

***Park Fiction* - A Participatory Artistic Park Project**

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Many tourists who come to Hamburg visit St. Pauli, the traditional nightlife district near the harbour. In recent years, the inner city quarter has also become a favoured location for companies, and, accordingly, big, expensive buildings containing offices, flats, and hotels have been erected. Nevertheless, poverty, unemployment, crime, and drug use are still above average in St. Pauli.¹ There are few green areas and open spaces, thus the lively and diversified *Park Fiction* recreation area represents a unique and appealing public park that can be accessed from the harbour or a street parallel to the *Reeperbahn*, the main amusement strip in St. Pauli.² The 3,500 square metre area extends southward to the slope of the harbour on the roof of a gym and the river casemates [Figs. 1-2]. The area includes part of the garden of the St. Pauli Church facing north and offers a scenic view of the harbour on the river Elbe, the largest port in Germany and a main attraction of the city. There is a field painted with a floral pattern for playing volleyball. A wavy field and a small area similar to an isle are covered with grass [Fig. 2], and comfortable sun loungers invite visitors to relax and picnic there. A special part is reserved for the many dogs in St. Pauli. Towards the church there are community gardens and a *jeu-de-boules* field. A small, man-made, urban beach is located to the east. The prominent leaves of artificial steel palms visually echo the silhouettes of the high dockside cranes on the opposite side of the Elbe [Fig. 3]. These surreal palms emphasise the utopian character of the ever-crowded recreational space. *Park Fiction* serves as a consolation for some of the area's poorer residents, who cannot afford vacations or visits to trendy urban beach clubs.

Despite its small size, the public park offers a surprising array of different recreational opportunities, and many of them have an artistic touch. Its tolerant, playful, and vivid atmosphere expresses the positive aspects of St. Pauli. For many years the district was one of the poorest areas in West Germany, although some alternative social, political, and subcultural networks offered at least a degree of optimism. Former squatters, who occupied unused buildings in a nearby street called *Hafenstraße* in the 1980s, and their sympathisers called for more solidarity and supported social projects together with the local community work organisation, the *Gemeinwesenarbeit St. Pauli-Süd* (GWA). The GWA has been active in St. Pauli since 1975 and runs a neighbourhood centre close to the park. On the site of the park itself, the *Golden Pudel Club*, a subcultural meeting point for alternative musicians and artists, has existed since the early 1990s.³ These institutions and networks, together with the St. Pauli Church and a nearby school, supported the development of *Park Fiction* from 1994–2005 despite many obstacles. Initially, the city wanted to sell the attractive harbour site to an investor for the construction of a high-rise building. After preparations towards

this outcome began in 1995–6, a radical citizens' initiative, comprised of local residents and supported by the associated social workers, architects, and artists, successfully campaigned for a democratic and grassroots park planning process in 1997–8. The planning process was supported by public funds from the programme *Art in Public Spaces*, sponsored by the Hamburg Department of Culture. The significance of this unique combination of art and social work by the urban action group has been publically recognised with, for example, an invitation to present *Park Fiction* at the *documenta 11*, an important international exhibition for modern and contemporary art, in 2002.⁴ After many negotiations, construction of the park began in 2003 and was completed in 2005. In this article, the basic conditions and the main phases of the eleven-year history of the project are outlined; difficulties and solutions are analysed; critical attention is paid to the combination of social work and art; and the significance of the project for the careers of the activists is discussed. To conclude, the subtle incorporation of the park into the gentrification process of Hamburg is considered.

Beginning in the 1980s, attempts were made to enhance the Hamburg harbour area next to the city centre, where it was felt that an attractive harbour setting should be offered to local residents, businessmen, and tourists alike. However, the sale of the city-owned site between the St. Pauli Church and the waterfront for a high-rise building was criticised by residents in 1981. The district assembly ultimately refused this proposal 10 years later because the quarter was so densely populated. Despite this decision, the city senate still wanted to sell the site in 1994 and demolish the old building housing the *Golden Pudel Club*. By this time, the site was one of the few remaining undeveloped areas on the city side of the waterfront. From the residents' point of view, the city senate's decision seemed representative of the profit-oriented development of the city, which prompted even more resentment among residents and local activists. While there seemed to be no more possibilities for official negotiations in

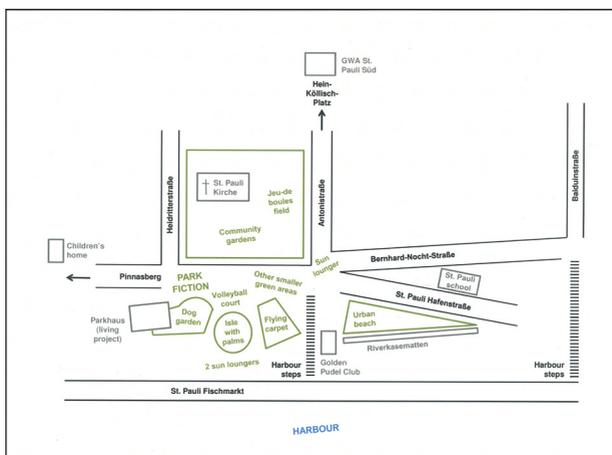


Fig. 1. Park Fiction, 1994–2005, Hamburg, map with annotations. Sketch: © Viola Rühse.

challenging the senate's decision, the proposal to build a park rather than the planned high-rise was raised in the so-called *Hafenrandverein für selbstbestimmtes Leben und Wohnen in St. Pauli e. V.* (Harbour Edge Association for self-determined living in St. Pauli) or *Hafenrandverein*. This group of former radical left-wing squatters wanted to use their practical experiences and contacts from their squats in St. Pauli in the 1980s for alternative social projects, and sympathetic residents and institutions such as the aforementioned local community work organisation GWA supported them. The GWA evolved from a student initiative to provide shelter for the homeless, and has been present in St. Pauli since 1975. They hold the opinion that individuals' problems are influenced by social structures and have been supportive of citizens' initiatives for many years.⁵ Sabine Stövesand, who acted as the manager of the GWA from 1993-9, supported the park project through her theory-based background in pedagogy and her focus on social work.

As the Protestant district church, St. Pauli's has supported social work programs and local pedagogy since the nineteenth century. It thus endorsed the *Hafenrandverein* and the park project in particular. The church has protested against proposed high-rise buildings on the site of the park since the early 1980s because such structures would obscure the church's façade. Furthermore, the church wanted to provide a large and beautiful part of their garden for the park project, thus retaining a presence in the district.⁶ Further local support was garnered from the adjacent St. Pauli school (formerly the *Schule Friedrichstraße*), which was perceived to be located in a troubled area, and many of whose pupils came from difficult or disadvantaged backgrounds. To improve the social environment and recreational activities of their pupils, the school wanted to support the park project by enlarging the space of the park with the walkable roof on their new gym.

In comparison with common forms of protest such as demonstrations and leaflets, the creation of park has been used as an alternative form of activism. Particularly famous is the *People's Park* in Berkeley, California, which was established through the hard-fought efforts



Fig. 2. Park Fiction, 1994-2005, Hamburg, volleyball court, Flying Carpet (grass field in a wave form), isle with artificial steel palms, dog garden. Photo: ©Viola Rühse, 2012.

of local campaigners on a derelict site in the late-1960s.⁷ Similarly, in Hamburg, a guerrilla garden was created in connection with the left-wing autonomous squatting of an old theatre building in 1990-1991.⁸ The proposal for a public park, instead of a high-rise building, was one that could be supported by many different people and groups, ranging from highly political to apolitical. At the same time, the proposal was politically significant, given the poor quality of life, few green areas, and the potentially improvable social conditions of the city in the St. Pauli district, and it seemed an appropriate project to oppose the recent growth of privatising public spaces.

The proposal for a park by the *Hafenrandverein* was decidedly pacifist and did not initially involve squatting, yet the possibility of an occupation or protest always had the potential to be a powerful factor due to the radical histories of numerous association members. The collaboration with the St. Pauli Church, the St. Pauli school, and especially the nearby GWA neighbourhood centre proved advantageous because they offered the use of rooms for meetings and events, office supplies, and professional skills in areas such as social work and print media. They also provided an existing network of residents and institutions in an area with a tradition of political resistance. An additional advantage was provided with the network of musicians, artists, and visitors surrounding the *Golden Pudel Club*, whose premises the city senate wanted to demolish to make way for the new high-rise.⁹ Among the founding members of the *Golden Pudel Club* was Rocko Schamoni, a political punk and leftist pop musician who toured with the band *Goldene Zitronen*. The *Golden Pudel Club* was a meeting place for other musicians with a political and socio-critical attitude who were called the Hamburg School, in reference to the Frankfurt School of



Fig. 3. Park Fiction, 1994-2005, Hamburg, artificial steel palms. Photo: © V. Rühse, 2012.

neo-Marxist scholarship. The music club also offered artists a space to exhibit. Exclusionary cultural policies and a decrease in cultural subsidies meant that many Hamburg-based artists exhibited at non-institutional venues. The musicians and artists involved with the *Golden Pudel Club* supported artistic events such as concerts, exhibitions, and lectures that were organised to increase popularity for the plan of a public park among residents by emphasising the cultural relevance of the project. Artists associated with the project, such as Annette Wehrmann, Andreas Siekmann, and Daniel Richter, later became well-established in the art world. The collaboration between activists and a variety of institutions offered solid infrastructures, increased collective experience, and a great deal of influence.¹⁰

Quentin Tarantino's film *Pulp Fiction* inspired the name *Park Fiction* as a working title for the project, and it was retained for the final realisation of the park.¹¹ At first, the proposal for an artless ecological meadow was raised, influenced by the natural garden movement of the 1980s. Then, in the summer of 1995, the artists Christoph Schäfer and Cathy Skene joined the urban action group.¹² Skene and Schäfer worked together from 1988 to 1996, and before the *Park Fiction* project they had begun to establish themselves as artists with participatory projects that critically examined urban life. Skene and Schäfer persuaded other activists that a simple, green field was too esoteric and not representative enough for the needs and wishes of the district's residents. The two artists developed a democratic planning process for the park with the other members of the group, encouraging intense and creative public participation, in contrast to the standard urban planning process which involved little public engagement. Schäfer and Skene were inspired by Situationism, including Henri Lefebvre's writings on



Fig. 4. Park Fiction, Hamburg, activities anticipating the park (rave around the planning container), 1998. Photo: © Park Fiction Archive

the city and the concept of "desiring production" of Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari that could be seen as a further development of Situationist ideas.¹³ Situationism gained greater interest in the 1990s through Roberto Ohrt's research on the Situationist International and the political effects of the movement that were inspired by Marxism and avant-garde art of the early twentieth century. Ohrt co-founded and curated the *Gallery Isotrop* in the *Golden Pudel Club* from 1996 to 2000.¹⁴ Schäfer and Skene submitted their concept for a democratically planned park as a contribution to the programme *Art in Public Spaces* that was run by the Hamburg Department of Culture.¹⁵ For the park initiative, the support of the Hamburg Department of Culture would provide both the necessary money for the planning process and also enhance the project's reputation. Furthermore, it engendered greater political influence with the Hamburg Senate, which still wanted to sell the site for building purposes.

In October 1995, the park group organised a two-day series of lectures on the cultural and political dimensions of historic and contemporary garden designs, presented by artists, a social scientist, and a resident in the community centre in St. Pauli. Their intention for a democratic planning process of the park and its significance was explained to the residents, and the lecture series increased the pressure on the Hamburg Senate for the park's construction. In spring 1996, the politicians offered what was considered an unacceptable compromise: a proposal which included small, green areas on the remaining parts of land next to a high-rise building and the demolition of *Golden Pudel Club's* premises. In protest to the proposed changes by the Hamburg Senate in April 1996, the action group organised movie screenings, lectures, and additional events in shops, cafés, bars, and institutions adjacent to the planned park area with the intention of having direct contact with the residents and informing them about the planned park. Many local and national artists participated, including Daniel Richter, Andreas

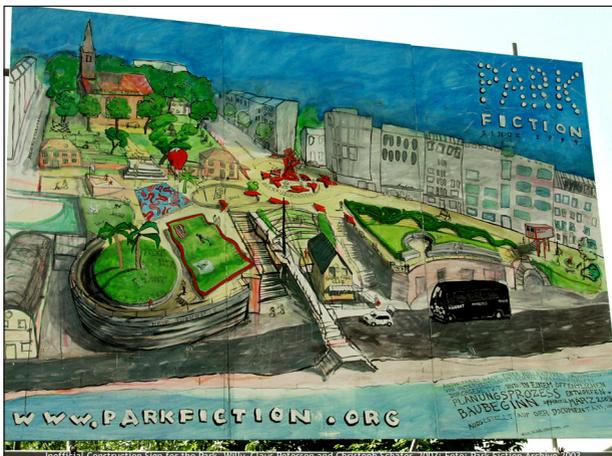


Fig. 5. Park Fiction, Hamburg, construction sign (with the drawing of a map with the planned park), 2001. Photo: © Park Fiction Archive.

Siekmann, Hans-Christian Dany, and Rüdiger Schöttle. The creation of a temporary Turkish teagarden signalled the intended atmosphere of the future park. Activist art events such as the installation of a construction site sign for the park and the placement of actors in the planned park area functioned as a warning of the possibility of squatters taking up residence, echoing more radical forms of protest such as the squats in the district during the 1980s.¹⁶

This ambitious cultural festival made the idea of a park project popular among residents and underlined the project's cultural potential. Together, these factors fostered the decision of the Hamburg Department of Culture in June 1996 to support the planning process with public funds. The project was accepted and a budget of 125,000 Deutsche Mark was confirmed, but by late 1996 the funding was withdrawn, with an official statement citing "procedural difficulties."¹⁷ The consensus was that politicians did not want to be connected to critical activists in St. Pauli, with local elections looming the following year. Beginning in November 1996, a wave of protests had swept through St. Pauli because of the closure, for financial reasons, of the local harbour hospital. There were many demonstrations: a ward was occupied and media attention was high. The park group recognised how this situation could be used to increase the pressure on the senate regarding the park project. The group held a surreptitious, non-violent occupation of the area of the planned park: they supported an event organised by the Social Democratic Party of Germany to tidy up the district. They not only cleared the area of rubbish, but also established a provisory park by planting flowers, building platforms, and holding a barbecue for the feast of Pentecost in 1997.¹⁸

In order to prevent large-scale social upheaval and assure voter favourability, the city finally made special allowances available to residents in St. Pauli in August 1997. In the former hospital's buildings, an acute day ward, community health centre, and home for the elderly were to be established.¹⁹ The park, too, was approved for planning with funds from



Fig. 6. The Park Fiction Group at the documenta XI in Kassel, 2002. Photo: © Werner Maschmann.

the Hamburg Department of Culture, yet financial support for its actual realisation was still not assured. Therefore, the city's emergency measures can be interpreted as merely a short-term solution to support the election campaign strategy.

Notwithstanding the uncertainty of the final implementation of the park, some core members of the urban action group conducted the approved planning process. They elicited, recorded, and structured the residents' wishes and ideas for the park. In order to facilitate the planning process, a shipping container was used as an on-site office during the planning process. It was open every week on Wednesday evening and Sunday afternoon for two hours from October 1997 until April 1998. Information and materials about the park project were provided and interviews with residents conducted. Additionally, 200 individual households were visited in order to solicit feedback. Members of the planning committee visited ten other large groups based in the community, including the St. Pauli Church, the community centre, the school, and a home for the elderly, to gauge ideas and opinions. The committee combined methods of social and art pedagogy with the intention of making the planning process accessible, inspirational, and comprehensible to as many different people as possible. For instance, the committee developed creative tools such as a clay-modelling office, a wish hotline, a board game, an audio tour, and an action kit to assist the participatory planning process. Additionally, the park group organised lectures and other events on site, such as a rave [Fig. 4].²⁰ Filmmaker Margit Czenki documented the planning process and generated much interest among the residents with a film about Park Fiction.²¹ She worked on Park Fiction and other projects with Christoph Schäfer after Cathy Skene left the group in 1997. Czenki, who had been a militant activist in Munich in the early 1970s, was involved in a famous bank robbery and, after her early release from prison, she gained experience in filmmaking and alternative social projects, for example a children's home in St. Pauli, the Kinderhaus am Pinnsberg, which was also supported by the Hafenanrandverein.

Despite the diverse planning methods and increased public interest generated by the various events, it was difficult for the residents of St. Pauli to develop a consensus about the appearance of the park. This can be attributed in part to the fact that the residents came from social backgrounds that were typically unacquainted with public planning processes.²² Despite this, the park group collected 1,000 short and 300 longer one-to-one interviews, plus 100 drawings and 50 models. Afterwards, the many proposals for the park were structured and put to a democratic vote in district meetings. The authors of the most popular designs elaborated upon them to ensure their individual quality was not flattened by consensus solutions.²³ Overall, this style of highly participatory public planning process was demonstratively organised as a positive contrast to the common urban planning process.²⁴

In the autumn of 1998, the final draft of the design was completed and a budget for the city authorities was calculated [Fig. 5]. Instead of approving the project, long-lasting discussions began between the urban action group, residents, and the authorities about its execution and funding. This was partly due to the disadvantageous position of the park area between two districts and the involvement of two district authorities. In addition, St Pauli's mixture of social disparity and widely varying sub-cultures were marketed as attractive

attributes for creative industries.²⁵ Apparently the city did not want to restrict the sale of an adjacent site, thus the realisation of the park was again postponed.²⁶

The project group persevered despite the long delay from the authorities, and they were aided in large part by the art world's interest in the project. The processes and results of the park planning were often exhibited with Czenki's documentary film in both Hamburg and Germany, as well as at the Viennese *Kunstverein* and the Zurich *Shedhalle*. However, the heightened attention of the art world resulted in a shift in focus from the social aspects of the project to its artistic facets. For example, as one of the few German contributions to *documenta 11* [Fig. 6], it garnered an international reputation and much media attention. The absence of the realised park was an embarrassment to the city of Hamburg, which was trying to market the city as a cultural metropolis with international relevance.²⁷ The project was finally funded by the city with €2.4 million and construction of the park took place between 2003–2005, but with significantly restricted designs. The limited budget meant that, despite the residents' wishes, various elements had to be constructed in low-cost versions, including the Flying Carpet, a grass field in the shape of a wave. The most creative elements, such as a tree house in the shape of a strawberry, remained unrealised due to financial and security reasons. In addition, an archive of the planning process, including an architectural sculpture reminiscent of El Lissitzky's *Cloud Iron* (1925) could not be constructed.²⁸

With the realisation of the park project, the *Golden Pudel Club* was also saved. For the GWA, *Park Fiction* served as an important showcase project. The music club and the community centre continue to use *Park Fiction* for events, which reinforce the lively and vibrant atmosphere of the public space. The church is not obstructed from view as it would have been by the proposed high-rise, and thus remains an historic landmark in the harbour skyline. The community gardens and the *jeu-de-boules* field situated in the church garden have also improved the public image of the church. The long duration of the project meant only a few people supported the project from start to finish. Very few of the long-term core members of the group could use *Park Fiction* and the invitation to the *documenta 11* as a way of promoting their own careers. The park project was a good reference for Sabine Stövesand who pursued an academic career after working in the community centre and is now a professor of social work at the University for Applied Sciences (*Hochschule für Angewandte Wissenschaften*) in Hamburg and chairwoman of the German Association of Social Work (*Deutsche Gesellschaft für Soziale Arbeit*). Schäfer and Czenki received much attention and their affiliation with *Park Fiction* enhanced their reputations. The participation at the prestigious *documenta 11* was advantageous for Schäfer's career. Czenki reinforced her reputation as a filmmaker with the *Park Fiction* project and began to establish herself as an artist by developing presentations of the park project together with Schäfer. Her former life as a militant activist in Munich was gradually forgotten. Schäfer's long and labour-intensive occupation with *Park Fiction*, however, was also denigrated as a tedious obsession in the ever-changing art world.²⁹

The cancellation of the archive that would include the documentation of the planning process has proven problematic to our conception of *Park Fiction*.³⁰ The archive would have enabled the comprehensive study of this extraordinary collaboration between activists,

residents and public institutions. While the goal of a public park in St. Pauli appealed to many people, the archive would have made clear that, despite the many positives behind the project and its support, the initiative engaged in a disproportionately long and attritional fight to create a relatively small-scale park. Perseverance and innovative strategy, such as the peaceful occupation of the area during Pentecost 1997, proved to be successful tactics. The support from the Hamburg Department of Culture and the interest from the international art world were equally important. The combination of art and social work supported an intense and creative grassroots planning process and highlighted its positives, in contrast to the conventional urban planning process. Without the archive, however, the history and understanding of the utopian meaning of the development and design cannot be thoroughly expressed and studied by future generations.

Today, the popular park area serves as a colourful setting of subcultural chic within the on-going gentrification of St. Pauli. In recent years, more high-rise office buildings and flats in a former industrial area near the park have been built.³¹ Now, residents and employees with a higher income populate stylish cafes and restaurants next to *Park Fiction*, which is often used as an outdoor dining area by such establishments. Most of these new residents and visitors are unaware of the park's history. In fact, *Park Fiction* served to increase the market value of properties in the district, thus inadvertently supporting profit-orientated, socially irresponsible redevelopment, such as the privatisation of public spaces in the area and its typical manifestation in the erection of high-rise buildings, of which supporters of the park project were critical.³²

After the park's completion, the park group dissolved due to internal problems caused by the project's long duration and its perception as an artistic, rather than social, accomplishment. Only Schäfer and Czenki are still involved in the park project, and they and other members of the former park group support activist networks similar to the now-extinct *Hafenrandverein*.³³ These groups benefit from the experiences and strategies from the park project, and draw attention to the state of neoliberal society and repression through nonviolent critical interventions and by recalling the history of former successful initiatives. As a result, the fundamental criticism of the process of *Park Fiction* is that the theoretical approach adopted by its supporters proved insufficient. In their first manifesto the *Park Fiction* working group explained the connection to Lefebvre and Situationism, but the economic dimension of Lefebvre's writings is absent. The theoretical background was not discussed at public information events and the park project only included a single symbolic intervention instead of a more promising homogeneous emancipatory practice with a more radical approach.³⁴

- 1 Statistisches Amt für Hamburg und Schleswig-Holstein, Statistik informiert ... SPEZIAL, no. 1, 2014 [press information on 'Sozialleistungen in den Hamburger Stadtteilen'] 3, 7; Landeskriminalamt Hamburg, Polizeiliche Kriminalstatistik 2013 (Hamburg 2014), 15.
- 2 A good introduction to the subject can be found in G. H. Kester, *The One and the Many: Contemporary Collaborative Art in a Global Context* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011) 199ff.; A. Bromberg and B. Bloom, 'Hamburg Action: A Field Guide,' *The Journal of Aesthetics and Protest*, Vol. 1, Issue 3, 2004, 183-193; U. Lewitzky, *Kunst für alle? Kunst im öffentlichen Raum zwischen Partizipation, Intervention und Neuer Urbanität* (Bielefeld: Transcript Verlag, 2005) 113ff.; S. Feldhoff, *Zwischen Spiel und Politik. Partizipation als Strategie und Praxis in der bildenden Kunst* (PhD diss., Universität der Künste, 2009) 170ff.; W. Wiczorek, 'Park Fiction. Analyse eines selbstorganisierten Planungsprozesses zwischen Kunst, Gemeinwesenarbeit und Urbanismuskritik in Hamburg-St. Pauli,' (Master's thesis, Universität Lüneburg, 2005).
- 3 Wiczorek describes some of the involved institutions and important protagonists in detail - see Wiczorek, *Park Fiction*.
- 4 Feldhoff, *Zwischen Spiel und Politik*, 180ff.
- 5 See Wiczorek, *Park Fiction*, 7ff.
- 6 The church hoped to increase the number of visitors and to prevent the church garden from being frequented by drug addicts and sprinkled with litter.
- 7 See Don Mitchell, 'The End of Public Space? People's Park, Definitions of the Public, and Democracy,' *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Vol. 85, no.1, 1995, 108-133.
- 8 See C. Skene, 'Park Fiction,' in H. Saxenhuber and G. Schöllhammer, eds., *o.k.: Ortsbezug: Konstruktion oder Prozess?* (Wien: Edition Selene, 1998) 153-162.
- 9 The music club was founded in 1989 and has occupied the building under threat of demolition since 1994.
- 10 Sabine Stövesand, a member of the park group, provided a brief but lucid report of the development - see S. Stövesand, 'Aneignung städtischer Räume: Park Fiction - ein persönlicher Bericht,' <http://www.stadtteilarbeit.eu/handlungsfelder/49-park-fiction.html>, accessed October 2013.
- 11 See M. Czenki and C. Schäfer, 'Park Fictions - Drehbuch, Parktheorie, Gespräch, Filmstills,' in J. Becker, ed., *Bignes? Size does matter. Image / Politik - Städtisches Handeln - Kritik der unternehmerischen Stadt* (Berlin: B-books, 2001) 100-115, 100.
- 12 Cathy Skene (1964-) studied painting in England as well as sculpture and photography in Hamburg. Christoph Schäfer (1964-) studied art at the University of Fine Arts in Hamburg from 1985 to 1992 with Dan Graham, among others.
- 13 See, for example, C. Skene and C. Schäfer, 'Rebellion on Level p,' in W. Bradley and C. Esche, eds., *Art and Social Change: A Critical Reader* (London: Tate Publishing, 2007) 283-289; and freiraumbuero, 'Park Fiction - Die Wünsche werden die Wohnung verlassen (interview with M. Czenki and C. Schäfer),' *ZONE - Stadt. Architektur. Landschaft*, May-June 2002, 39-44. Skene and Schäfer are especially influenced by Henri Lefebvre's *Le droit à la ville* (Paris: Éd. Anthropos, 1968) and Gilles Deleuze's and Félix Guattari's *L'anti-œdipe* (Paris: Édition de Minuit, 1972). See also S. Plant, *The Most Radical Gesture: The Situationist International in a Postmodern Age* (London: Routledge, 1992), 109ff.
- 14 For example, see R. Ohrt, *Phantom Avantgarde: Eine Geschichte der Situationistischen Internationale und der modernen Kunst* (Munich: Nautilus, 1990).
- 15 See A. Könneke, 'weitergehen,' in A. Könneke and C. P. Müller, eds., *Kunst auf Schritt und Tritt: Public Art is Everywhere* (Hamburg: Kellner, 1997) 7-19.
- 16 See Skene, *Park Fiction*.
- 17 A. Creischer and A. Siekmann, "'Weitergehen' wie immer,' *springer*, Vol. 3, no. 1, 1997, 42-43.

- 18 Skene, *Park Fiction*, and freiraumbuero, *Park Fiction*.
- 19 See Wiczorek, *Park Fiction*, 51f.
- 20 Stövesand, 'Aneignung städtischer Räume'; Wiczorek, *Park Fiction*, 52ff.
- 21 M. Czenki, T. Gaier, M. Gressman, S. Kamerun, C. Schäfer, *Park Fiction: Desires will leave the house and take to the streets*. Directed by M. Czenki. Germany, 1999.
- 22 Stövesand, 'Aneignung städtischer Räume.'
- 23 Wiczorek, *Park Fiction*, 86.
- 24 Stövesand, 'Aneignung städtischer Räume'; B. Franzen, *Die vierte Natur: Gärten in der zeitgenössischen Kunst* (Cologne:Verlag der Buchhandlung Walther König, 2000) 172-177.
- 25 T. Petersen, 'Image-City am Hafenanrand,' *Szene Hamburg*, August 2001, 20-21. For general information see C. Twickel, *Gentrifidingsbums oder eine Stadt für alle* (Hamburg: Edition Nautilus, 2010), 50ff. The importance of subculture as a location factor is emphasised, for example, in R. Florida, *Cities and the Creative Class* (New York: Routledge, 2005) 113ff. See also Bastian Lange, 'Wachstumsmotor Kreative – eine Kritik an Richard Florida,' in P. Oswald, ed., *Schnumpfende Städte* (Ostfildern Ruit: Hatje Cantz, 2005) 401-405.
- 26 See Petersen, 'Image-City am Hafenanrand.'
- 27 Senat der Freien und Hansestadt Hamburg 2002, *Leitbild: Metropole Hamburg - Wachsende Stadt* (Hamburg: Staatliche Pressestelle, 2002). See also Wiczorek, *Park Fiction*, 81, 132.
- 28 Park Fiction Working Group, 'Press release 19 August 2005,' Hamburg, Park Fiction, 2005.
- 29 Wiczorek, *Park Fiction*, 134f., 150.
- 30 W. Wiczorek, 'Park Fiction. Eine andauernde Geschichte der praktischen Stadtkritik' (paper presented at the symposium *Park Fiction präsentiert: Umsonst & Draussen*, Hamburg 2006) <http://urban-matters.org/wp/wp-content/uploads/parkfiction-ww-14.10.20061.pdf>, (accessed October 2013). Today there is only a small temporary archive in the Golden Pudel Club that is available on request.
- 31 Wiczorek, 'Park Fiction. Analyse,' 147f.
- 32 See Petersen, 'Image-City am Hafenanrand'; Stövesand, 'Aneignung städtischer Räume'.
- 33 Christoph Schäfer mentions some new activities and networks in Hamburg: see C. Schäfer, *The City is our Factory* (Leipzig: Spector Books, 2010). See also Twickel, *Gentrifidingsbums*.
- 34 In his upcoming book about urbanism and gentrification, Roger Behrens will emphasise some deficits about contemporary strategies of resistance against gentrification from the perspective of critical theory. A preliminary essay was published in 2007 - see R. Behrens, 'Kritische Theorie der Stadt,' *WiderSpruch. Münchner Zeitschrift für Philosophie*, no. 46, 2007, 13-38.