flexible working conditions (Pfützte, 2011:83, 82). On the other hand the 'old residents' were often seen as "uncreative" and "passive" (Pfützte, 2011:83). This shows the symbolic power of the project to assign or to decline the attribute of "creativity" in a dichotomous sense (and according to our theoretical pre-assumption of an anthropological understanding of the term "creativity").¹⁹ Furthermore, indications for the ('internalized') understanding of the 'new residents' as members of the "creative class" can be found in their own statements, as they see themselves as "creatives" who have the potential to bring desired changes.²⁰ Supporting this image, the 'old residents' also see the 'new residents' as "creative" and themselves as "not-creative", e.g., in their descriptions of the writing process, in which they don't really see themselves as "creative" authors.²¹

This fits to the creative class concept, in which the "super creative core" (Florida, 2002: 69) is regarded as a special "norm-setting class" (Florida, 2002: 317) of society (in contrast to the 'other' members), which needs a creative environment. Within the creative class model the presence and concentration of "creatives" (the "creativity index" Florida 2002: 235; "3 Ts" Florida, 2002: 292) is linked to a city's economic development and determines the city's

¹⁹ In the project self-descriptions there are also accounts, which can be understood as critically distancing from this dichotomous understanding of "creatives" and "non-creatives", like e.g. the following quotation shows: "2-3 Streets is not an artists' colony. These are not places, let alone reservations, for 'creatives'. But their presence is just as important as that of so-called 'ordinary' people and residents of the streets, who were already living there before the work began, or those who have moved in since its establishment. They are all participants in 2-3 Streets" (Gerz, 2006, http://www.2-3strassen.eu/download/2-3strassen_conceptGB_2006.pdf, pp. 5).

²⁰ As a new resident put it: p: "I tried to contact those people who showed an interest in my interactive offers. The residents especially in my house were very open towards me because we saw each other often and they understood very fast the situation that there is someone there for a certain amount of time who wants to implement and share his or her creative abilities [...]."

²¹ An old resident said: H: "Well, I don't know, I just wrote something. Maybe I don't really have access to these things, because I am a more technical person. But, anyone can write something and I always wrote something that was on my mind".

¹⁸ The budget can be estimated to be around 1.3 million Euro, cf. Nadine Albach, Jochen Gerz und sein Projekt "2-3 Straßen", in: Der Westen, 09.10.2009.

position in the global competition. Especially ‘deprived’ neighborhoods (with cheaper rents and a ‘grid and grime’ appeal) are attractive for “creatives” who give their cultural capital to the place, setting gentrification in process and in turn making the area interesting for investors.²²

The creative class model is criticized from many different perspectives. Critical aspects include the instrumentalization of arts and culture, growth ideology, the competition between cities, the concept of the “creative class” itself, and the practice of top-down instead of bottom-up-strategies in urban development. These critical aspects can be understood as unsustainable tendencies and effects of the creative city model.

Empirical hints for these critical aspects show for example in the artistic concept²³ of 2–3 Streets and in the ascribed and practiced understanding of non/creative project’s participants. The external, and thus per se “creative” ‘new residents’ are understood as necessary to revitalize the ‘old residents’ ‘abstinence’ to act creatively, to pluralize creativity in the neighborhoods and to overcome the excluding facets of a traditional understanding of artistic creativity. (Dinkla, 2011:40; Gerz, 2011: 14; Pfütze, 2011: 83) This dichotomous understanding of the participants as “creative” and “non-creative” can be interpreted as another facet of unsustainable tendencies within the project. A link to missing aspects of the artists’ double entrepreneurship, the undifferentiated perception of the neighborhoods, the significance of authorship and Gerz’s incapability to create an open and equal project process with the different participants becomes apparent. A wider empirical focus on the complex interplay of these aspects may be necessary also in order to concentrate on projects’ practices in the sense of top-down-strategies.²⁴

²² It should be noted that the ‘new residents’ of 2-3 Streets moved into empty apartments. Therefore, as possible pioneers of a gentrification process they didn’t directly displace any of the ‘old residents’. Because gentrification processes are continuous and develop over a longer time period it is difficult to identify a ‘start’ and ‘finish’. Yet, 2-3 Streets as an art project bringing “creatives” into the ‘deprived’ areas of the three cities can be assumed to at least support gentrification tendencies to a certain degree.

²³ “The urban space, the creative economy and the development towards a cultural society are the theoretical framework for this art work. This is the mission for the future development of the region.” (Jochen Gerz, *Das künstlerische Konzept* : 2, PDF, <http://www.2-3strassen.eu/konzept.html> (10.05. 2010).

²⁴ Furthermore, statements given by surveyed administrative and financial experts who were involved with the project, mainly on the municipal, district and state level, implicate references to criticized aspects of creative city strategies. This separately conducted study examined the experts’ expectations before the project, and their assessments after, especially about how 2-3 Streets could contribute to the spatial development of the chosen neighborhoods. In several accounts of this study the project was seen as an appropriate model or a “best-practice example” for the growth of creative districts, and a “model for the influx of creatives” (Nerlich & Körs, 2011: 52ff, 57). Several of the underlying expectations and demands of the surveyed experts could be associated with creative city strategies and their critique. An indication for this instrumentalization of arts and culture shows the understanding of the 2-3 Streets art project as a tool to initiate changes; from the perspective of the experts these changes can be useful for better positioning the neighborhood or the city and for making it better equipped for (inter-)urban competition. The reference to the different actors’ perspective of these experts, and their expectations and understanding of 2-3 Streets, could be interesting to be integrated in a possible future research process within a case comparative research design. This would allow reflecting on different and multilayered results against the background of different research designs and would add a further chronological dimension between the two studies conducted by the University of Lüneburg teams. The study of the experts was conducted separately by another Lüneburg team (Nerlich & Körs 2011). This article solely deals with the results of the study conducted by the Lüneburg team consisting of Christoph Behnke, Annette Grigoleit, and Julia Hahn (cf. Behnke et al., 2011).

It remains empirically unsure how important these creative city ideas and strategies were for the project’s organizers. However as described above, certain aspects allow for an interpretation in this direction. It seems that the corresponding expectations of the ‘experts’, the interests of the supporters regarding the corresponding ‘success’ of the project and the legitimate involvement of such a large project framed Gerz’ actions in many ways. This can be linked to a tendency of the top-down order of the project in connection with the artist’s entrapment in art conventions of authorship, as mentioned above. A complex interplay between all these criticized aspects might have hindered a possible reflexivity of this process. This lack of complexity hindered to shape Gerz’ actions as a possible double entrepreneur in different ways (e.g., playing on conventions), potentially enabling processes, which are more sustainable.

2–3 Street as cultural modernisation strategy?

Jochen Gerz considered the scientific evaluation as integral part of his project. Among others (see endnote 3), he supported the financing for a sociological survey by the Institute of Art History of the Heinrich Heine University Düsseldorf. The institute commissioned the social scientist Davide Brocchi, the third author of this article, to design and realize the study assisted by the art historian Marion Eisele (cf. Brocchi & Eisele, 2011). In the following we will present some results of this second survey, which was conducted by the team of the Heinrich Heine University Düsseldorf.

The topics and research questions this team investigated were, for example:

The three streets: what are the social and cultural characteristics of their life worlds? How are the three streets different from each other? What makes them part of a “periphery”?

The three main target groups of the art project: which social and cultural differences are there between ‘old residents’, ‘new residents’ and visitors? What motivated the 78 ‘new residents’ to participate in the year long 2–3 Streets project?

The art project 2–3 Streets: has 2–3 Streets satisfied expectations? How did the three target groups contribute to the art project? What did their participation influence? How is 2–3 Streets positioned in the context of the different urban development strategies?

For answering these and other questions the research team analyzed documents and press articles, conducted 37 interviews and created a questionnaire that was answered by 97 people: 35 ‘old residents’, 37 ‘new residents’ and 25 visitors. At first, it was planned to gather data in three different phases, before the start, in the middle, and after the end of Gerz’ project. This plan had been considered as the best way for observing the factual impact of the project in the streets by comparing changes. Due to financial reasons we could only acquire data about the ‘old’ and ‘new residents’ perception of the project’s impact for the last stage, after the project. The first part of this post-project survey concerned pre-project expectations about the art project 2–3 Streets and assessments of the state of the street as a life-world. The second part

concerned the post-project perception of the art project 2–3 Streets, and the third part referred to the assessment of the actual state of the street and of the project as an accomplished experience. A 5-point Likert scale was provided to answer these questions.

The periphery as a life world

Of the three streets, in which the art project took place, the 'vertical' street in Mülheim/Ruhr corresponded least and the St.-Johann- and Saarbrücker Street in Duisburg Hochfeld most with the idea of periphery. In the 19th century Hochfeld went through a fast transformation from an agrarian village to an industrial district. (cf. Ley-Schalles & Stecker, 2008) The population grew from 1.700 inhabitants in 1854 to 18.400 in 1895. After the devastation of the 2nd World War the "German economic wonder" came and the population grew again, up to 33,000. Since the 1960s, Hochfeld has been characterized by noise and pollution caused by the near factories. The scarcity of German men after World War II, low rents as well as the growing production attracted more and more migrant workers.

In the 1970s the collapse of heavy industry in the Ruhr area began and brought mass dismissal with it. In the factories of Hochfeld almost 20,000 jobs were lost and in the last 40 years the district lost 50 percent of its population. Many flats remain empty (and thus in 2010 available for the art project 2–3 Streets).

The people who left Hochfeld were the most affluent, primarily Germans. Whoever remained usually had a migration background. Two thirds of the 15,772 inhabitants of Hochfeld have roots in foreign countries (41% in Turkey; 13% in former Yugoslavia). (cf. Stadt Duisburg, 2010)

The concentration of migrants is strongly connected to other socio-economic indicators of marginalization. In Hochfeld the unemployment rate is the highest of Duisburg: 18.7 percent (cf. Stadt Duisburg, 2010). One of two children lives in a family that needs social benefits from the state. Because the German educational system tends to reproduce the structures of social inequality²⁵ belonging to the lower social classes often means a low educational standard.

The condition of the urban spaces, the ruins of the factories and the quality of housing, makes the socio-economic marginalization of Hochfeld even more visible and apparent. Some interviewed 'old residents' described a deep disinterest of municipal institutions for their district. In their opinion, for example, the collection of garbage takes place less often in Hochfeld than in richer districts, so that the rubbish often accumulates in the streets.

With help of the questionnaire the 'old' and 'new residents' were asked to assess the quality of life in the district of Hochfeld through 18 indicators ranging from "1 = high quality" to "5 = low quality". The only indicator to get a positive response (<3) was "the infrastructure of the (urban) district" (2.17 in average). The worst marks went to the following indicators: "image of the district in the town and in the local media" (4.52), "interest of the residents for art and culture/participation in public cultural offers" (4.04), "income and job chances of the residents" (4.02; 'old

residents': 4.21; 'new residents': 3.83), "inclusion of the residents in decision processes on the development of their district" (3.96; 'old residents': 3.83; 'new residents': 4.08). These exploratory results, mostly from the surveys in Dortmund and Mülheim, seem to demonstrate that the peripheries of these two cities do not necessarily need new building projects for their development (e.g., new mega consumption temples). Instead, the exclusion and inclusion of the periphery has immaterial causes and these causes need another strategy.

2–3 Streets: promises and expectations

With his 2–3 Streets project Jochen Gerz wanted to test the possibility of an immaterial structural change: it doesn't arise through new buildings and infrastructures, but through cognitive processes, the change of semiotic systems; art interventions as catalyst for new social interactions and a creative unfolding of the residents in public and common spaces.

Gerz' project was meant to be an "experiment, that doesn't concern only the possibility of contemporary artistic praxis, but aims also at a real change of the social and urban environment, that should go on over the time-frame of the working process at the exhibition place" (Gerz, n.d. (2010): 3).

The consequent bottom-up-strategy in the draft of 2–3 Streets is supported by Gerz' plea for an overcoming of the traditional notion of "creativity" that he criticizes as "the subtlest kind of exclusion [...]. The majority of the society [...] is excluded from such quality, with which we usually connect creativity" (Gerz, n.d. (2007)).

The research team asked the 'new' and 'old residents' as well as the visitors, which personal expectations they have regarding 2–3 Streets, in the time before the project started.

The most frequent answer could be summarized as "the change of the street as a life-world". For 34.6 percent of the 'old residents' questioned 2–3 Streets "should live up the quarter and bring new impulses". 48.6 percent of the questioned 'new residents' mentioned expectations like "the changing of the neighborhood", "collective education of the residents", "to wake the creativity of every human being" and "the building of a creative quarter". Four answers understand the change more as change of perception: the perception of the periphery, the viewpoint on 'deprived' areas or on everyday life.

The questioned visitors of the art exhibition described their main expectation with statements like "to end the desolation of the quarter", "to bring the art world to the worker milieu" or "perception of changes in the everyday life with open eyes".

How did 2–3 Streets meet promises and expectations?

In its practical realization 2–3 Streets reproduced most of the social asymmetry,²⁶ which Jochen Gerz actually wanted to overcome in his conceptual draft. This contradiction between real results and declared aims is typical for the

²⁵ cf. <http://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/un-slaps-berlin-on-the-wrist-german-schools-perpetuate-inequality-report-says-a-473304.html>.

²⁶ Between "developed" centers and "underdeveloped" peripheries, advanced culture and traditions, educated and not educated people, governing and governed people or higher and lower classes.

development policies of the last 60 years that were primarily oriented along the model of modernization (Sachs, 1998). They led to growing socio-economic inequality, for example in a large majority of OECD countries (OECD, 2011).

The social asymmetry is primarily reflected by the different perception of 2–3 Streets. On the one hand the mass-media, the art market press and the feuilleton journalists reported a great deal, and mainly in a positive way, about the art project. The conceptual draft of the prominent artist Gerz simply made for a “good story”. 2–3 Streets seems to have satisfied the expectations of important institutions and sponsors that supported the project with 1.3 million euro as well.

63.6 percent of the interviewed visitors of the art exhibition, who were educated above average, socially settled and very interested in arts,²⁷ tended to see the project more positively. Most of them were interviewed at the event “Public Writing day” on 11th December 2010 in the Museum Ostwall in Dortmund, a very different context than such of the ‘deprived’ areas of the three streets of the project. Only one visitor criticized the project with the argument of being “too expensive”.

The questioned ‘old residents’ of Mülheim gave 2–3 Streets the best marks among the three streets.²⁸ Their socio-economic position is much higher than in the other two streets: 57.1 percent of the polled ‘old residents’ of Mülheim allocate themselves in the higher middle class (DU: 21.4%; DO: 7.1%).

A considerable part of the residents in Hochfeld with a migration background and from lower classes probably didn’t even know that an art project took place in their own neighborhood.²⁹ Of the ‘old residents’ in Dortmund-Nordstadt, who knew 2–3 Streets, only 22 percent expressed a positive or very positive opinion, while 44.4 percent had a negative or very negative view of 2–3 Streets.

Particularly interesting were the opinions of the 78 ‘new residents’.³⁰ They were above average well educated: more than the half had a university degree and 27 percent of the 37 polled participants were still studying. At least 51.3 percent allocated themselves in the middle (37.8%) or in the higher middle class (13.5%). The majority of the polled participants worked in the areas “culture and arts” (37.8%), media (16.2%) and education (16.2%).

A central question for the ‘new residents’ was, “Against the background of your original expectations, how do you rate now the project 2–3 Streets in general?” Standardized answers could be given on a 5-point Likert scale (from “1 = better than I expected” to “5 = very disappointing”). Nobody marked the grade of “1”. In Duisburg and Mülheim

the answers of the ‘new residents’ provided a bivariate distribution. 25% (in Duisburg) and 30% (in Mülheim) marked the grade of “2”. This group of new residents was positively surprised by 2–3 Streets and appreciated the performance of the artist Jochen Gerz in realizing and managing such a complex and unusual art project. Some of these participants could profit from the media success of 2–3 Streets, for example for advertising their own art- or design-works. On the other hand, many more ‘new residents’ were disappointed by the art project. 42% in Duisburg and 40% in Mülheim gave the negative grade “4”, and 25% in Duisburg and 20% in Mülheim gave the very negative grade “5”. Somewhat more positive is the situation in Dortmund. There, a majority of 53% gives a neutral assessment of the project (i.e., a grade of “3”). The relative polarization among the ‘new residents’ of Duisburg and Mülheim could be interpreted as a consequence of the hierarchy that was strongly implemented in the organization of 2–3 Streets in these two cities. Indeed, the very hierarchical structure of the project implementation has been confirmed by many observations, interviews, and by answers of the surveyed ‘new residents’ to the following question. “Has your own creative initiative during 2–3 Streets been more supported or more inhibited by the following persons/institutions?” Possible answer categories were the head of project (i.e., Gerz and the central project office), the offices of the art project in each street, the property management, other new residents, and the old residents. The assessment was given again by a 5-point Likert scale (1 = ‘strongly supported’ to 5 = ‘strongly inhibited’). Indeed, many ‘new residents’ considered the authoritarian style of the head of project as main inhibition for their own creative initiative (the average was 3.67 in Duisburg, 4.1 in Mülheim, and 3.67 in Dortmund).

The case of Mülheim is particularly interesting. The high felt inhibition by the head of project (and the property management) (4.1 on average) is proportional to the high felt reciprocal support by the ‘new residents’ (MH: 1.8; DU: 2.08; DO: 2.33) and by the ‘old residents’ (MH: 2.44; DU: 2.92; DO: 3.29). In Mülheim the strong cooperation among the residents was probably promoted by two factors: (a) the spatial and the social closeness between ‘new’ and ‘old residents’ (the ‘new’ and ‘old residents’ lived in the same tower-block, a kind of ‘vertical street’); (b) the ‘new’ and ‘old residents’ allocated themselves both in the middle class, while the higher social inequality between ‘old’ and ‘new residents’ in Dortmund and Duisburg inhibited the communication with each other and the participation of the ‘old residents’ in the project. The group dynamics in Mülheim led to a “re-conquest” of 2–3 Streets as a self-administrated project and thus to an “act of defiance” against the head of the project and against the property management of the tower block.

In Dortmund the polarization among the ‘new residents’ was weaker than in the other two streets. Here the majority was more pragmatic and the motivation to participate was more individualistic (e.g. looking for a new start in an own life; the own creative development; the need for social connection; adventure-spirit). Although ‘new residents’ in Dortmund also recognized critical aspects of Gerz’ art project, they also experienced personal benefits from the project. Here, the property management got a more positive assessment because of a special offer to the ‘new

²⁷ 68 percent of the polled visitors have a university degree; 80 percent are “interested” to “very interested” in the arts. While only 8 percent has a migration background, 76 percent classify themselves in the categories “middle class” and “higher middle class”.

²⁸ In a scale from “1 = very positive” to “5 = very negative” their opinion about 2–3 Streets was 2.00 on average.

²⁹ The researchers conducted quick and spontaneous interviews with by-passing individuals in the St.-Johann Street in Duisburg-Hochfeld.

³⁰ The research team asked twice the central office of 2–3 Streets to send a complete list of the 78 participants, but received only three lists (one per street) with a total of 41 names and addresses, under the headline “active participants”. So the results of the survey are based on this “predefined” sample. The research team didn’t ever get an explanation for the lack of 37 participants in the lists, but it was able to interview some of them, for example the rebelling participants, who created the critical blog “2–3 Etagen”.

residents' to rent their flats and therefore to remain in their apartment after the end of the art project.

In the press, the critical aspects of the art project are missed or very underrepresented in comparison to the “good story” of 2–3 Streets. As part of the modernization strategy the mass media and the design of the information-flow played a central role for Gerz' project. Not only the great media success of 2–3 Streets, but also some interviews and observations could suggest that the promotion of the external public image of 2–3 Streets was the central task of the organization structure headed by Gerz. 2–3 Streets can be understood as a medial “sculpture”: its external image is the product of an extremely precise sculpting represented by careful design, control and selection in the information-flow from the inner of the project to the mass-media and the public. The research-team found, that the external image of Gerz' art-project is very different than its internal image (among the ‘new’ and ‘old residents’). In some points the internal image contradicts the external one.

Also, as the sociological survey conducted by the team confirmed, 2–3 Streets was primarily realized as a top-down strategy. One of the first interviews in the exploratory phase of the survey in Hochfeld was with the owner of a bar in the St.-Johann-Street. He explained to the researchers, why ten months after the beginning of the art project many residents of the street were so cautious or even distrustful of 2–3 Streets. His explanation was grounded in the fact that no one had asked them before the beginning of the project, if they wanted their own street and daily life to become the object of a public art exhibition. No one asked them, if they wanted to have visitors for an entire year, journalists and researchers in front of their doors. All the decisions concerning the project and its plans were made without them. Many inhabitants (workers, migrants, unemployed people, etc.) interpreted 2–3 Streets not only as intrusion in their own sphere, but further as an experience of heteronomy.

Not only the representatives of the house-proprietors-initiative Klungelklub Hochfeld, but also some participants missed a real interest of the 2–3 Street-administration in cooperating with the existing realities of engaged citizens on-site. How can such a disinterest for the own creative potentials of the periphery be explained?

An answer could be found in the construction of the notion of “periphery” from the perspective of the modernization theories. According to Talcott Parsons (Kerber & Schmieder, 1991) modernization theories hold a linear and universal idea on societal development, from a traditional homogeneous state to a more complex modern state. This implies a hierarchy between traditions and modernity, e.g. between the development-stages of an economy, from agriculture through industrialization and consumerism (Rostow, 1960) to a more dematerialized third-sector economy. While the centers of modern society see themselves at the top of this linear development process and as model for the rest (Sachs, 1998), they tend to explain the “underdevelopment” of peripheries through endogenous causes (e.g. the incapacity to leave traditional habits).³¹

³¹ It is telling that the economic-centered modernization-theories consider “culture” first as inhibiting factor of development (Rieger & Leibfried, 2004).

Instead the modernization-critical dependencia-theories (i.a. Dos Santos, 1973; Gunder, 1973) consider centers and peripheries not as separated, but in relation. The relational asymmetry and dependency is understood here as cause of “underdevelopment” as well as the emancipation of the peripheries is the way to their development. The modernist theoretical approaches don't include a critical self-reflection and incorporate a one-dimensional understanding of the periphery in terms of deprivation. Thus the periphery's human and cultural potentials are ignored.

Emblematic for an almost overbearing monologue of the “high culture” with the “popular or migrant cultures” was the most important 2–3 Street event in Hochfeld that Gerz organized on October 2, 2010 in the St.-Johann Street. The Duisburg Philharmonic Orchestra gave a classical music concert and used the open windows of two houses as a stage. The press and most visitors were mainly enthusiastic. The ‘old residents’ of the street were only indirectly invited to the event: some days before they got a leaflet in German and Turkish with the heading: “Saturday, 2.10.2010 – complete closure of the St. Johann Str.” The first lines: “The Duisburg Philharmonic Orchestra will give a concert for you. From 8:00 a.m. till 10:00 p.m. it is not permitted to park cars at the upper part of the St. Johann Street ...”.

Conclusions

The findings of the two independently conducted studies on the art project 2–3 Streets by the team of the University Lüneburg (Behnke et al., 2011) and by the team of the Heinrich Heine University of Düsseldorf (Brocchi & Eisele, 2011) which we introduced in this article in many ways stress the problematic, criticized facets of 2–3 Streets from the perspective of the interviewed ‘new’ and ‘old residents’. It is possible to understand unsustainable facets, such as the missing double entrepreneurship and the, at least partly underlying, creative city aspects as a top-down strategy and as part of a modernist (artistic) practice to control the ways and the results of the claim “and in the end my street will not be the same”. The potential to initiate changes was dichotomously ascribed to external, “creative” ‘new residents’. The recipients of these initiatives, the ‘old residents’, were perceived in the sense of an indifferent opposite, as passive and as part of endogenously caused ‘deprived’ and “underdeveloped” traditional “peripheries” of the Ruhr Region. Another example for a reproduced socio-cultural asymmetry within the project process, can be seen in the artistic authorship-related attitude to control the project's process, “high cultural” events and “center”-based ideas in which direction the development should proceed in a more or less (im)material successful way (as an museums artwork). This connects to the interest in offering a “good story” for the press and to an art interested “elite”. The revivable social peripheries were shaped as an ideal “social sculpture” according to the favored results and interests of the artistic project initiator. This can be seen against the background of framing expectations and legitimate relations with the involved actors to realize the project and their reference to a developmental direction, which can also be associated with reevaluation and imag-

ing of the neighborhoods as part of creative industry strategies and inter-urban and local competitions.

Thus, the main interpretative approaches of the two introduced studies can be understood as complementary to each other. The focus on unsustainable facets and creative city strategies of 2–3 Streets within the first study by the University of Lüneburg Team (cf. Behnke et al., 2011) can be put in the wider context of the dominant discourse and paradigm of Western modernity and culture, which corresponds to the interpretative perspective of the second study by the Heinrich Heine University Düsseldorf team (cf. Brocchi & Eisele, 2011). Characteristics of Western, modernist culture, like e.g. patterns of rationalistic, purposeful, linear causality oriented mode of knowing, acting and progress oriented developmental thinking, of dichotomy, hierarchical separation between *res extensa* and *res cogitans*, traditions and modernity, popular and advanced cultures or undeveloped peripheries and developed centers, constitute “the culture of unsustainability” and can be associated with difficulties when dealing with issues of sustainability (Brocchi, 2011; Kagan, 2011). These patterns of acting and interpretation are still widely established (Brocchi, 2008; Brocchi 2011). Therefore it is important to carefully study these modernist patterns to be able to understand possibilities and restraints within sustainable [project] processes. Their effectiveness isn’t only on a manifest, conscious level of the international or regional development programs, but maybe in the internal socialization structures of the western society as well. Modernist patterns are often active on a latent, subconscious level of artists, journalists, researchers or representatives of institutions and at the same time in ‘deprived’ milieus like those of migrants or unemployed people. They themselves have internalized their own marginalization and feel incompetent and unqualified for taking part in public creative processes, even if these aim towards their inclusion (Brocchi & Eisele, 2011).³²

Our article focused especially problematic facets of the project process. But there have also been several changes, which have been initiated by the project and described as positive by the interviewees, like we pointed out exemplarily when we introduced the first study in this article. Our interviews especially with the ‘old residents’ show certain changes on the individual level regarding an openness towards art, writing, unfamiliar people, like the ‘new residents’ or one’s own neighborhood. Further, changes on a social level regarding impulses through social encounters and activities have been pointed out too (cf. Behnke et al., 2011: 80–98). In these accounts one can find indications that point to changes in values and norms which have gone beyond the end of the project period and can be interpreted as sustainable. Further, there is an ongoing local engagement of participants (‘old’ and ‘new residents’) after the end of the project year. For example, a follow-up project to 2–3 Streets, called “*Machbarschaft Borsig11 e.V.*”³³ was started. This is an initiative in Dortmund, which consists of

members of the former project teams and of those ‘new residents’ who continue to live in the neighborhood of Dortmund, therefore becoming ‘normal’ residents. This new network focuses on participatory opportunities to support a sustainable cultural, social, and economic life within this neighborhood. These new opportunities for a potentially stronger community are based on structures that already existed before 2–3 Streets, as well as on some of the project’s activities and its results, and on potential new structures that might arise by enabling equal partnerships between all neighbors.³⁴ As the initiative claims: “Borsig 11 is a laboratory, an incubator for cultural, social and economic practices, which incorporates the local situations and makes new possibilities visible. {...} the carrier is the local community. We are working on creating a local public, which is able to understand crisis as a chance and acts independently. Creativity is the basic and sustainable resource, which we all have. We practice intercultural exchange and creative urban development, test participatory social forms, fair economic and sustainable living forms in the direct neighborly environment”.³⁵

These urban developments, which evolved after 2–3 Streets should be evaluated or examined regarding their potential to foster different and more manifest/explicit dimensions of sustainability and anti-modernistic claims and ways how to realize such art projects in this neighborhood. This implicates an emphasis on and therefore an awareness of arts and culture as important aspects of ‘deprived’ urban neighborhoods as areas of creative action and reflection.

Further research, i.e. within a case comparing the designs of 2–3 Streets and Borsig 11, could allow for a more detailed perspective of what hindered or enabled sustainable processes during and after 2–3 Streets. Also, the application of other data gathering methods, such as a different photo-interview-approach like the concept of “Photo Voice” (Wang & Burries, 1997) could allow the research team to follow on and widen the participatory claim of this methodic approach in a self-reflexive way. Project participants, people from the neighborhoods could be invited to build up a “critical dialogue” on important community issues and on requirements and redefinitions of ways to realize such art projects through large and small group discussion of photographs. Another goal is to “reach policy makers” (Wang and Burries, 1997: 370), which would allow a direct exchange during the project process and in order to enable the translation of project goals into local politics. Also, this approach enables a participatory, transdisciplinary (research/assessment) process.

The bringing together of the theoretical findings of the studies offers different aspects or criteria of (un)sustainable and (anti)modernist tendencies within this art project and therefore also possible insights for other (art) projects in the area of urban development. These criteria may offer a starting point to think not only about what aspects of the specific 2–3 Streets project might be problematic, but also enable a reflection on what criteria might offer a normative framework for examining art projects (in the urban context) in general. A fundamental finding of the studies described above is the importance of incorporating the (local) specifics

³² We would like to note that the theoretical complementarity by both studies’ findings (grounded in the paradigm of modernism) needs more empirical research (in the sense of different methods of interpreting data of the already collected data, as well as gathering data according to an extended construction of cases). This would allow (typologically) differentiating the empirical relevance of modernism and its traits regarding different (post) modern contexts (cf. Welsch 1991).

³³ cf. <http://www.borsig11.de/>.

³⁴ cf. <http://www.borsig11.de/wordpress/info/>.

³⁵ cf. <http://www.borsig11.de/wordpress/info/>.

of the individuals involved, especially if their direct environment is affected. Key is an encountering “eye to eye” and an essential openness regarding the project’s process and the different participants. A more sustainable reviving process of the peripheries needs a controversial but non-hierarchical ‘dialogue’ between centers and periphery or artist and “social material” (Brocchi, 2012). The “social plastic” can be only a democratic and processual one.³⁶

Perspectively a helpful approach for developing criteria and understandings of participants roles regarding the review of projects, policies or approaches that incorporate creative city strategies could also be the notion of craftsmanship as described by Richard Sennett. Craftmanship is characterized by motivation and ability instead of talent (Sennett, 2008). Such an inclusive category allows for potentially anyone (like the ‘old’ and the ‘new’ residents) to be seen as a “craftsman” or an “expert” for their surroundings, lives, specific relations or work. The concept enables “nearly anyone [to] become a good craftsman” (Sennett, 2008: 268), which in turn enables an equal field of communication and of encounter in which all characteristics of individuals are regarded as important and legitimate. Further, Sennett emphasizes the importance of asking ethical questions throughout the entire work process as a main characteristic of a craftsmen attitude. He looks at the different “stages and sequences of the work process [in order to indicate] when the craftsmen can pause in the work and reflect on what he or she is doing” (Sennett, 2008: 296). This places the (‘everyday’ and conceptual) discussion on “creativity” in a more responsible context, helping support participatory and inclusive processes. Also,

“[r]elated to social dialogue within communities, the notion of craftsmanship can encourage connections between all members built upon joint experiences and possibly help overcome social divisions. [...] Built around these qualities and effects of craftsmanship, artists, „creatives“, and „ordinary“ members of communities are able to interplay on a sufficiently leveled playing field, which is an essential quality behind a sustainable creative city” (Kagan & Hahn 2011: 22f.).

As this indicates, other conceptualizations, such as craftsmanship, can help rethink roles of participants within art projects such as 2–3 Streets, which interact within social spaces. This can enable a better understanding and integration of potentially sustainable aspects.

References

- Behnke, C., Grigoleit, A., & Hahn, J. (2011). Urbane Kreativität durch 2-3 Straßen? Eine Untersuchung der „alten“ und „neuen“ Mieter. In: Kirchberg, V. (Projektleitung), Urbane Kreativitätspulse durch 2-3 Straßen? Wissenschaftliche Begleitstudie der Leuphana Universität Lüneburg zu 2-3 Straßen. Eine Ausstellung in Städten des Ruhrgebiets von Jochen Gerz, Final report (submitted on the 29th of April 2011), pp. 62–147, available at: http://pure.leuphana.de/ws/files/2124251/Urbane_Kreativitaetsimpulse_durch_2_3_Stra_en_Abschlussbericht_der_Leuphana_Universitaet_Lueburg.pdf.
- Bourdieu, P., & Boltanski, L. (2007). Eine illegitime Kunst. Die sozialen Gebrauchsweisen der Fotografie, EVA Taschenbücher, Bd. 250: Die sozialen Gebrauchsweisen der Fotografie, Hamburg: Europäische Verlagsanstalt (eva).
- Bohnsack, R. (2009). *Qualitative Bild- und Videointerpretation. Die dokumentarische Methode*. Opladen & Farmington Hills: Barbara Budrich/UTB Verlag.

- Brocchi, D., & Eisele, M. (Unpublished results, n.d.) Die Ausstellung “2-3 Straßen”. Bericht zur sozialwissenschaftlichen Begleitstudie, Heinrich Heine Universität Düsseldorf, Final report (submitted on the 30th of April 2011).
- Brocchi, D. (2008). The cultural dimension of sustainability. In S. Kagan & V. Kirchberg (Eds.), *Sustainability: A new frontier for the arts and cultures* (pp. 26–58). Frankfurt am Main: VAS – Verlag für akademische Schriften.
- Brocchi, D. (2011). Negatives Menschenbild und Separationsdenken der modernen Gesellschaft. *Cultura21 ebooks series on culture and sustainability* (Vol. 4). Berlin: Institute Cultura 21 e.V., available at: URL: http://magazin.cultura21.de/_data/magazin-cultura21-de_addwp/2011/12/Davide_Brocchi_c21_ebook_vol4.pdf, visited on 25.03.2013.
- Brocchi, D. (2012). Die Wiederentdeckung der Peripherie, *Magazin Cultura21*, 12.06.2012, available at: URL: <http://magazin.cultura21.de/perspektiven/denkanstoesse/die-wiederentdeckung-der-peripherie.html> visited on 01.10.2012.
- Bröckling, U. (2007). *Das unternehmerische Selbst. Soziologie einer Subjektivierungsform*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp.
- Chiapello, E. (1998). Die Künstler und das Management. *Passagen/Passages*, 31, 4–8.
- Collier, J., Jr., & Collier, M. (1986). *Visual anthropology: Photography as a research method*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
- Dieleman, H. (2008). Sustainability, art and reflexivity: why artists and designers may become key change agents in sustainability. In S. Kagan & V. Kirchberg (Eds.), *Sustainability: A new frontier for the arts and cultures* (pp. 108–146). Frankfurt am Main: VAS.
- Dinkla, S. (2011). Über instabilitäten. In H. Pfützte (Ed.), *2-3 Straßen Making of Eine Ausstellung in Städten des Ruhrgebiets von Jochen Gerz* (pp. 37–42). Köln: DuMont Buchverlag.
- Dos Santos, T. (1973). *Crisi del capitale e processo rivoluzionario*. Milano: Mazzotta.
- Florida, R. (2002). *The rise of the creative class. And how it's transforming work, leisure and everyday life*. New York: Basic Books.
- Gerz, J. („Unpublished document“, n.d.(2007)). 2–3 Straßen, das künstlerische Konzept.
- Gerz, J. („Unpublished document“, n.d. (2010)), Vorwort zum Antrag für drei wissenschaftliche Begleitstudien, 2–3 Straßen-Zentralbüro, Essen, 30 April 2010.
- Gerz, J. (2011). Konzept 2–3 Strassen 2006. In H. Pfützte (Ed.), *2–3 Straßen Making Of.Eine Ausstellung in Städten des Ruhrgebiets von Jochen Gerz* (pp. 10–19). Köln: DuMont Buchverlag.
- Glaser, B., & Strauss, A. L. (2005). *Grounded theory. Strategien qualitativer Forschung*. Bern: Verlag Hans Huber.
- Gunder, F. A. (1973). *America latina: sottosviluppo o rivoluzione*. Torino: Einaudi.
- Hannerz, U. (2002). Kosmopoliten und Sesshafte in der Weltkultur. In P.-U. Merz-Benz & G. Wagner (Eds.), *Der Fremde als sozialer Typus* (pp. 139–162). Konstanz: UVK.
- Harper, D. (2002). Talking about pictures: A case for photo elicitation. *Visual Studies*, 17(1), 13–26.
- Kagan, S., & Kirchberg, V. (Eds.). (2008). *Sustainability: A new frontier for the arts and cultures*. Frankfurt am Main: VAS.
- Kagan, S. (2008). Art effectuating social change: Double entrepreneurship in conventions. In S. Kagan & V. Kirchberg (Eds.), *Sustainability: A new frontier for the arts and cultures* (pp. 147–193). Frankfurt am Main: VAS.
- Kagan, S. (2010). Cultures of sustainability and the aesthetics of the pattern that connects. *Futures, The journal of Policy, Planning and Futures Studies*, 42(10), 1094–1101. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.futures.2010.08.009>; quoted from http://www.leuphana.de/fileadmin/user_upload/PERSONALPAGES/Fakultaet_1/Kagan_Sacha/files/Kagan_cultures_sustainability_5.2.09.pdf (page 1–14) visited on 23.03.2013.
- Kagan, S. (2011). Art and Sustainability. Connecting patterns for a culture of complexity, Bielefeld: transcript.
- Kagan, S., Hahn, J. (2011). Creative cities and (un)sustainability. From creative class to sustainable creative cities, *Culture and Local Governance/Culture et gouvernance locale*, 3 (1–2), 11–27, available at: <https://uottawa.scholarsportal.info/ojs/index.php/clg-cgl/article/view/182/179> visited on 22.03.2013).
- Kelle, U., & Kluge, S. (1999). *Vom Einzelfall zum typus. Fallvergleich und Fallkontrastierung in der qualitativen Sozialforschung*. Opladen: Leske+Budrich.
- Kelle, U. (2003). Computergestützte Analyse qualitativer Daten. In U. Flick et al. (Eds.), *Qualitative Forschung. Ein Handbuch* (pp. 485–501). Reinbek bei Hamburg: rowohlt Taschenbuch Verlag.
- Kerber, H., & Schmieder, A. (1991). *Soziologie – Arbeitsfelder, Theorien, Ausbildung, ein Grundkurs*. Reinbek: Rowohlt.
- Kirchberg, V. (2010). Kreativität und Stadtkultur: stadtsoziologische Deutungen. In: Hannemann, C., Glasauer, H., Pohlan, J., Pott, A., Kirchberg, V (Eds.), *Jahrbuch StadtRegion 2009/10 Stadtkultur und Kreativität*, pp. 19–44.
- Kolb, B. (2008). Involving, sharing, analysing – potential of the participatory photo interview [37 paragraphs], *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung/Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, 9(3), Art. 12, available at: URL: <http://www.qualitative-research.net/index.php/fqs/article/view/1155> visited on 29.11.2010.
- Landry, C. (2007). *The creative city: A toolkit for urban innovators*. Oxford: Earthscan/Taylor & Francis.
- Ley-Schalles, A., & Stecker, H. (2008). *Duisburg. von der Steinzeit bis zur Gegenwart. Die neue Geschichte einer alten Stadt*. Duisburg: Mercator-Verlag.
- Lorey, I. (2006). Governmentality and self-precarization. In: The normalization of cultural producers, *Transversal. Multilingual webjournal*, available at: URL: <http://eicp.net/transversal/1106/lorey/en> visited on 21.11.2012.

³⁶ “Ultimately, social sculpture is not a finished oeuvre with Beuysian signature, but a permanent unending process in which everyone not only could, but should participate, if it is to succeed” (Scholl 2012: 48, translated by D.B.).

- Mayring, P. (2000). *Qualitative Inhaltsanalyse, Grundlagen und Techniken*. Weinheim: Deutscher Studien Verlag.
- Meincke, G., & Rellecke, M. (2011). Vorwort. In H. Pfützte (Ed.), *2–3 Straßen Making of Eine Ausstellung in Städten des Ruhrgebiets von Jochen Gerz* (pp. 6–7). Köln: DuMont Buchverlag.
- Merton, R. (1968). *Social theory and social structure*. New York: The Free Press/London: Collier-MacMillan Limited. pp. 441–474.
- Moore, J. (2005). Is higher education ready for transformative learning? A question explored in the study of sustainability. *Journal of Transformative Education*, 3(1), 76–91.
- Nerlich, M., & Körs, A. (2011). Urbane Kreativitätsimpulse des 2-3 Straßen-Projektes: Einschätzungen projektverantwortlicher Experten. In: Kirchberg, Volker (Projektleitung): *Urbane Kreativitätsimpulse durch 2-3 Straßen ? Wissenschaftliche Begleitstudie der Leuphana Universität Lüneburg zu 2-3 Straßen*. Eine Ausstellung in Städten des Ruhrgebiets von Jochen Gerz, Final report (submitted on the 29th of April 2011), pp. 11–61, available at: http://pure.leuphana.de/ws/files/2124251/Urbane_Kreativitaetsimpulse_durch_2_3_Straesen_Abschlussbericht_der_Leuphana_Universitaet_Lueburg.pdf.
- OECD (Ed.). (2011). *Divided we stand: Why inequality keeps rising*. Paris: OECD.
- von Osten, M. (Ed.). (2003). *Norm der Abweichung*. Zürich: Voldemeer.
- Pfützte, H. (2011). Die Kunst verschwindet in der Gesellschaft. In: von Osten, M. (Ed.), *2–3 Straßen Making Of*. Eine Ausstellung in Städten des Ruhrgebiets von Jochen Gerz. DuMont Buchverlag, Köln, pp. 76–84.
- Raab, J. (2008). *Visuelle Wissenssoziologie. Theoretische Konzeptionen und materiale Analysen*. Konstanz: UVK.
- Raunig, G., & Wuggenig, U. (Eds.). (2007). *Kritik der Kreativität*. Wien: Turia + Kant.
- Rech, H. U. (2007). *Index Kreativität*. Köln: Walther König.
- Rieger, E., & Leibfried, S. (2004). *Kultur versus Globalisierung: Sozialpolitische Theologie in Konfuzianismus und Christentum*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp.
- Rostow, W. W. (1960). *The stages of economic growth: A non-communist manifesto*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Runco, M. A. (2004). Creativity. *Annual review of psychology*, 55, 657–687.
- Sachs, W. (Ed.). (1998). *Dizionario dello sviluppo*. Torino: Edizioni Gruppo Abele.
- Sawyer, R. K. (2006). *Explaining creativity. The science of human innovation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Scholl, M. (2012). Soziale Plastik 48 Stunden Neukölln, Cultura21. *Cultura21, eBooks Series on Culture and Sustainability* (Vol. 5). Berlin: Institute Cultura21 e.V.. available at: URL: http://www.cultura21.net/wp-content/uploads/2012/03/Mareen_Scholl_c21_ebook_vol5.pdf, visited on 16.10.2012.
- Sennett, R. (2008). *The craftsman*. London: Penguin Books.
- Sternberg, R. J. (Ed.). (1999). *Handbook of creativity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Suchar, C. S. (1997). Grounding visual sociology research in shooting scripts. *Qualitative Sociology*, 20(1), 33–55.
- Wang, C., & Burris, M. A. (1997). Photovoice: Concept, methodology, and use for participatory needs assessment. *Health Education and Behavior*, 3, 369–387.
- Welsch, W. (1991). *Unsere postmoderne Moderne*. Weinheim: VCH, Acta Humanoria.
- Wuggenig, U. (1988). Die Fotobefragung. in: Kreuzt, H. (Ed.). *Pragmatische Soziologie: Beitr. Zur wiss. Diagnose u. prakt. Lösung gesellschaftl. Gegenwartsprobleme*, Leske und Budrich, Opladen, pp. 333–354.
- Wuggenig, U. (1990/91). Die Fotobefragung als projektives Verfahren, *Angewandte Sozialforschung*, 16 (½), 109–129.

Web references

- Albach, Nadine: *Jochen Gerz und sein Projekt "2-3 Straßen"*, Der Westen, 09.10.2009 (URL: <http://www.derwesten.de/staedte/dortmund/kultur/jochen-gerz-und-sein-projekt-2-3-strassen-id11168.html> visited on 28.06.2012).
- Artfacts.Net (URL: <http://www.artfacts.net/en/artist/jochen-gerz-1054/profile.html>, visited on 31.08.12).
- Blog 2-3 Etagen (URL: <http://2-3etagen.tumblr.com/>, visited on 21. 06. 2012).
- Borsig 11 (URL: www.borsig11.de/, visited on 22.06.12).
- Borsig 11 (URL: <http://www.borsig11.de/wordpress/info/>, visited on 28.06.12).
- Gerz, Jochen: *Concept 2-3 Streets* (2006), english version pdf, 160 KB (URL: http://www.2-3strassen.eu/download/2-3strassen_conceptGB_2006.pdf, visited on 21.11.2012).
- Gerz, J., *Das künstlerische Konzept: 2*, PDF, (URL: <http://www.2-3strassen.eu/konzept.html>, visited on 10.05. 2010).
- Hoch, J., *Halbe Miete? Keine Miete*, erschienen am 21.12.2008 im Spiegel-Online (URL: <http://www.spiegel.de/kultur/gesellschaft/0,1518,597541,00.html>, visited on 04.09.2012).
- Homepage 2-3 Streets (URL: <http://www.en.2-3strassen.eu/cities.html>, visited on 28.08.2012).
- Kagan, S., *Qué TAL? – Transdisciplinary action-research & literacy* (2009). Paper presented at the 2009 Summit of the World Alliance for Arts Education. (URL: <http://sachakagan.wordpress.com/writings/>, visited on 21.11.2012).
- Kolling, A., Kolling, M., *Im Hochfeld in Duisburg – Geschichte* (<http://www.im-hochfeld.de/geschichteframe>, visited on 14.03.2013).
- Stadt D., *Sozialbericht* (2010). Stadt Duisburg (2010) (URL: http://www.duisburg.de/vv/50/medien/Sozialbericht_2010.pdf, visited on 14.02.2013).
- UN Slaps Berlin on the Wrist: German Schools Perpetuate Inequality Report Says, Spiegel-Online.
- 03.2007 (URL: <http://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/un-slaps-berlin-on-the-wrist-german-schools-perpetuate-inequality-report-says-a-473304.html>, visited on 26.06.2012).